

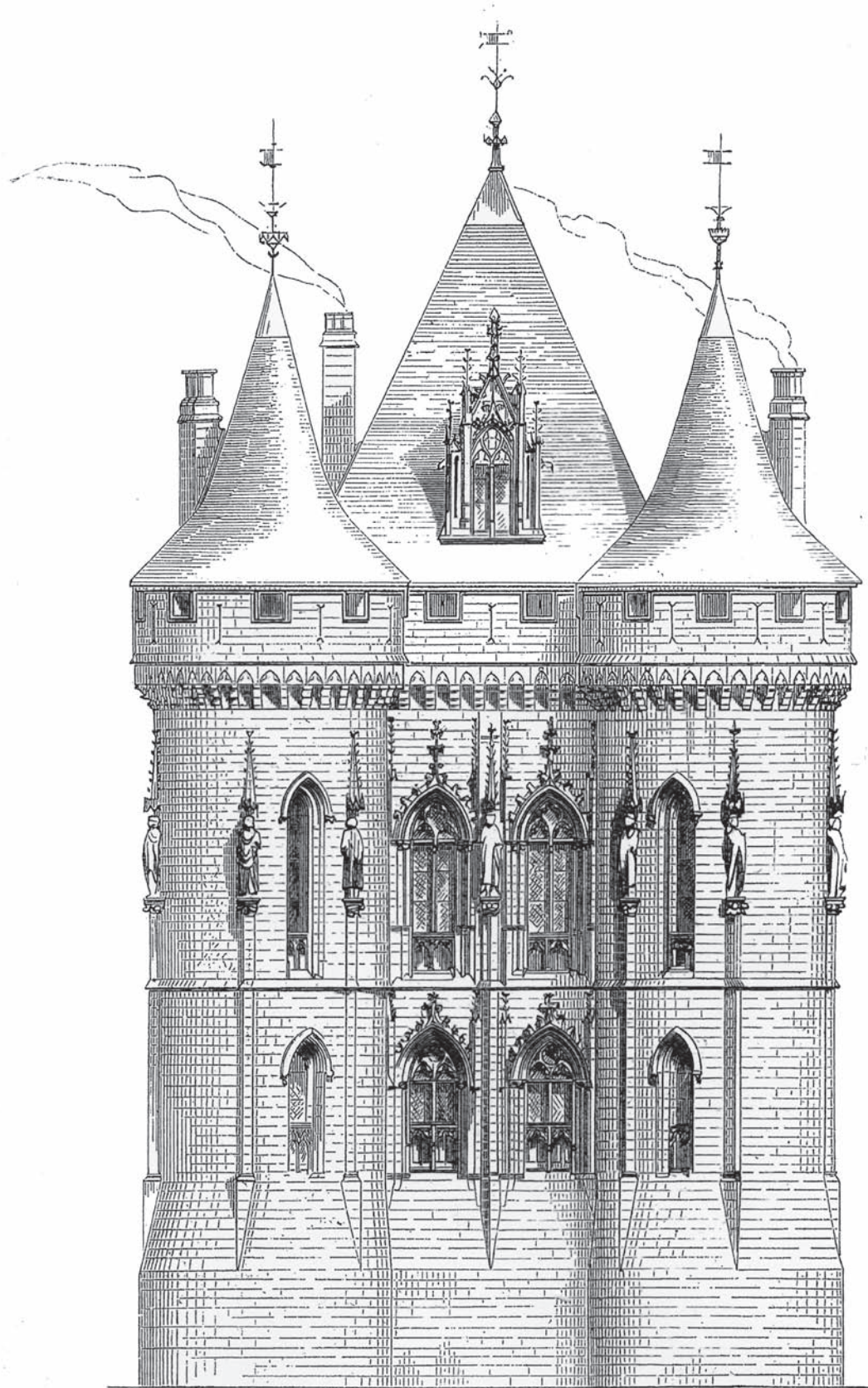
SEATS OF POWER
IN EUROPE DURING
THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR

ANTHONY EMERY

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SEATS OF POWER IN EUROPE
DURING THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR



Poitiers, Ducal Palace; conjectural restoration of the Maubergeon Tower by Viollet-le-Duc (1868)

Seats of Power in Europe During the Hundred Years War

An architectural study from 1330 to 1480

ANTHONY EMERY



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Preface

This study considers the residences of the crowned heads and the royal ducal families of the countries involved in the Hundred Years War between England and France. Though they were the leading protagonists and therefore responsible for the course of the war, do their residences reflect an entirely defensive purpose, a social function, or the personality of their builders?

The War is usually ascribed to the period from 1337 to 1453 but this study has been extended by a further thirty years as the political and architectural repercussions of the War continued to be felt in England and even more so in France until the deaths of Louis XI and Edward IV.

During its course, the War extended to other parts of Europe. This particularly applied during the fourteenth century when it involved the county of Flanders and the states of Aragon, Castile, Portugal, and the papacy at Avignon. Scotland and Flanders continued to participate during the fifteenth century. The residences of their rulers are therefore of equal relevance and significance to those of France and England.

With a subject of such broad span, this study has concentrated on sixty properties extending from the castles at Windsor and Kenilworth to those at Saumur and Rambures, and from the palaces at Avignon and Seville to the manor-houses at Germolles and Launay. A number of subsidiary or associated properties are also considered in the more broad-themed sections.

Castle and house studies in England and to some extent in France are currently in a state of flux arising from recent re-interpretations and revisionism, as well as the appreciation of the complex and differing roles of such residences in the political, social, and cultural circumstances of the time. These contrasts can be symbolised by comparing the starkness of Tarascon Castle with the contemporary decorative retreat of the duke of Berry at Mehun-sur-Yèvre. Few castles and palaces in Europe are alike, despite the common background of the war. What this overview considers are the differences in layout, style and purpose including ceremonial needs and social control of some of the most commanding residences of the later middle ages.

This study is intended to be no more than an introductory overview, but as many students have a limited knowledge of the political background of the later middle ages, each region and its residences are prefaced by supporting historical and architectural surveys to help position the properties against the contemporary military, financial, and aesthetic backgrounds.

The subject spans an extremely broad and complex landscape which leaves many areas untitled. But if it shows the range and complexity of the scene, then it may lead to a less narrow approach to castle and house studies.

Titles have been anglicised but this only occasionally applies to their names. The Bibliography for the individual buildings immediately follows the relevant text. More broad-based studies – historical and architectural – are listed in the concluding Select Bibliography.

INTRODUCTION

THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR: 1330–1480

The phrase ‘The Hundred Years War’, first used by Desmichels in 1823, may be a highly convenient term to describe the attenuated late medieval conflict between England and France, but it is conceptually misleading. It is not so much that this struggle for supremacy extended well beyond the traditional limits of 1337 to 1453, but the fact that it was not a continuous war but a series of vicious conflicts, separated by extended periods of uneasy peace or truce marred by sporadic hostilities. Nor was it simply between the Plantagenet and Valois dynasties, but also between them and fiefs such as Brittany, Flanders, and Burgundy who chose to support one side and then the other as the political or economic situation demanded. To a lesser extent, it also involved several other European countries, creating a complex pattern of political, financial, economic, military and social consequences. Though this study is precise in its scope, one consequence common to this as to most other aspects of the war is that a conflict which began between protagonists who only knew the feudal order was concluded about 150 years later by a society increasingly dominated by trade and finance at the dawn of the Renaissance.

The origins of the conflict were deep rooted and lay at least as far back as the Angevin inheritance of Aquitaine in the mid-twelfth century. The more immediate cause was the dynastic crisis in France in the years following the death of Philip IV in 1314 and his short-lived successors, and the feudal responsibilities and family conflict inherent in the close relationship between the royal houses of France and England. It was also about the gradual development of national characteristics and consciousness, particularly in France with the associated concept of a single state centred on Paris, and to it opposition by a number of great princes and vassals of the French crown anxious to develop their own political independence, particularly the count of Flanders and the king of England as duke of Aquitaine.

Nor were the key protagonists equal. France was the wealthiest kingdom in western Europe with a population estimated at between 15 and 21 million inhabitants. Though agriculturally rich, the royal domain embraced only about half the kingdom with the remainder essentially held by four almost independent fiefs of the French king – Aquitaine, Brittany, Burgundy and Flanders. The machinery of government, centred on Paris, was expanding though with difficulty in the mountainous south, but Philip IV (1285–1314) had won his conflict with the papacy, with the added benefit of the pope’s proximity after his relocation from Rome to Avignon from 1309. England and Wales was a poorer country with a population of about four and a half million, principally spread across central and southern England, and lacking the benefit of a substantial manufacturing industry. On the other hand, it was far more

cohesive than France, with a well-oiled central administration, a more efficient means of levying taxes and raising an army, and far greater loyalty from the leading magnates. There was, though, a potential danger along the northern frontier if Scotland formed an alliance with France. Neither country believed that the conflict was more than a quarrel about feudal sovereignty nor that it would extend beyond a few seasons of warfare. This might have been so, had not Edward III formally assumed the title and arms of the king of France in 1340, inaugurating a new posture in Anglo-French relations, and making it impossible for either side to compromise.

The extended period of tension and conflict that makes up the Hundred Years War can be divided into three key phases. After an initial period of uncertainty for Edward III, a string of successes including Crécy (1346), the taking of Calais (1347) and victory at Poitiers (1356) culminated in the treaty of Brétigny (1360). Within less than twenty-five years, France had been brought to its knees, its king captured and the chivalry of France left in disarray. A measure of peace lasted until 1369 when the French took the offensive under the reforming and capable Charles V (1364–80) and recovered most of the lands they had lost within seven years. The death of the key protagonists, the Black Prince (1376) and Edward III (1377) in England and du Guesclin (1380) in the same year as Charles V in France, combined with the accession of royal minors, a sequence of political crises, and financial exhaustion in both countries by the mid-1380s led to the truce of 1396 that was supposed to last for twenty-eight years.

France remained impotent for three decades. The French king's madness fostered intrigue and civil war, primarily between the houses of Orléans and Burgundy. The struggle against England was no longer the country's primary concern which was now dominated by a small group of ambitious territorial princes. This period of French anarchy forms the second phase of the protracted struggle between the two dynasties, though England was also beset with internal problems. Richard II had been displaced by Henry of Lancaster but Henry's hold on the throne was initially tenuous and subsequently dogged by illness.

The final phase of the war was initiated by an ambitious Henry V who won a resounding victory at Agincourt (1415), followed by the systematic conquest of Normandy before capturing Paris. He replaced the scorched-earth practice of the previous century with a policy of land settlement, and by the treaty of Troyes (1420) he was recognised as heir to the throne of France. This phase of the war initially favoured the English, but with their failure to capture Orléans (1428–9), the die was cast for their gradual expulsion by an enemy fortified by the moral high ground of a legally crowned French sovereign. Paris was regained (1436), followed by English withdrawal towards the Channel and expulsion from Aquitaine until Calais remained England's sole possession (1453). The war petered out, unmarked by any truce or formal declaration until the treaty of Picquigny (1475), though the conflict did not cease for the French until the duchy of Burgundy had been absorbed into the royal domain in 1477.

War brought fame to men on both sides, and this was of vital importance to the greater and lesser aristocracy, particularly as both sides considered they were fighting a 'just' war. Fame meant honour and the esteem of a person's peer group, and it increased his standing in society. The most obvious way of demonstrating this – be he duke or magnate – was to prove his prowess on the battlefield, display his coat of arms on every public occasion, and build a palace-fortress, castle, or fortified house commensurate with his position. So what was the effect of the war on residential architecture in France and England? Were many castles built to cope with the latest developments of assault and defence or were they primarily demonstrations of authority and power? To what extent did residences in France affect building practices in other parts of Europe? And was the war a determinant in this or not?

This study is essentially concerned with the residences built and occupied by the leaders of European

society who participated in the war to a greater or lesser extent. But it is impossible to assess the particular impact of such an extended and bitter conflict simply by considering the relevant buildings in isolation. It is essential to place them in the context and changing circumstances of the time, to consider the range of options and benefits available to the participants, and to recognise how financial motivation and realisation changed over a century or more. War brought devastation as well as benefits to many combatants. Some participants squandered their rewards as much as others judiciously husbanded their prizes. And these were spread across a broad spectrum of society of which building – domestic, collegiate, or ecclesiastical – was only one option, albeit the most conspicuous and long-lasting.

One factor is fundamental to this situation throughout the long struggle. The war was fought almost entirely on French soil. That was not how the French intended the war to begin or to develop. In March 1336 Philip VI transferred the fleet that had been assembling for a crusade from the Mediterranean to the mouth of the Seine preparatory to an invasion of England in support of his Scottish ally. Plans to dispatch armed galleys from Rouen and Bruges to England in 1339 (confirmed by the discovery of the supposed French invasion plan at the sack of Caen seven years later) were serious enough for Edward III to counter with the destruction of the French fleet at Sluys in 1340 and prevent any such invasion for the next twenty years. Preparations made in the 1370s and 1380s were a valid attempt to convert the invasion of south-east England into a reality. For over twenty years lowland England suffered from French and Castilian raids but no French army invaded English soil. Across the Channel, France suffered from a 120 year span of devastating attacks by the English and other military forces in a harrying that permanently scarred the country. The havoc was particularly severe during the earlier phases of the war and again during the 1440s in Normandy and Aquitaine, but the English conquests were more easily won (and recovered by the French) with fewer ravages during the latter phases.

SEATS OF POWER

The Hundred Years War is a story of two nations whose destinies became inextricably entwined throughout the later middle ages. But although it was an epic conflict between England and France, it involved a number of other European countries who, from time to time, supported one of the protagonists. They include Scotland, Castile, Aragon, Navarre, Portugal, the Low Countries, the imperial territories of Bohemia, and the papacy in Avignon and then Rome. But a further factor of this war was that supporters changed sides depending on the political or economic pressures exerted on them, or on the scale of the bribe necessary to buy their diplomatic support or alliance. The constancy of a country towards one side or the other in a way which is usually taken for granted today, could never be relied upon during this period but could be swayed by diplomatic gifts, bribes, or threats. However, it could also aid some traditional fidelities such as Castile's alliance with France which lasted from 1369 to the end of the war.

The seats of power are those residences occupied by the political leaders of the countries involved during the different stages of the war. More precisely, they were the palaces, castles, and houses occupied by the monarchs and royal princes who were the leading protagonists during the conflict. An analysis of these properties will demonstrate how they varied in scale and layout to reflect the standing, the abilities, and the financial resources of their builders. They will also include references to some of the residences of key members of the nobility who were among the leading captains of war such as Lord Neville of Raby or Guy de la Trémoille of Sully-sur-Loire. This survey is not intended to be comprehensive. To keep it within reasonable bounds, it only includes two or three of the castles or houses of the aristocracy

or those of royal officials, even though some of them were among the prime beneficiaries of the war.

In undertaking such a formidable conflict, no monarch could ignore the commercial interests of his country which he was so dependent on for funding his war effort. An early lesson was learnt at the beginning of the conflict when the Florentine banks suffered badly under Edward III during the late 1330s. His English lenders proved more capable and built imposing houses to prove it in Hull and at Penshurst and in London. A century later, the house of Jacques Coeur at Bourges is similar testimony to his manipulative ways, though the equally successful Cardinal Henry Beaufort in England preferred to up-grade rather than rebuild his inherited residences at Bishops Waltham and Wolvesey at Winchester.

The weakness of the French crown was a major factor responsible for the protraction of the war. With the exception of Charles V (1364–80), France was not well served by its monarchs. A similar weakness affected England from the end of Edward III's reign to Henry V, that is from 1377 to 1415, and again from 1440 until 1461 through factional rivalries under the saintly but ineffective Henry VI.

The political and territorial division of France also ill-served its monarch. Had the country been unified like England with a centralised administrative and judicial system, then the English defeat would have been accomplished far more swiftly. But France was made up of a substantial royal domains and a number of semi-autonomous provinces. The formal boundaries of the French king's suzerainty had been established by the Treaty of Verdun in 843. He ruled two-thirds of the present state and Flanders but none of the lands east of the Rhône and Meuse which owed allegiance to the Holy Roman Empire. Five hundred years later, the Hundred Years War was fought against the background of the fluctuating relationship between the Valois monarchy centred on a limited territorial domain, and four major principalities – Brittany, Aquitaine, Burgundy and Flanders – as well as several smaller territorial principalities which together made up the greater part of the country. It was only after the war was concluded that the relationship was permanently resolved by the unbending affirmation of royal authority and power.

GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE DURING THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

From the mid- to late 12th century, Gothic architecture swiftly pushed aside the Romanesque form, spreading from the Île de France through northern France and then to England. It dominated ecclesiastical patronage throughout the thirteenth century, whether on a large or small scale, but was most obviously expounded in the development of the great churches – those of cathedral and monastic status. The pointed arch, enlarged windows, vaulting development, and the expansion of interior spaces characterised the Gothic style. And its progress primarily rested on the shared interests of the crown, bishops, and abbots with the people's support.

However, the fourteenth century witnessed a new clientele – an essentially secular one – responsible for imposing residences, town halls, guild halls, and educational foundations. The consequences were immediately apparent in two directions. The period was dominated by the rise of the palace-fortress, an imposing residence within a defensible curtilage, and that contributed to the growth of the Gothic form outside the bounds of its ecclesiastical origins in a period described as 'the age of nobility'.¹

The development of the palace-fortress was a phenomenon of the mid third of the fourteenth century. The imposing papal fortress of Benedict XII (1334–42) at Avignon was extended with a sumptuous residence by his immediate successor Clement VI (1342–52). Emperor Charles IV's construction of Karlstein Castle took place between 1348 and 1355. Casimir the Great initiated his expansion of Wawal Castle in Cracow from about 1350 while Edward III's redevelopment of Windsor Castle began in 1355.

David II followed more modestly at Edinburgh Castle in 1357 while the royal palace at Barcelona was given a sensational new audience hall between 1359 and 1362. Charles V of France remodelled the Louvre between 1360 and 1370 followed almost immediately by the fundamental redevelopment of Vincennes Castle as a major fortress within a huge defensive enceinte (1361–71). Shortly afterwards, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights was expanding his personal accommodation at Malbork Castle with an extremely comfortable palace complex towards the close of the century.

These programmes cost more than almost any contemporary ecclesiastical work. The latter was no longer in the ascendancy. The balance of architectural power had moved from religious to secular domination and this was confirmed by its application to a number of lesser projects outside crown circles including the palace-fortresses of princes and leading nobles at Saumur and Pierrefonds in France, Raby and Bolton castles in England, Torrelobaton in Castile, and Albrechtsburg Palace at Meissen where the factors of display and rank came to the fore.

Many of these projects were purposely designed with a public face to impress all visitors. The extended inner courtyard façade at Windsor Castle was designed with a gate house towards each end. The castle at Vincennes became a small walled city dominated by a massive tower-house. The impregnable castle at Karlstein protected the imperial jewels and relics. Westminster Hall was remodelled and crowned with a roof which is one of the masterpieces of medieval carpentry, while the Louvre boasted a spectacular staircase that influenced French secular architecture for over two hundred years. But implicit in these projects was also the developing secular religion that came to be linked to Christendom – the aristocratic values of chivalry, largesse, and display.

Equally important was the fact that the Gothic form of architecture had spread from its French roots across most of Europe, leaving only Italy outside its overwhelming influence. Whereas the portals, sculpture, traceried windows, and twin towers of a cathedral façade had visually trumpeted the strength and command of Christianity, now the decorated façades and imposing towers of kings, princes, magnates, civic leaders, and prosperous merchants proclaimed a more diverse patronage covering a wider European span than previously. The Gothic style had spread to Flanders, the Iberian Peninsula, the Holy Roman Empire and even Naples and, in so doing, developed more fluid and localised forms. The Flemish cloth halls, the Florentine Palazzo Vecchio, and the Spanish *lonja* or exchange at Valencia and Palma were spectacular displays of civic pride. Meanwhile the mendicant orders who now became the crusading guardians of Christian orthodoxy favoured the simplicity of hall-style churches for preaching their message of poverty, while the extensive use of brick by the Hanseatic countries spread to civil structures breaking the previous exclusivity of stone for high quality buildings.

Secular residences on a substantial scale were swiftly followed by the desire for comfort and privacy. Castles and palaces had been deficient in both prior to the fourteenth century. Building expansion to take account of such considerations might be thought to be a consequence of a more settled Europe. But this development occurred during the protracted war between France and England. And it was in England during the 1350s that this development was first articulated where the more public rooms of great hall and chapel at Windsor Castle were separated from the suites for the king and the queen with the former enjoying a sequence of nine royal rooms of increasing privacy and decorative display. Mural fireplaces became increasingly popular, traceried windows were indistinguishable from ecclesiastical forms, while internal galleries, terraces, and pleasure gardens followed within a century. Sculpture, hitherto the preserve of an ecclesiastical precinct, was now prominent in secular interiors as at the Louvre, Vincennes Castle and Westminster Hall, and also on the exteriors of leading residences as at Pierrefonds and Lumley Castle.

There is no division in architecture between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In northern Europe, the Gothic style continued uninterrupted and did not fundamentally change until the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Secular structures continued to predominate rather than major ecclesiastical buildings but not overwhelmingly so. Several major cathedrals were built in Spain following the marriage between Aragon and Castile (Salamanca from 1513, Segovia 1525–57), but it was palaces that predominated in France and England towards the close of the fifteenth century with major developments in France under Louis XII, and by Henry VII and particularly his successor in England. Town halls continued to be flamboyant (Brussels 1402–54, Arras 1450–1572, Louvain 1448–63) and universities continued to expand (King's College, Cambridge 1448–1515, Collegium Maius, Cracow 1492–97). Stylistic developments were no longer innovative but lay in the increasing complexity of flamboyant window tracery and flattened vaults as elements of the Early Renaissance style crept in from Italy. The Gothic style had lasted for about 350 years until it was overtaken by the preference for the Renaissance. At the same time, secular architecture triumphed over ecclesiastical interests with the crowning indignity of the Gothic style being dismissed by Vasari in the mid-sixteenth century as 'monstrous' and 'barbaric'.²

Notes

1. A. Erlande-Brandenburg, *Gothic Art* (1989), 114.
2. *Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (1550).

PART ONE

1330–1400

THE AVIGNAN PAPACY: 1300–1400

THE PAPAL COURT MOVES FROM ROME

The papacy was a permanent factor in the background to the tapestry of conflict between England and France from 1337 to 1453. This brief overview therefore precedes the description of contemporary developments in England and France, particularly as the papacy was far more relevant to the key protagonists in the fourteenth than the fifteenth century.

In 1309, the Gascon pope, Clement V, transferred the papacy from Rome to Avignon to escape the civil wars endemic in Italy and the physical turbulence that continually beset Rome. The first pope lived in the Dominican convent in Avignon whilst his successor, a former bishop of Avignon, enlarged the earlier episcopal residence as an appropriate setting for his pontificate. Consequently, it was nearly a further twenty years before a new residence was initiated in the mid-1330s which was virtually completed in the form we see today in less than twenty-five years.

The outstanding consequence of the palace's development at Avignon as one of the most remarkable buildings of the later middle ages lies in a combination of geopolitical factors. In the first place, the choice of Avignon upon leaving Rome was its proximity to the Venaissin, a territory already owned by the papacy, with Avignon holding the last bridge spanning the river Rhône before it reached the Mediterranean Sea fifty miles away. Equally important was the fact that the seven successive popes who ruled Christendom from Avignon during this period were all southern French, and two in particular, the ascetic Benedict XII and his spendthrift successor Clement VI were responsible for the creation of this unsurpassed building of the fourteenth century.

John XXII (1316–34) had centralised the papal finances and by his autocratic temper had ensured that the treasury which had held little more than 70,000 gold florins at his accession, was packed with 18 million gold florins by the time of his death. Benedict XII (1334–42) demolished the old episcopal residence and built the northern half of the palace on a fortress-like scale. But though Benedict was a reforming administrator he proved powerless to stop the war that broke out between France and England. Clement VI (1342–52) purchased the city of Avignon from the twenty-year-old Queen Joan of Sicily for 80,000 gold florins (1348) to consolidate the future of the papacy and the curia's permanence in Avignon. Under his munificent patronage, Clement was not only responsible for the major expansion of the palace but he made the city a centre of artistic and cultural brilliance. Innocent VI (1352–62) was forced to introduce draconian reforms to reduce expenditure, particularly so that he could face one of the consequences of the collapse of the French army at Poitiers. Avignon's wealth was an obvious

target for the bands of ravaging mercenaries (*grandes compagnies*) that were now spreading across the countryside like the plague. Innocent therefore enclosed the city with a powerful line of ramparts and towers to fend off the destructive armies.

The attempts now made to return to Rome were by short-lived popes and were completely ineffective. However, Urban VI (1378–89) was an Italian reforming pope, but his dictatorial manner and paranoid attitude towards the many southern French cardinals in his determination to reduce them to courtiers proved so anathematical that the French members of the electoral college chose a replacement pope, Clement VII (1378–94). This initiated the Great Schism which divided the Christian world for forty years until it was brought to a close with the election of Martin V in Rome where he continued to stay (1417).

A century earlier, the arrival of the pope with his curia of between 450 and 600 members had completely transformed Avignon. Apart from the palace, luxurious residences were built for the cardinals of Avignon and Villeneuve-lès-Avignon who each had their own court and entourage. Bankers, lawyers, merchants and shop keepers prospered, while many artistic centres were established offering expensive items. The population grew from about 5,000 at the beginning of the century to 35,000 by the mid-century. Under Clement VI, Avignon became one of Europe's leading cities. Rich and influential people chose to live here while the many lucrative benefices held by the cardinals proved the primary source of their considerable wealth. Florentine bankers opened here for business while Tuscan, Venetian, and French merchants helped to satisfy the demand for luxury goods. Yet the town was also notorious for its filthy streets, chronic overcrowding, and violence which continued long after the papacy had returned to Italy.

One of the consequences of the Hundred Years War affecting the papal lands has already been mentioned, but the attitude of the pope to the key protagonists in this extended war was determined by an amalgam of political, financial, strategic and personal factors. Although nearly all the Avignonaise popes were southern French and had pursued their earlier careers in that country, they continually stressed their impartiality, even though their attempts to mediate were always at risk in the light of their French upbringing.

To the English, the pope put unnecessary obstacles in the way at the behest of the French king. Thus in 1338, Benedict XII excommunicated the Flemings after they had formed an alliance with Edward III. Urban V refused a dispensation for the marriage of one of Edward III's sons to Margaret, heiress of Flanders, Burgundy, and Artois for that would have substantially strengthened England's claim to the French territories. It is true that the pope frequently rejected demands made by the King of France but rarely on major issues, for Avignon was uncomfortably close to France, physically and politically. It relied on French support in many of its diplomatic dealings while the country's clergy provided the papacy with a major portion of its income. Neither of these could be put at risk by overt or covert support for English claims to the French throne.

While the combatants in the Hundred Years War were financing their military campaigns, the papal revenues were essentially spent on creating a palace of beauty and grandeur. It was not until the later years of the fourteenth century that funding the endless wars in Italy to achieve the recovery of the papal states became the overriding consideration. This was the pressure that brought the papal finances to their peak, drove Gregory XI and the curia to return to their spiritual home and thereby initiated the schism that made the church largely irrelevant in Anglo-French affairs for the next forty years. The fundamental division over obedience with the French supporting Avignon and the English supporting Rome meant that papal involvement from Rome rarely extended beyond exhortations of reconciliation.

AVIGNON, THE PAPAL PALACE

A primary feature of this palace at Avignon and one that makes it unique among the great secular buildings of the medieval world is its multi-functional purpose that gives rise to the relationship between form and function. This is the key to understanding this great edifice. It had to serve the pontiff in several ways: it was a retreat, a place for counsel, a setting for ceremony and grand receptions. It was the heart of the papacy's financial and legal administration, and a place of refuge if attacked. Most importantly, the palace was the tangible expression of papal claims to authority over all matters spiritual and temporal across the known world.

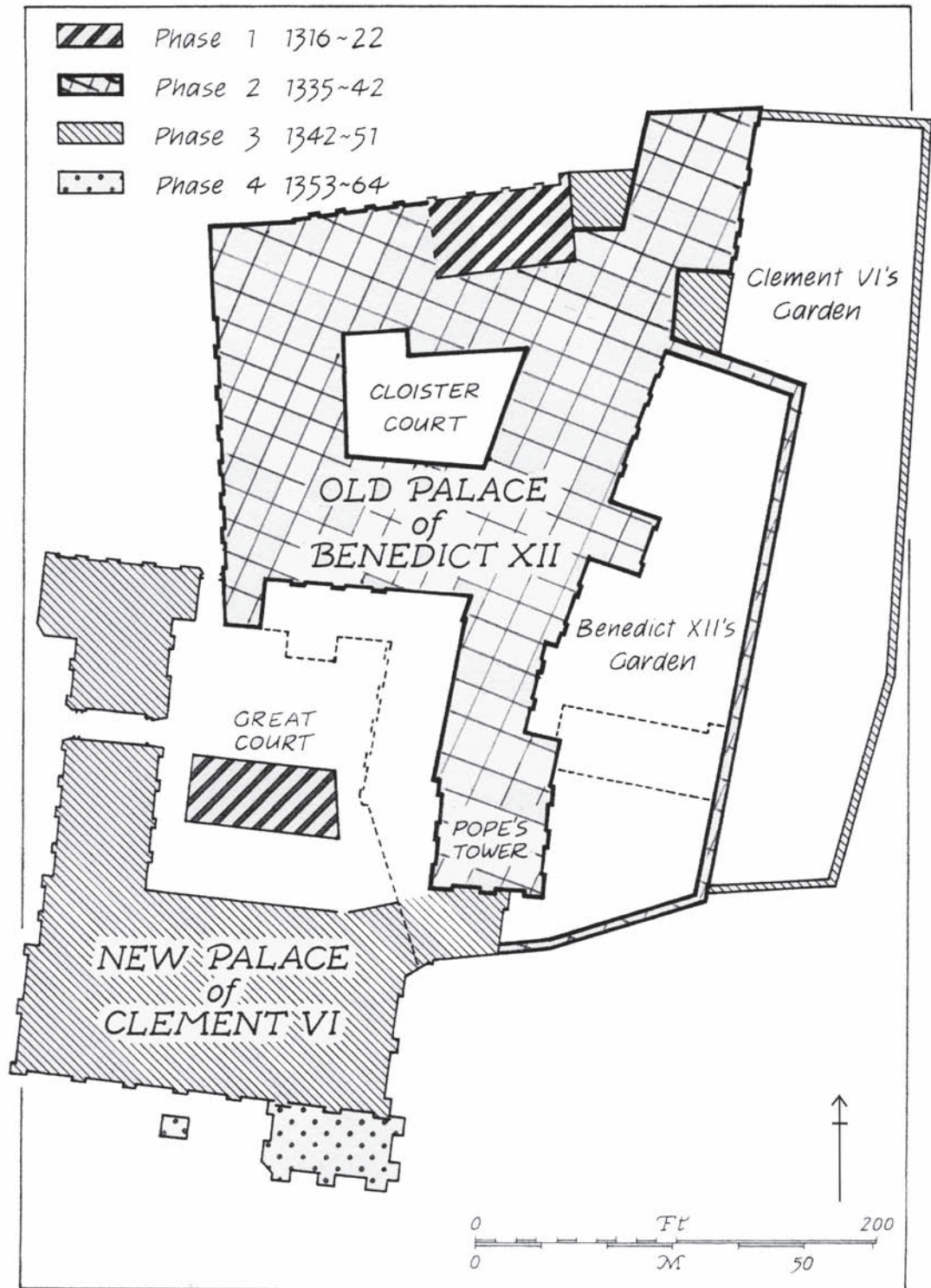
The palace at Avignon was not only the residence of a figure who held unparalleled authority across western Europe, but it was also the centre of his curia so that its function was fundamentally more complex than a royal court. All its members were clerics, either part of the pope's entourage of immediate family and attendants, or participants of the Sacred College of Cardinals. The former took up a relatively small portion of the palace while most of the cardinals lived outside the palace in their own mansions, supported by their own households of up to fifty members.

The palace also held the central administration of the Catholic Church. The Treasury received the taxes levied throughout the entire Christian world. They tended to be more regular than in a secular state



Pl. 1 Avignon, the Papal Palace: principal entry from Place Des Palais

Fig. 1 Avignon,
the Papal Palace:
development phases



and were supplemented by generous gifts to the pope. The Chancellery dealt with all correspondence, while the Court of Apostolic Causes was responsible for the assignment of ecclesiastical benefices and the thousands of appeals relevant to them each year. Each department was apportioned its own group of rooms including one where matters of doctrine and theology were determined.

The construction of the palace took place over a period of less than twenty-five years and can be divided essentially into two phases. The first under Benedict XII from 1335 to 1342 is known as the 'Old' Palace and was immediately followed by the 'New' Palace of Clement VI from 1342 to 1351 (fig.1). To reduce this fortress-palace to its simplest, it was developed round two courts with that of the Old Palace set back from the larger court of the New Palace immediately facing the town of Avignon. The Old Palace also included an extension terminating in the Pope's Tower which subsequently became the east side of the Outer or Great Court. Both courts have dominating towers rising above the enclosing ranges, all surmounted by embattled parapets, but the key difference between the two phases is that the Old Palace is relatively plain whereas the New Palace is more decorative in character. Only about ten years separate them but the differences are immediate.

A further essential factor in viewing and understanding the character of the pope's palace is that its interior was not only sumptuously furnished and decorated but it was constantly crowded with people. It was a hive of activity, ceremony, receptions, meetings and gossip, and filled with the comings and goings of prelates, supplicants, notaries, scribes, and workmen. Without such imaginative stimulation, a visit to the palace can be dispiriting for nearly all the rooms are now empty and their viewing does not follow a logical sequence of the purpose they served.

ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENT

The accounts for all building activity are detailed in the Registries of the Apostolic Treasury held in the Vatican archives in Rome. Though not fully published, they enable the work to be followed year by year, detailing the outlay for building materials, equipment, scaffolding, and staff wages.¹ Like a symphony, the development of the palace can be divided into four phases. The first was an introduction, followed by two dominant movements, with a coda bringing the work to a quiet conclusion.

Phase 1

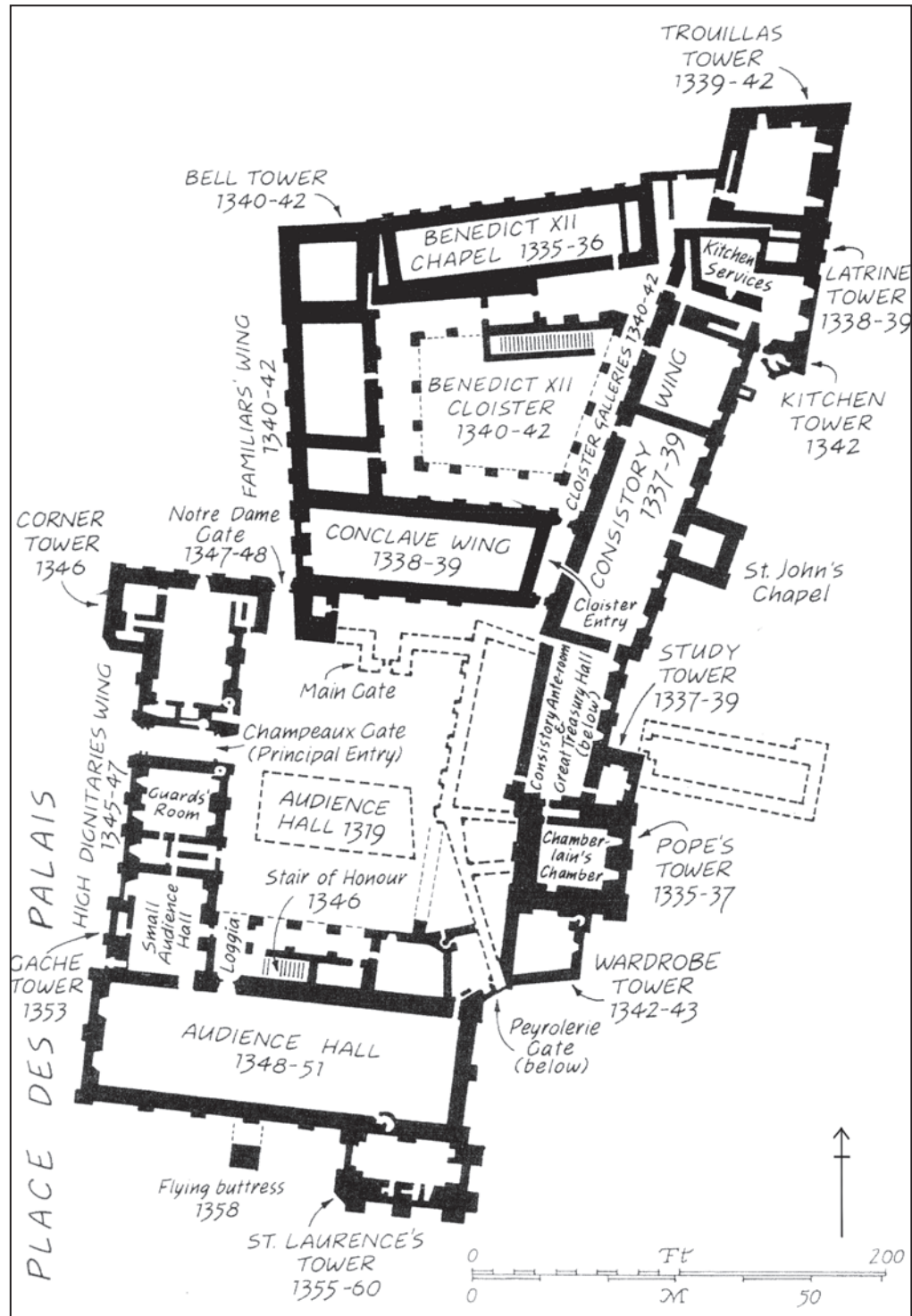
On his election to the papacy, John XXIV retained the earlier episcopal residence but enlarged it with a small cloister that included the former church of St Stephen which he converted into his private chapel (1320–22). In addition, he built an Audience Hall (1319) whose foundations are claimed to be those exposed within the later Great Court though it would be unusual for such an apartment to be built outside the Main Gate. All this activity took place during the first six years of John's reign. However, except for some chapel walling and possibly the footings of the Audience Hall, no other elements survive of this early pontifical residence.

Phase 2

After the cardinals persuaded Benedict XII to stay in Avignon, he developed an entirely new residence for himself and the curia. His ambitious plan began in 1335 with the construction of a massive fortified tower, the Pope's Tower to the south of the earlier palace. Rising 152 feet high from solid rock, this dominating structure held the papal treasury with the pope's private apartments above. Subsidiary apartments for the pope's use (1337) linked it to the former episcopal palace where the length of the pontifical chapel had already been doubled by a west-facing extension. However, Benedict's plans became far more complex as he developed the whole of the northern half of the existing palace as a fortress, the Palais Vieux, demolishing each wing of the previous residence in turn.

The new defensive palace was marked by stark walls, small apertures and huge pointed arches supporting

Fig. 2 Avignon, the Papal Palace: ground plan



a machicolated parapet. Benedict began with a new range on the east side for formal meetings and receptions – the ground floor Consistory wing with the Banqueting Hall above (1337–39). The other sides of the cloister were replaced in turn concluding with the forbidding Bell Tower and the cloister galleries (1340–42). Following his election to the papacy in May 1335, Benedict employed several hundred

workmen on the site – more than 800 in May 1337 – ensuring that the work had been completed within seven years before his death in 1342 at a cost of only about 18 per cent of his income.²

Phase 3

Benedict's successor, Clement VI employed Jean de Louvres from the Ile de France as his master-mason. Work began with some much needed additions to the Pope's Tower before de Louvres undertook a far more ambitious scheme, the creation of the Palais Neuf in a more sumptuous and expansive style. In 1345, he started work on a new Audience Hall with the Great Chapel above. Though delayed by the outbreak of the plague during 1348–49, this range was completed in 1351. The High Dignitaries Wing, also begun in 1345 was completed by the close of 1347 as was the Great Stair constructed in 1346. Although there were some modest additions, the body of the palace had been essentially completed within eighteen years. The project cost 400,000 gold florins, the equivalent of three years total income, achieved by levying taxes throughout Europe. Not surprisingly, the work emptied the papal coffers.

Phase 4

Innocent VI completed the work initiated by his predecessor under the direction of de Louvres until the latter's death in 1357. He was responsible for the Gache Tower as part of the High Dignitaries Wing (1353) and added the six storeyed St Laurence's Tower completed in 1356. No further construction occurred before the palace was vacated by the pope in 1403.³

DESCRIPTION, THE OLD PALACE (1335–42)

Benedict XII's Cloister Court

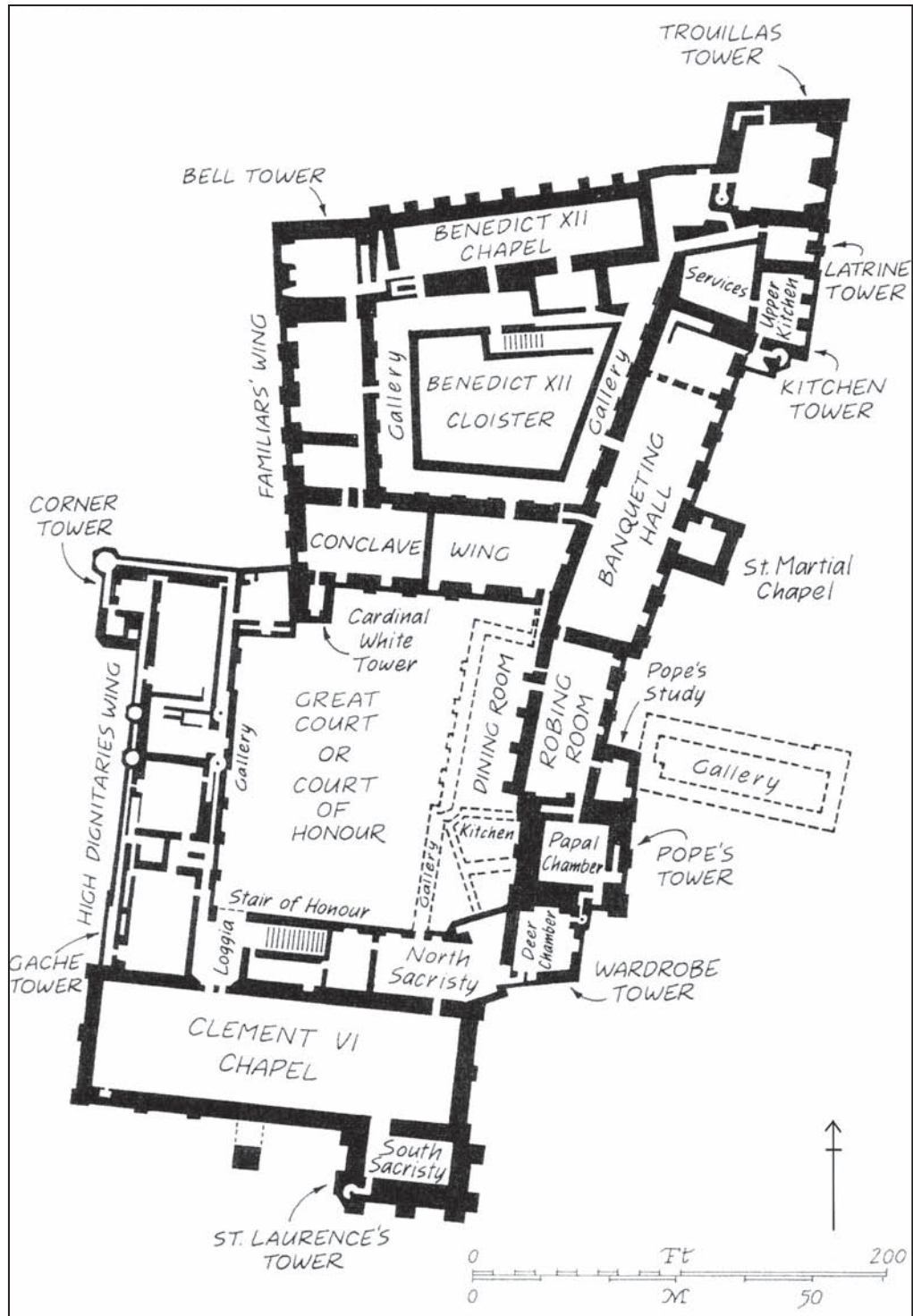
Benedict XII's palace was developed round a two-storeyed cloister. The most important rooms filled the east side of the cloister but extended southwards in a range that terminated with the Pope's Tower. The principal reception hall and the private papal apartments were at the upper level. Below them were the Consistory rooms and the Treasury. Today, all the east-facing apartments are open to the public while the remaining three sides of Benedict's cloister court are taken up by buildings not open to visitors.

The four cloister walks repeat the plain features seen outside with the upper galleries approached from the imposing stair that projects into the court. The first floor of the Conclave Wing of 1338–39 accommodated distinguished guests and the cardinals during conclaves. This 120 feet long room was divided by partitions covered with wall-hangings. Pantlers and store keepers were housed below to be near the kitchens, with a wine store embedded in the rock at a lower level. This wing is now used as a conference centre.

Leading papal administrators were lodged in the Familiars or Friends Wing of 1340–42. Since 1872, it has been used for storing the archives of the Vaucluse region as have the end towers. Illogically, the two lower floors of the unbuttressed but machicolated Bell Tower have wood-framed ceilings whereas the two upper floors are stone vaulted. The walls of the machicolated-crowned Trouillas Tower are fifteen feet thick for this tower, the highest in the palace at 171 feet, essentially fulfilled a military function. The three lower floors are vaulted while the upper ones are borne by cross-beams. The six floors were used for storing coal and wood at the lowest level, surmounted by arms and provisions, a vaulted prison, a room for the sergeants-at-arms, an armament store, and a munitions store.

Filling the north range between these two towers was the two storeyed chapel of John XXII, lengthened by Benedict XII in 1335–36, with the junction clearly visible externally on the cathedral

Fig. 3 Avignon, the Papal Palace: first floor plan



side. The extremely dark lower chapel was quickly abandoned and used for storage while the upper one became the Great Chapel with an added stone stair. The post-medieval removal of the intermediate floor has completely altered the character of the upper chapel for the windows on both sides are now unnaturally high. The corbels are nineteenth century insertions, possibly to indicate a tie beam roof,

though the present vaulting is an insertion of 1872 covering a roofless shell. The two towers rather than this devalued chapel are the most significant structures of the Old Palace currently unavailable for examination.

Banqueting Hall

The approach to the Grand Tinel⁴ or Banqueting Hall of 1337–39 is by the stair leading from the lower to the seat-lined upper cloister gallery. This massive hall, 158 feet by 34 feet, is more impressive in length than in width. The 29 feet section at the lower end was formerly partitioned (see wall scars) for the steward, butler, pantler, and master carver to provide services through four doors. This area has an end wall fireplace (restored) which the body of the hall lacks. It is possible that it was used to keep food warm before it was served. This hall was used for banquets on feast days when between four and nine courses would be served with several dishes offered at the same time. The pope would be seated at the south end of the apartment on a dais under a canopied throne, while those present at the feast would sit on wooden benches lining the walls with the food served from tables in the centre of the apartment.

The hall is lit on the east side by six mullioned and transomed windows, seat provided, overlooking the papal garden. There were supplementary windows close to the roof rebuilt in the 1970s which helps to restore the apartment's original volume. In the mid-fourteenth century, Clement VI ordered that fabric covered with gold stars should be stretched over the roof to create a celestial sky though this and the wall frescoes by the Italian Matteo Giovannetti and his assistants were destroyed by fire in 1413. Giovannetti's 42 frescoes of 1344–46 in the vaulted chapel of St Martial which opens off the middle of the hall have survived.

A narrow passage separated the lower end of the hall from the Upper Kitchen. This was the top floor of a tower added by Clement VI in 1342.⁵ Below were rooms used as the larders and for preserving fruit. The south side of the Upper Kitchen is filled with a broad arch spanning the hearth. Though the body of the kitchen is square, the heat was extracted by an octagonal flue, carried on squinches, that terminates in a louvre. It is a fine example of a fourteenth century kitchen and was next to the Latrine Tower of 1338–39 with staff toilets on all but the top floor.



Pl. 2 Avignon, the Papal Palace: banqueting hall

The Papal Apartments

A door at the dais end of the hall opened on to steps leading to the *Chambre de Parement* or Robing Room of 1337. This was an outer chamber to the papal bedchamber where important figures were given a more private audience with the pope who sat on a canopied throne. This room has been subject to excessive changes and is unprepossessing with obvious evidence of inserted floors, wall divisions, mutilated plasterwork, and later painted decoration. This spoils a generously proportioned apartment with its fireplace and three windows overlooking the papal garden.

Opening off the Robing Room is the pope's study in a small four-storey tower of 1337–39 with the tiered facilities of a vaulted cellar, the treasurer's secret chamber, a vestry on the ground floor, and Benedict XII's study. This last retains the only fourteenth century tiled floor to have survived in the palace. It is made up of plain green and brown glazed tiles with alternative diagonal lines of figurative tiles including rosettes, birds, fish, chequered patterns, and heraldic motifs. The wall paintings of red flowers on a blue background may be fourteenth century but they have not yet been restored.

The Pope's Tower

This six storey tower, shared between the pope and the treasury, was the heart of the palace. Well preserved, it has the characteristics of a keep – great height, rock-based foundations, thick buttressed walls, minimal fenestration and machicolated parapet. Built in 1335–37, the pope as befitted a former Cistercian monk occupied only one floor. The remaining floors were used by the Treasury with the sergeant-at-arms occupying the chatelet on the roof. Within five years, the tower's residential limitations had been overcome by the construction of an abutting second tower. All five floors of this addition, the Wardrobe Tower were available for the pope's comfort.⁶

The pope's bedchamber is a modest square room warmed by a corner fireplace but it was lit by only two windows making it rather dark. They were formerly covered with wax-coated fabric on frames rather than glass as today. The room was initially divided by moveable partitions, while the furniture included a bed with crushed velvet and green taffeta curtains, a chair, a table, and several linen chests lining the walls. Four ceiling beams are original but the tiled floor is a replacement of 1969. However, the room retains substantial evidence of its original decoration. The wall paintings are in three planes. The lowest level represents curtaining, with the body of the wall decorated with vines interspersed with birds and squirrels, gold on blue, surmounted by a quatrefoil frieze. This work was carried out in 1336–37, some of it by French artists

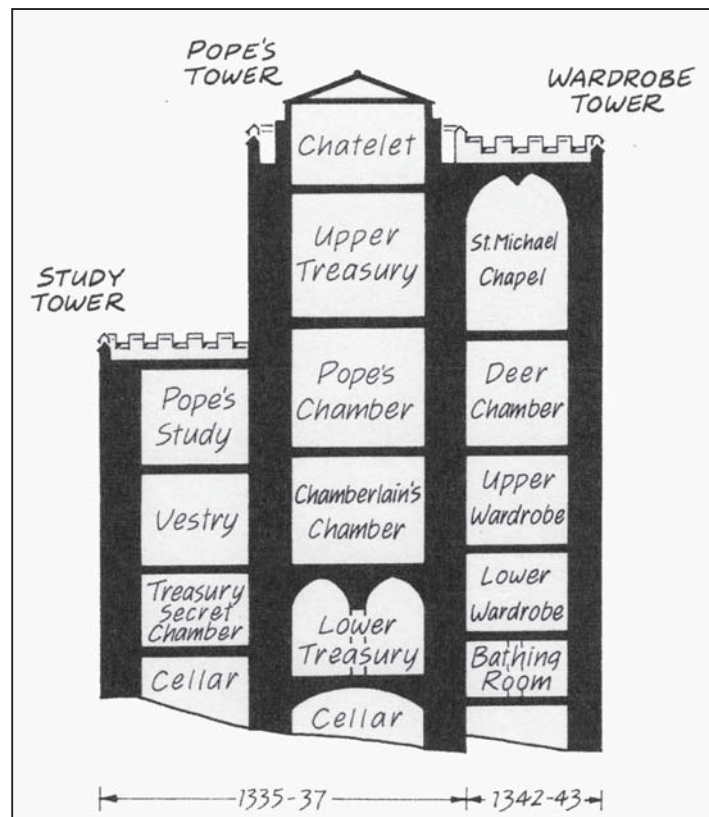


Fig. 4 Avignon, the Papal Palace: section showing papal accommodation

working under Jean d'Albon, but the upper register and the window recesses with Gothic arcading and bird cages in perspective are in the Italian style.

A wall passage opens into Clement VI's highly-decorated study and therefore into the Wardrobe Tower, the first stage of the third phase development of the palace. Built under the named direction of Jean de Louvres in 1342–43, these additional facilities should be described under the later section dealing with the New Palace, but they are described here as a key element of the pope's additional accommodation. It included a ground floor bathing room, surmounted by the lower wardrobe used for storing furniture, the upper wardrobe where the pope's personal linen was kept and some chamberlains slept, the *Chambre du Cerf* (the Deer Chamber) or study of Clement VI, and finally St Michael's chapel, a private one. This tower was constructed on the same principles as previously with jointed ceilings but the chapel is vaulted, lit by three high sculptured windows and with evidence of the lost frescoes by Matteo Giovannetti of 1345.

Though Clement VI's study held a bed and two chests and has retained its fourteenth-century ceiling decorated with foliage and stars, and a replacement tiled floor, the room is primarily important for its secular wall paintings of 1343. Below a frieze of quatrefoils, the walls are covered with a forest of different trees against which are played out a sequence of seigneurial pleasures such as fishing round a pool, bird catching, fruit picking, and deer hunting. A luxuriant wood is animated with animals and flowers while plump children play on a river bank. These paintings are in sharp contrast with all other murals within the palace, not only in their subject matter but also stylistically. They reflect a French courtly ideal – the activities of a privileged group. The representation may have been developed from tapestries but in an interpretation by Italian artists who have included perspectives in their panoramas.⁷ Their work offers an insight into the private world of an outward-going, profligate pope. They also provide a unique insight into contemporary court life with its representation of nature and total fidelity to life. Unfortunately, they were damaged when the room was remodelled during the eighteenth century.



Pl. 3 Avignon, the Papal Palace: Pope's Tower from the Great Court

The Treasury

Beneath the line of papal apartments in the Old Palace is a similar line of ground floor rooms that were divided between Treasury and Consistory Court. Falling ground enabled a lower ground floor to be constructed for treasury use. The Great Treasury Hall, a low room with an end wall fireplace, was formerly divided into two financial departments where the notaries received the taxes raised throughout Christendom. The accounting ledgers were stored in the wall cupboards.

Apart from the pope, the chamberlain who was responsible for all papal finances was the most important dignitary in the palace. His room and the Lower Treasury were tiered in the Pope's Tower (fig. 4). The Lower Treasury immediately sited above a rock-built cellar, was given added security (and building support) by quadripartite vaulting rising from an elegant central pillar. Wall cupboards held ledgers and archives while papal treasure could be stored beneath a flagstone floor. Immediately above, the chamberlain's bedchamber had a private stair to the papal bedchamber.

Consistory Rooms

The bulk of the ground floor of the Consistory Wing is taken up by the Consistory Hall, an elongated rectangular hall, well lit on the north side by four windows with seats overlooking the gardens below. It was a much-used apartment where the pope received sovereigns, ambassadors, legates, and honoured guests, and met his cardinals in council. It was also used for public and secret meetings or consistories. The original décor was destroyed by fire in 1413 and though it holds some frescoes by Simone Martini brought from Avignon cathedral, nevertheless it remains a gloomy room. The Salle de Jesus to the south served as an ante-room where the cardinals attended the pope while he was dressed prior to entering the Consistory Hall.⁸ The one area here that gives a further indication of the palace's pictorial character is St John's Chapel in a tower extending from the middle of the Consistory Hall. Reserved for high-standing dignitaries, it retains its vaulting and much of the frescoes painted for Clement VI by Matteo Giovannetti between 1346 and 1348 depicting St John the Evangelist and St John the Baptist.

DESCRIPTION: THE NEW PALACE (1342–1351)

Clement VI, one of the most colourful, generous, and profligate popes, added the larger second court to the palace. He extended his predecessor's wing of papal accommodation, followed by two vast apartments that filled the south range – a replacement audience hall with a replacement chapel above. This newly created Great Court was closed to the town of Avignon by the High Dignitaries Wing housing the New Palace entry and guard rooms at ground level, with offices above for the notaries and the treasurer.

Entry and Great Court

The palace lacks a balanced frontage. The severity of the earlier west frontage is offset by the more elaborate, decorative façade that thrusts itself upon the visitor. Yet instead of a towered entrance as in the Old Palace, the approach to the New Palace is marked by a decorated archway surmounted by the arms of Clement VI and a pair of graceful pinnaced turrets. The open excavations, the now gravelled yard, the plain walling of the ranges round the court, and the small windows that the exceptions on the west side barely redress, make the Great Court a cheerless place. It holds two subsidiary but portcullis-protected entries, the Notre Dame Gate towards the cathedral and the Peyrolerie or Coppersmiths Gate to the streets south-east of the palace.



Pl. 4 Avignon, the Papal Palace: Great Audience Hall

The Great Audience Hall

This imposing apartment is divided by a line of five pillars into two vaulted naves. 171 feet by 55 feet and 36 feet high, the vaulting is supported on the side walls by sculptured corbels of mythical beasts. It is extremely well lit by five windows in the south wall and by two windows in both end walls. This hall held the Court of Apostolic Judgments which assigned ecclesiastical benefices across Europe. The Court sat in the double end bay, separated by a barrier from the rest of the hall which was used as a waiting area. The twenty prophets on the end vault were painted by Giovannetti in 1353 for 600 gold florins but the enormous Last Judgement painted on the north wall no longer exists.

The Great Stair

Whereas the earlier stairs in the palace were dark and steep, this double flight of stairs was well lit, served by three landings, and was vaulted throughout. Built in 1346, it was an innovative architectural concept by Jean de Louvres. The rising height of the vaulted bays was achieved by doubling the thickness of the Audience Hall wall. The approach, formerly guarded by three wooden doors, was lit by windows overlooking the Great Court, and terminated in the loggia of the Great Chapel. It was from the window here with its elaborate tracery head that the pope would give his triple blessing to the crowd in the courtyard below.

Clement VI Chapel

Opposite the 'indulgence' window was the great door to Clement VI's chapel. With its two lines of figures and sculpted tympanum of the Last Judgement, this doorway is the only elaborately decorated

one in the palace. Despite the ravages wrought by the Black Death, this chapel dedicated to St Peter and Paul, was built in less than four years between 1348 and 1352. It is of similar dimensions to the Audience Hall below but is 66 feet high and has no line of central pillars so that it is a single nave structure, typical of churches in southern France. It is divided into seven vaulted bays with the ribs supported on slim wall columns. The first three bays were used by the choir and there were two sacristies nearby. The chapel is lit by four twin-light windows in the south wall and two pairs in both end walls. The windows were filled with stained glass, now lost, but there was no painted decoration on the walls. On ceremonial days, they were covered with green hangings decorated with red and with rugs laid on the floor. This chapel was the setting for pontifical ceremonies including important masses and papal coronations but today, except for the plain stone altar on the original base slab of 1352, there is nothing to distinguish this empty room from a secular hall. Yet the combined design of this apartment with the Audience Hall below forms the masterpiece of Jean de Louvres. However, the chapel had not been part of the original designs so that it soon needed the additional structural support provided by St Laurence's Tower and the massive flying buttress towards the street.

The St Laurence Tower was planned by Clement VI but carried out by Innocent VI during the mid-1350s. It not only helped to support the chapel but its rock foundations, buttresses and vaulted floors protected the vulnerable south-east corner of the palace.

Entry Range

The High Dignitaries Wing of 1345–47 was built to meet the papacy's administrative expansion under Clement VI. It included the principal entry and guard rooms at ground level and a complex room layout above. The ground floor rooms are vaulted and well windowed towards the courtyard. The rooms above are fenestrated towards the outer face of the palace with a narrow gallery towards the courtyard. This latter accessed a suite at each end for the chamberlain and treasurer appropriate to their offices as High Dignitaries, separated by a room for their clerks and the portcullis chamber. On the second floor, facing the Great Court, was a far more elegant vaulted gallery with slender ribs supported on finely carved animal and grotesque corbels. It was completed by Innocent VI (1360) and was used by the cardinals processing to and from the Clement VI chapel and their apartments in the Old Palace.

At that level, the south stair opened into an extended chamber above the Great Stair and the north sacristy. Known as the Great Promenade, it was formerly spanned by six vaulted bays, built to counterbalance the thrust of the great chapel. This long gallery with its seven windows overlooking the Great Court was of considerable splendour and was sometimes used as a dining room for distinguished guests. Today, it retains only a shadow of its former magnificence as the vaulting has been destroyed – one of the palace's major architectural losses.

Décor and Furnishings

The palace retains some evidence of its sumptuous décor for many walls were covered with coloured decoration ranging from geometric designs to secular scenes and religious imagery. Initially the principal rooms were decorated with frescoes rather than tapestries which were still in an early stage of development. Though the surviving decorations are few and in a damaged state, it is particularly fortunate that some of the secular paintings have been recovered when so few examples survive from the fourteenth century.⁹

FORM AND FUNCTION

More than most royal palaces, that at Avignon was multi-functional. In practical terms it was the administrative and financial heart of Christianity, and a religious as well as a ceremonial centre. It symbolised the ruler's omnipotent authority but it was also a retreat from public duty. There was therefore an extremely close interaction between form and function at Avignon where public duties and ecclesiastical bureaucracy were as important as personal residence and privacy.

From its earliest days, the papal palace was developed round two courtyards. Under John XXII, the principal apartments were grouped round the Cloister Court including those for the pope, but a small outer court was formed between the Main Gate on the north side, the Treasury on the east side, and the Audience Hall on the south side.¹⁰ Twenty-five years later, Clement VI retained the Treasury but pulled down the Audience Hall to develop his much larger Great Court.

A hall in any palace was distinct from other apartments by its size and accessibility, but where the pope's palace differed from those of royalty was in the number of halls within a single site. The number in the papal palaces of the thirteenth century is remarkable. There were at least two at Rieti, probably three to six at the Vatican, six in Viterbo, and eight in Orvieto.¹¹ They were basically rectangular, like contemporary secular structures, were frequently aisled but they also encompassed a single wide space. They differed in scale from modest to majestic with the windows often giving the apartment architectural articulation. There are at least nine halls in Avignon with this, same identifying feature, longitudinally orientated as were the royal halls in France and England.¹² Separate halls were necessary for use by the pope on ceremonial occasions and for meetings with his cardinals in consistory. The chancellor and the treasurer had their own departmental halls as essential to their administrative functions.

Where there was a greater convergence between papal and royal accommodation lay in the number of sovereign apartments. Initially, there were only four at Avignon – an outer reception chamber, a study, the papal bedchamber, and the destroyed dining chamber (fig. 3). They were quickly found to be insufficient and as in royal palaces, they were extended in number to meet the increasing needs of function and privacy. The Wardrobe Tower provided five further private rooms. As at Vincennes and the Louvre as well as at Avignon, this development was in vertical mode whereas the sovereign's lodgings twenty years later at Windsor Castle were all on a single floor in a progression of increasing privacy.

The Avignon palace is a leading example of the crossover between ecclesiastical and secular architecture and one that also illustrates the same movement in contemporary painting. The palace is not simply a residence nor a spiritual centre but a sacred and political statement. It fulfils a role of communal identity not unlike the civic purposes of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence or the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena. The sacred character of the Pope's palace was just as important as its residential, financial and legal purposes. This was appreciated in the rapid adoption of a different architectural form and style between the Old and New Palace – between a cloister with covered walks and a wide open courtyard. It is possibly because the palace was neither a purely ecclesiastical nor an entirely secular building that architectural specialists in these two different fields have avoided analysing this leading fourteenth-century structure of multi-purpose function. Yet it is a prime example of the interplay between religious form and secular purpose. Initially, the fortress dominated the cloister, even though the residence was the home of peace-loving people. Subsequently, preference was given to a more open and welcoming domestic form in a richly decorative Gothic style.

As the pope considered himself to be among the most powerful rulers of the world, the scale of his residence as much as its contents had to demonstrate this. He might expect that his position as head

of the Catholic Church would obviate the need for any defensive measures but he also knew that the civil war in Italy had shown that supporters of the German Emperor would not hesitate to attack the property of the pope and his supporters. The Old Palace was therefore given essential defences which were maintained by Clement VI and were subsequently strengthened by Innocent VI to deal with the escalating threat from roving mercenaries.

The Old Palace was dominated by two north-facing towers with corbel-supported machicolated parapets. The Trouillas Tower served as a keep while the Bell Tower was built on the highest point of the rock. Neither tower was buttressed whereas the equally strong Pope's Tower with its ten feet thick walls was so strengthened. The natural rock provided a solid base for the foundations of the extremely thick walling that marks this palace. Mining was impossible while the fine quality stonework would have resisted pickaxes.

Clement VI added three small towers to the three dominant ones¹³ but it was Innocent VI who added the further major tower at the south-east angle. Consequently, the view of the rear façade of the palace with its towering walls interrupted by the line of taller projecting towers gives a more vivid idea of the palace's defensive character and capability than from the Place des Palais. All the towers flank or command the outer walls while all three building phases used contra arches for supporting the embattled parapet which became the *leitmotif* of the palace.

Innocent VI also hurriedly initiated the construction of the town walls during the late 1350s to serve as an outer defence to the palace. Completed by 1376, this major two and three-quarter mile circuit included over 20 feet high ramparts, 7 gates and 35 towers, all moat protected. In effect, this enclosure emulated Charles V's development of the palace-fortress at Vincennes although on a far greater scale. This massive building surge in and around Avignon between 1335 and 1376 to meet the defensive and residential needs of the popes, the cardinals, and their retinues made the area a virtual building site during much of the fourteenth century.

STYLES AND INFLUENCES

Although Provence had maintained the Romanesque style far longer than elsewhere in France, the Gothic form was introduced through the marriage of Charles of Anjou to Beatrice of Provence in 1246. By the mid-fourteenth century, it was the preferred style with its development facilitated by the construction of the papal palace and by several churches, convents, and cardinals' residences in and around Avignon.

As a former Cistercian monk, Benedict XII was austere and financially prudent. Building was therefore majestic and practical, with sculpted decorative work virtually banned. Internally, the larger rooms relied for their enhancement on majestic wood-framed ceilings. The Old Palace would have looked even more austere than today before the more decorative outer court of Clement VI hid the previously public-facing south and south-west frontages.

Clement VI eschewed such limitations in favour of splendour and panache, with larger windows towards the town, rooms vaulted with intersecting ribs, and considerably more rayonnant-style internal decoration. The plainness of the earlier work as demonstrated by the moulded ribs to the terrace and cloister doorways gave way to the far more decorative style exemplified by the doorway to Clement VI's chapel or to the Champeaux entry with its hanging keystone, outer line of carving, and twelve rebated lines supporting the tourelles above (pl. 1). Staircases were wider; windows were larger and enhanced by capitals and traceried heads, while corbels were carved with animals and vegetation. Less than a generation separated the austere

cloister walks of Benedict XII from the refined vaulted gallery in Clement VI's High Dignitaries Wing.

To have more imposing settings for his lifestyle, Clement VI replaced Benedict XII's beamed audience hall and elongated chapel with a far more imposing vaulted reception hall and a more magnificent and accessible chapel. Yet though Jean de Louvres' work was bold, some of it was risky, possibly the consequence of working under the direct orders of an impatient Clement VI. The vaulting of the Great Chapel put such considerable pressure on its outer walls that they had to be given subsidiary support in 1357 by the addition of St Laurence's Tower and the gigantic flying buttress nearby that cost 1,500 florins. Though the walls of the Gache Tower were thickened as they became higher, the top floor had to be taken down in the seventeenth century to avoid its total collapse. Site difficulties meant that de Louvres' was unable to achieve the regularity of Villandraut¹⁴ or Vincennes castles. Nor was the entrance a formidable statement like that of the Fort St André (1292) at

Villeneuve-lès-Avignon on the opposite bank of the river Rhône.¹⁵ Considering his profligate self-indulgence, the architectural character of Clement VI's work was surprisingly restrained. The vaulting in the Audience Hall and Clement VI's Chapel is impressive but the window tracery is calm, surprisingly so when ceremonial was of paramount importance.

Some of the elements of the Old Palace such as its window tracery and capitals are the borrowings of religious forms to serve as decoration in a secular environment, but the introduction of rib vaults within the New Palace and their increasing complexity points to a more fundamental structural embracement of church architecture. It is a blend repeated at Malbork Castle and influenced the development of the Valois castles later in the century.



Pl. 5 Avignon, the Papal Palace: entry to Clement VI chapel

CONCLUSION

For over seventy years, the capital of Christianity functioned from a city on the border with France rather than from central Italy. This period included the first part of the Hundred Years War in which successive popes attempted to mediate and wield a tendentious political influence. The consequence was that the papal court gradually outshone all the other European courts through its increasing extravagance, the splendour of its banquets, and the richness of its décor and furnishings. For Jean Froissart, it was 'the most beautiful and strongest house in the world' – a reflection of its overtly dual function. Under Clement VI, 'the papal palace ... had the air of a hedonistic secular court rather than the celibate capital of Christendom'.¹⁶ However, as soon as the pope returned to Rome, the light swiftly dimmed on Avignon's cultural and artistic activity leaving the royal and ducal courts supreme in France.

The pope's palace at Avignon is a classic example of the transition from fortress to palace with the construction of the New Palace during the 1340s marking the turning point. This development was slightly earlier than the similar transitions at Karlstein and Windsor castles and well before the work of Charles V of France. For during the fourteenth century, Avignon was an artistic melting pot of widespread influence. While both courtyards were built by French architects, there is a record of at least one English mason, John the Englishman working there between 1336 and 1341.¹⁷ Italian influence can be seen in the straight flight of steps that make up the Great Stair, a precedent for several such stairs in Venice that culminate in the Golden Staircase of the Doge's Palace. Initially, the internal decoration of the palace was entrusted to Frenchmen, but the work was subsequently undertaken by Italian and other artists.¹⁸

Like the Old and New Testaments, the Old and New Palaces are an integrated composition. The one is a necessary prelude to the other and they cannot be considered apart. The result is a spectacular residence that almost beggars belief for its construction and near completion in under twenty-five years. The only comparable example of such a mammoth project that immediately comes to mind is the Escorial Palace in central Spain with its 16 courtyards and several thousand rooms, erected between 1560 and the mid-1580s. It was similarly a focus of over-reaching power with administrative offices, legal and financial departments, royal quarters, and a centre of perpetual prayer.

As the Avignon palace has been stripped of the lapis lazuli and gold paintings that formerly adorned its walls,¹⁹ lacks the fires necessary to protect the apartments from the cold winters and the bitter Mistral winds, and is without the gardens that could be admired from the window seats in the Grand Tinel, a visit to this residence can be a cold and rather forbidding experience. Yet it still demonstrates the impressive scale and architectural strength of one of the primary buildings of medieval Europe. It reflects the prestige and cultural patronage bestowed by the popes during the fourteenth century and the movement from a fortress to a more comfortable palace environment. Unfortunately, its internal barrenness leaves the visitor with the predominant impression of gloominess rather than the colour, grandeur, and opulence of this late medieval seat built for the leader of Christendom.

Notes

1. The palace's development was established by Gabriel Colombe in a series of articles published between 1910 and 1942, mainly in *Mémoires de l'Académie de Vaucluse*. His work was summarised in his monograph *Le Palais des Papes d'Avignon* (1939).
2. P.N.R. Zutshi & H. Kaminky in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 6 (2000), 664. Benedict's master of works was Pierre Poisson from Mirapaix near Carcassonne where the pope had been bishop.

3. The palace was attacked in 1398, under siege in 1403 and 1410, and partially damaged by fire in 1413. It was subsequently occupied by papal legates until 1791 when it was plundered, converted into a prison, and then occupied by the army until 1906.
4. From the latin 'tina' meaning a barrel and used to describe a refectory.
5. The earlier kitchen of 1339–40 was at ground level north of the Consistory Hall. It subsequently continued to work in parallel with the Upper Kitchen.
6. These papal apartments should be visited in a vertical rather than horizontal mode to appreciate their planning, but this is not practical for the visitor.
7. This work can be compared with the secular frescoes by Lorenzetti in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena (1337–39).
8. Today, the Hall is used to display artefacts found on the site such as floor tiles, stained glass, and some sculpture with most of it coming from the New Palace and reflecting the change in taste such as the greater use of decorative corbels after 1342.
9. J. Dupont & C. Gnudi, *Gothic Painting* (1954), 130–33. The most extensive cycle of frescoes by Giovennetti survive in the nearby Charterhouse at Villeneuve-lès-Avignon.
10. B. Schimmelpfennig in *Architecture et Vie Sociale a la Renaissance*, ed. J. Guillaume (1994) 26–30.
11. G.M. Radke in *Architecture et Vie Sociale ...* (1994), 12. See also Tim Tatton-Brown, *Archaeological Journal* 158 (2001), 371–76.
12. Halls in Germany were usually focused on the centre of the long side or the back wall.
13. As the uppermost storey of the Gache Tower was taken down in the seventeenth century, its original form is no longer apparent.
14. As soon as Clement V accepted the triple crown, he developed the imposing angle and twin-towered gatehouse defended castle protecting a lavish courtyard residence at Villandraut, his Aquitaine birthplace (1305–10).
15. It is all too easy to assume that the powerful Fort St André that still crowns Villeneuve-lès-Avignon on the opposite bank of the River Rhône from the palace was intended to be a constant reminder of the French king's all-powerful presence. With its twelve cardinal residences, Villeneuve was a wealthy prize for roving freebooters which John the Good appreciated during his extended visit in 1369. He was probably responsible for initiating the fortifications with the great gatehouse first mentioned in 1367.
16. E. Mullins, *Avignon of the Popes* (2007), 116.
17. J. Harvey, *English Medieval Architects* (1984), 100. P. Binski, *Gothic Wonder* (2014) 232, 252, 254–60.
18. Illustrated in A. Chastel, *French Art: 1* (1994), 285. An English painter, Master Thomas, is also mentioned in 1333. J. Harvey, *The Gothic World* (1950), 103.
19. As still seen in St Martial's Chapel.

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ENGLAND: 1330–1360

AMBITION AND SUCCESS AT WAR

The early years of the War were marked by intensive manoeuvring by Edward III of England and Philip VI of France to gain valuable support from the several players that made up the Low Countries. Edward's purpose was to use the important wool exports from England as a political bargaining tool. Flanders was ruled by a weak count but supported by an aristocracy that was French in sympathy whereas the wealthy Flemish burghers and towns such as Bruges and Ghent strongly favoured the English. Their livelihood depended on English wool for the high-quality cloths for which they are famed. Edward's efforts also encompassed John, duke of Brabant as well as William of Hainault, count of Holland and Zeeland, and the duke of Gelderland further east. This quartet formed the core of Edward's alliances, supported by several minor German princelings and was crowned by Edward's appointment as Vicar of the Holy Roman Empire by the Emperor, Ludwig of Bavaria (1338).

For his part, Philip VI also sought alliances in the same area which was France's richest province. They included persuading Louis, count of Flanders to support him as well as John of Luxembourg (also king of Bohemia) and the count of Zweibrücken. In the south, Philip concluded a treaty of alliance with Alfonso XI of Castile (with his valuable fleet) but he failed to gain the support of the Emperor who was the sworn enemy of the Francophile pope in Avignon.

Not surprisingly, the first battles of the war in 1338 and 1339 were not so much fought on French soil as on that of the more autonomous Flanders. In the end, however, Edward III's alliances with the Flemish towns had little effect on the course of the conflict. By the early 1340s, his impressive phalanx of alliances had collapsed. The planned encirclement of the Valois dynasty by the Low Countries and Germany had failed, leaving the Flemish towns to embrace the Francophile wishes of their count, now in exile in the French court until his death at the battle of Crécy.

Three years fighting in the Low Countries had brought Edward III nothing but hardship, bankruptcy, and military failure. The Low Country princes had deserted him as swiftly as the Emperor, while Edward had lost the county of Ponthieu, part of Aquitaine, and most of Lowland Scotland for there was always potential danger along the English northern border if Scotland formed an alliance with France. The alliances had proved financially ruinous. Edward's response was vindictive rage against many of the leading officers and lesser officials whom he blamed for his failure and humiliation.

Whereas the war had begun as a feudal struggle between two irreconcilable adversaries, it was the Flemings who seem to have persuaded Edward to elevate it into a dynastic struggle in 1340 by asserting

at Ghent his right to the throne of France. His claim to the title and arms of the king of France inaugurated a new posture in Anglo-French relations. Whereas neither country had believed that the conflict was more than a quarrel about feudal sovereignty in Aquitaine-Gascony, nor that it would extend beyond a few seasons of warfare, it now became impossible for either side to compromise. This aspect of the war long remained in the background of events until it almost seemed to succeed when the crowns of France and England were united on the young head of Henry VI ninety years later.

Almost immediately after the collapse of Edward's alliances, a new field offered itself to attack the Valois dynasty. Edward seized the opportunity to intervene in the disputed succession to the duchy of Brittany. Charles of Blois was favoured by Philip VI whilst John, count of Montfort had appealed to Edward for support. Expeditions sent from England rescued Montfort's cause in a war that proved fierce and unrelenting. It lasted nearly a generation until it was resolved at the battle of Auray (1364) when Charles of Blois was defeated. The Brittany war can seem like a distraction to Edward's purpose but it helped to restore English prestige while at the same time, it weakened the Valois adversary. English successes also raised the profiles of its commanders, enhanced their standing for valour, and enriched their coffers with booty.

Meanwhile, French nit-pickings in Guyenne (Aquitaine) had brought that duchy to the forefront of concern so that an army under the command of the earl of Derby pushed forward taking Aiguillon and defeating a French army at Auberoche (1345). Edward III landed in the Cotentin peninsula in the following year, faced little opposition in Normandy, took Caen, and might have thought of marching on Paris except that the latent French aristocracy finally flocked round Philip VI to defeat the English in the field. The battle at Crécy (1346) was as great a victory for Edward III as it was a stunning defeat for Philip VI. The subsequent surrender of Calais (1347) confirmed the English king's resolve and the weakness of the French nation and its monarch.

Edward's success arose, in part, because of the support of the aristocracy in his plans for foreign campaigns whereas some of the French aristocracy put themselves first rather than their country. Consequently, most of the English campaigns were led by earls such as Arundel, Huntingdon, Northampton, Pembroke, Salisbury and Warwick. The northern lords of Mowbray, Neville and Percy were charged with guarding the Scottish frontier but a grateful king ensured they did not miss out on the opportunity to benefit from the war in France. Nor was the practice abandoned by Henry V and Bedford during the second phase of the war.

The plague that swept across Europe from 1347 to the early 1350s so reduced the population and brought such confusion and calamity that there was little military activity for several years until the Black Prince led one of the two most destructive raids undertaken by the English throughout the war. That was in 1355 when the Anglo-Gascon army adopted a scorched-earth policy through parts of Languedoc almost to the Mediterranean, hitherto a region unscathed by the war. Bordeaux was again the starting point for the regrouped second raid which headed northwards through Poitou towards the Loire with the intention of meeting up with Navarrese sympathisers and the army of the duke of Lancaster in Lower Normandy. But the pursuing army of John II forced the Black Prince's withdrawal towards Guyenne and entrenchment near Poitiers. French defeat at the battle there (1356) included the capture of their king and two of his sons, and the capture or death of over 4,000 men. France's misfortune and losses reverberated throughout Europe.

The dauphin, the future Charles V, had to take charge, though he was only eighteen years old, untried, feeble, and beset by financial problems and civil war. The rudderless government attempted to hold talks to free the French king and bring peace to the country. Discussions were uneasy until Edward III and

his sons ravaged Artois and Champagne as far as Burgundy, and then the Parisian countryside (1359). As their attempts to take the capital failed, negotiations for a settlement were reached at Brétigny near Chartres (1360). It was seen as a general accord of peace with the two kings working in harmony, having resolved the sovereignty of an enlarged Aquitaine in Edward's favour and with the English king in receipt of a third of John the Good's ransom. The terms were confirmed by the Treaty of Calais (1360) but they were not fully ratified and therein lay the foundations for future discord.

ENGLISH ROYAL AND SEMI-ROYAL PALACES

Between 1277 and 1301 Edward I consolidated his conquest of central and north Wales with a ring of commanding castles. Edward II limited his residential building to a lavish four storeyed solar tower at Knaresborough Castle (1307–12) specifically for his unpopular favourite, Piers Gaveston, newly created earl of Cornwall.¹ Edward III's court was far more concerned with cultural and artistic interests than that of his father, particularly as they reflected military endeavours. Tournaments, masques, royal gifts, manuscripts and romances became an integral element of royal and baronial life style as were their residences. Despite the very substantial expenditure incurred, not a great deal of standing evidence of royal activity survives from this period. What does remain occurs at two sites, the excavated evidence of the palace at Kennington and the standing evidence encompassed in the later remodelling of Windsor Castle.

Kennington manor was acquired by the Black Prince in 1337 and became his principal residence less than two miles south-east of Westminster Palace. Excavations in 1965–1968 combined with an analysis of the documentation has shown that it was built in two phases, c.1340–52 and c.1353–63. The first floor hall of the 1340s was erected over a vaulted undercroft used as a wine cellar. It was not well built and became unstable. The undercroft was filled in to support the hall above but this proved unsatisfactory so that the hall was rebuilt in the 1350s, now enhanced with three dais-end fireplaces as occurred later at Poitiers Palace and Kenilworth Castle. The chamber block was rebuilt and extended and a new timber-framed kitchen was provided but whereas the chamber block had originally been a separate unit, it was now integrated with the hall at the rebuilding stage with opposing stair projections from the dais. A number of subsidiary structures were identified including a gatehouse, stables, and several administrative units, together with the identification of two gardens and part of the palisaded park.² The excavations also revealed examples of the internal décor including figure sculpture, floor tiles, decorated plasterwork, and painted glass hinting at the richly decorated interiors. The Black Prince was at Bordeaux between 1362 and 1371 but he returned to Kennington in 1371 and probably died there five years later. The palace survived relatively unaltered until it was demolished by Henry VIII in 1531.

The second phase of the work at Kennington coincided with the remodelling of Windsor Castle which was initiated with the rebuilding of the keep in 1355–57 to provide temporary accommodation for Edward III and his queen while the major work of rebuilding the royal accommodation in the upper ward was put in hand. This was developed round three courtyards with the principal apartments at first floor level above undercrofts. The courtyard façade, the earliest example of the fully developed Perpendicular style in a secular residence, was dominated by two gatehouses. One accessed the principal stair to the royal apartments and the other led to the kitchens. The hall and chapel were built back to back in a unified design, with two suites of apartments of increasing privacy for the king and queen. They were both of considerable decorative character which can still be gleaned from the surviving

Rose Tower that formed part of the king's suite of nine rooms. With the rebuilt keep and the royal residence filling two sides of the upper ward, the remaining sides were lined with two extended ranges of household lodgings from 1364 onwards. Edward's work at Windsor exceeded £50,000 – the largest sum spent on a single royal project during the middle ages.

The records identify improvements undertaken at Eltham Palace between 1350 and 1359 including new lodgings for Edward III and his wife on the east side of the inner court but nothing of this survives at the site today.³ Nor has the work at the Palace of Westminster fared any better. By 1330, much of the palace had become the irregular meeting place for the royal courts and the centre for official departments leaving only a smaller part for the personal use of the royal family. Edward III's work included a tall clock tower facing the great hall and the completion of St Stephen's Chapel that had been initiated with the lower chapel by Edward I. Modelled on the Sainte Chapelle, Paris, work on the upper chapel had continued under Edward II between 1320 and 1326 with Edward III completing the interior by 1348 with a wooden roof, vaulted to look like stone, followed by a programme of lavish internal decoration.⁴ Fragments of the last survive in the British Museum where the painted stonework gives some idea of the richness of the courtly style within this jewel casket.

Edward III built a house for himself at Rotherhithe (1353–56) that has been excavated, updated some of the defences at the Tower of London, now a vital centre for the storage and supply of military equipment during the war, and acquired several hunting lodges close to Windsor Forest.⁵ The Rotherhithe residence on the south bank of the Thames lay between the palaces of Westminster and Eltham. It was essentially a small country house that became a favoured residence during Edward's later years. It followed a double-courtyard plan with the outer court of timber-framed ranges and a stone-built inner court with two storeyed ranges for the royal family close to the riverside.⁶

One other palace was rebuilt during the mid-fourteenth century of which nothing survives except its reputation. Henry Grosmont had proved a successful commander during his six expeditions to France and was elevated to the dukedom of Lancaster in 1352. He rebuilt the family home in the Strand between the city of London and Westminster on the profits it is claimed, from the wars in France and particularly from the capture of Bergerac in the Dordogne. It was a stone structure built round two courtyards with some roofs thatched. The palace included a hall, a substantial chapel, a suite of private apartments facing inwards rather than towards the river, and a cloister. Construction spanned 1350 to 1357 and cost the enormous sum of £35,000. The palace was used to accommodate King John of France during his exile in England in 1357 and again in 1364. Unfortunately the building was destroyed during the Great Revolt of 1381 as a consequence of John of Gaunt's unpopularity with the Londoners. Gaunt never rebuilt the property but left the ruins to stand as a memorial to the bitterness of Londoners towards him and his family and the fragility of worldly splendour.⁷

Towards the close of his reign, Edward III undertook two further projects, the remodelling of the early thirteenth century castle at Hadleigh on the north side of the Thames estuary (1360–65) and the lost castle at Queenborough on the south side of the estuary. His activity at Hadleigh included defensive as well as residential work in view of the possibility of a French invasion up the Thames. It included two large circular towers facing the Thames estuary (by 1365), a 'high' tower near a new entrance and barbican (by 1368). The residential work included a private suite for the king who increasingly resided here. Unfortunately, his work has been subject to landslips and therefore lost leaving the east towers in a badly distorted condition.⁸

Notes

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6. S. Blatherwick, *A Royal Residence at Rotherhithe: Excavations 1985–94* (2009). The ruins of the inner court have been left exposed.
7. A. Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses*, 3 (2006), 240–43. R. Somerville, *The Savoy* (1960). The Savoy Hotel stands close to the site of this mansion.
8. P.L. Drewett, *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 38 (1975), 90–154. H.M. Colvin (ed.) *Hist. of the King's Works*, vol. 2 (1963) 659–66.

WINDSOR CASTLE

Windsor Castle is divided into three substantial areas enclosed by the fortifications that have determined its shape. The Lower Ward houses St George's Chapel together with its associated college of dean, canons, and military knights. The Middle Ward is mainly filled by the ditch surrounding the motte which is surmounted by the Round Tower, now housing the royal archives. The Upper Ward encloses the royal palace which is divided into two elements. On the north side are the state apartments, formerly used by the monarch until 1828 but now on display to the public. On the east and south side are the apartments used by the present royal family as their private residence.

Early Development

Windsor Castle was first established by William the Conqueror on a chalk bluff commanding the river Thames. The initial timber and earth structure was adopted as a royal residence by Henry I in about 1110 and has remained so to the present day. Henry I seems to have built the first stone residence – the origin of the present state apartments – and possibly the first stone shell keep.

After the castle was subject to an unsuccessful three month siege by the French army in 1216, the earlier defences were fundamentally strengthened with a new gatehouse, curtain wall and stone towers creating the castle's present circuit and hourglass form. Between 1236 and 1261, Henry III redeveloped the royal apartments on the north side of the upper ward round a courtyard on the site of the present Waterloo Chamber (fig. 5). Though considerable documentary material survives relevant to this work and much thirteenth century masonry has been identified (mainly hidden), no coherent plan of this royal residence has been determined.

The Order of the Round Table and of the Garter

Edward III's initial work at Windsor was spurred by the growing cult of chivalry. At a tournament and feast held at Windsor in January 1344 (in fact, a recruiting drive for military support), the thirty-two-year-old king announced the foundation of the Order of the Round Table. In 2006, the foundations of an enormous building with an outer wall of stone, 200 feet in diameter were partially excavated in the south-east angle of the upper ward.¹ They were interpreted as the lower courses of a cloister enclosed open court, not unlike the plan of the circular castle at Bellver, Majorca (1300–10). It would

enable the 300 knights to re-enact Arthurian legends and romances in a setting that would demonstrate Edward's power and prestige in his claim to the French throne. Shortly afterwards, victory at Crécy and taking Calais firmly established Edward's reputation so that he initiated the much more exclusive Order of the Garter three years later, made up of the twenty-four commanders who had helped him win that campaign. As that Order was to be based on a college of canons and knights, it was centred on a remodelling of Henry III's chapel and great hall in the lower ward.² Whereas the Round Table was essentially a secular order, the Garter was primarily a religious foundation with secular members. The round table structure was therefore pulled down shortly after 1358 when the new accommodation for the Garter order had been celebrated with a great feast.

RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT

The splendour of this occasion was in harmony with recent political events, for the war with France had swung decisively in England's favour with the dramatic success at the battle of Poitiers and the capture of the French king (1356). The seismic expansion of Edward's building programme at Windsor reflected the euphoria of a monarch now seen to be of European standing. So far, work on the royal lodgings in the Upper Ward had been limited to repairs. The wholesale rebuilding of these apartments between 1357 and 1377 cost £44,000, the most expensive secular building project in England throughout the middle ages. In addition, a further £6,500 was incurred between 1350 and 1357 on remodelling the keep and establishing the college in the Lower Ward, with just over £500 on the aborted Round Table building.³

The residential development of the Upper Ward extended across three phases, initiated by remodelling the Round Tower between 1353 and 1357 to provide a temporary royal lodging before work was put in hand on the much larger project of rebuilding the Upper Ward accommodation. The second phase began with the reconstruction of the inner gatehouse (the misnamed Norman Gate) in 1358, a defensive-looking but ceremonial entrance, and proceeded clockwise round the ward to the south-west corner. The construction of the royal apartments serving both king and queen was undertaken in a surprisingly short time, with the majority of work completed between 1357 and 1363, followed by the finishing trades including plastering, paving, glass, and furnishings between 1363 and 1365. The appointment of a keeper of the Upper Ward in October 1365 suggests that the royal lodgings were ready for occupation. The third phase was the development of an extended line of lodging ranges round the east and south sides of the Upper Ward from 1364 onwards. Though the detailed accounts cease at the end of 1368, the total expenditure incurred shows a marked falling off after 1370 until the king's death seven years later.

The Round Tower

The interior of the earlier shell keep was totally rebuilt as a self-contained house in 1355–58 with laths purchased in 1354, timber felled in 1355 and the necessary stone foundations laid in 1356–57. The structure, initiated by the royal surveyor Robert Burnham and completed by William Wykeham is a unique residential survival. It is very probable that this structure was used as temporary accommodation by Edward III and Queen Philippa while the rebuilding of their apartments in the Upper Ward was in hand.

Edward III's portcullis protected entry opened into a small central court enclosed by four timber-framed ranges abutting the inside of the shell keep with triangular spaces in the corners. The

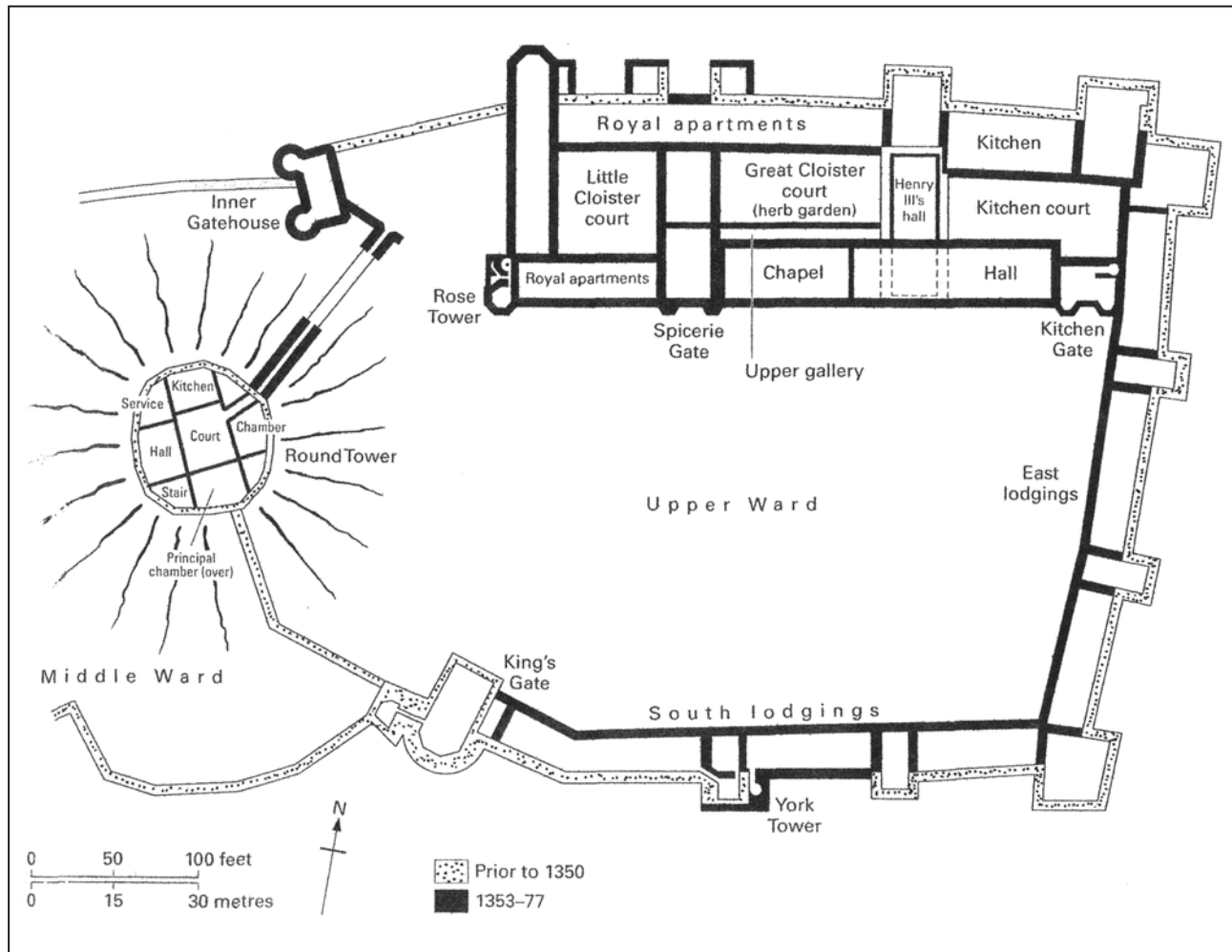


Fig. 5 Windsor Castle: site plan of the Round Tower and the Upper Ward

single-storey hall and kitchen were on the west and north sides with two storeyed residential ranges positioned on the south and east sides (see fig. 5). Despite alterations in about 1670 and Wyattville's heightening of the tower in 1830–31 for scenic reasons, the framework of the mid-fourteenth century ranges round the central court still survives with retained doorways, transomed windows, roofs and the hall louvre as well as high quality painted glass and decorated floor tiles.

The Royal Apartments

Edward III ruthlessly remodelled the earlier royal house on the north side of the Upper Ward. He retained the twelfth century curtain walls but enclosed the towers and raised them to an essentially uniform height to create the martial skyline that the castle still asserts.

The new palace was an expansion of the courtyard residence of the 1160s, now flanked by an additional courtyard on each side. These three courts in line – the Little Cloister, the Great or King's Cloister, and the Kitchen Court – were all enclosed by two-storeyed ranges. By building the ceremonial as well as his personal accommodation above a line of tall ground floor undercrofts, Edward III created a palace in the form which has dictated all subsequent developments.

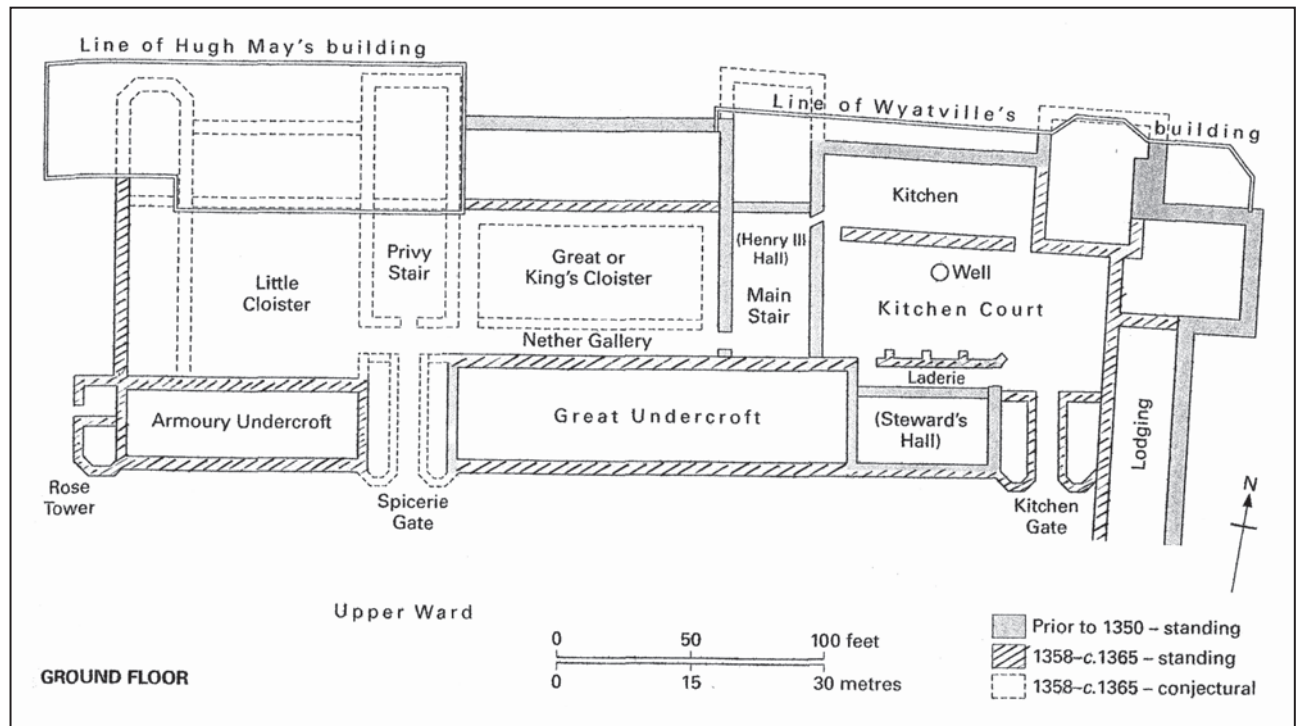


Fig. 6 Windsor Castle: ground plan of royal apartments c.1365



Pl. 6 Windsor Castle: Great Undercroft

All three courts have since been covered over but the main apartments were disposed round the Little and Great cloisters. The most private rooms were built against Henry II's curtain wall, while the parallel south range facing the body of the ward held the ceremonial rooms and the approach to the king's apartments. The south frontage was the principal one, with a small corner tower (Rose Tower) near the shell keep, the Spicerie or primary gateway positioned almost opposite Henry II's gatehouse to the Upper Ward, and the Kitchen gateway further east (fig. 6). Because of post medieval developments, Hollar's 1658 view of the castle provides the most important evidence for the plan and character of Edward's palace-complex (pl. 8).

Not surprisingly, several centuries of alterations, rebuilding and infilling have left only five structures from Edward's palace complex – the Great Undercroft below the royal hall and chapel, the Armoury Undercroft below some of the king's apartments, the Rose or royal privy tower, the kitchen, and a short arcaded walk opposite. Except for the royal privy tower, all five structures are limited to ground level. Our picture of Edward's residence is necessarily incomplete and will be subject to modification as more evidence comes to light in the future.

The south frontage that proclaimed the scale and character of Edward's palace is essentially the work of James Wyatt (1796) trying to reflect its medieval antecedent. He destroyed the Spicerie gateway but elements of the Kitchen gateway were incorporated in Wyatville's replacement entrance of 1825. However, the present south frontage conceals three vaulted undercrofts that give us an idea of the scale of Edward III's hall, chapel, and private apartments they supported. The Great Undercroft of thirteen bays (with a narrower five vault extension of possibly earlier date) and the Armoury Undercroft of eight bays are divided by a line of central octagonal pillars supporting the quadripartite vaults of 1362–63. There are no decorative capitals or roof bosses in these areas of plain but monumental character.

The recovery of Edward III's kitchen after the 1992 fire has been a revelation. It is one of the finest rooms in the Upper Ward as well as among the oldest and least changed kitchens in Europe. 80 feet by 30 feet and rising through two floors, it held three hearths (two still in use) and retains its original roof and lantern of 1362–63 (altered in 1489–90).

On the floor above (fig. 7), the royal chapel surmounted seven bays of the Great Undercroft and the great hall was over the remaining eleven bays with the dais at the east end and the low end of the hall next to the chapel altar end. The internal form of the hall can be read from Hollar's engraving of 1668 showing a Garter feast with the entry not in the end bay but partially along the length of the hall to give room for service preparation in the two end bays. Each bay was lit by a tall courtyard-facing window of two



Pl. 7 Windsor Castle: Great Kitchen, roof and lantern

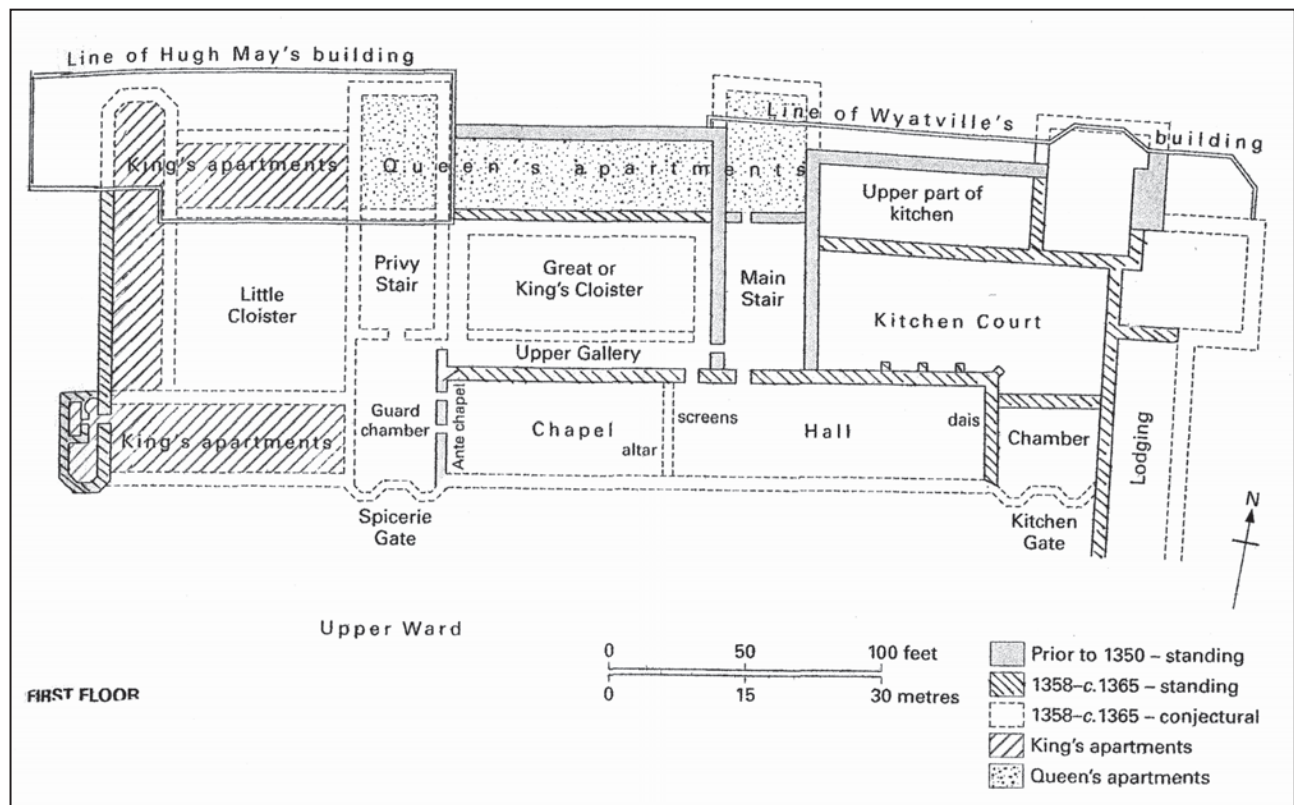


Fig. 7 Windsor Castle: first floor plan of royal apartments c.1365

transomed trefoil lights with a quatrefoil head. The steeply pitched roof was spanned by great arching trusses rising from small corbels and embellished with open trefoil tracery. The apartment was probably approached by an imposing stair from the Great Cloister such as that partially surviving at Kenilworth Castle. The hall and chapel were totally destroyed by Wyatville when he combined them in 1829–30 to create St George's Hall, almost entirely reconstructed after the fire in 1996.

The royal apartments were ranged round the Little Cloister but they were mainly destroyed in 1670 to create some of the present state apartments. The fortuitous exception was the three storeyed Rose Tower of 1362–63. The three tiered rooms retain most of their contemporary features including the guard protected entry, vaulted ceilings, painted decoration, and floor tiles. This structure helps to pinpoint the layout of these royal apartments. The king's suite of nine rooms of increasing privacy was prefaced with an outer room, the guard chamber. It was followed by a line of four chambers above the surviving Armoury undercroft followed by the 'Rose' chamber, a painted chamber, and a great chamber, closet and private chapel. The queen's less spacious suite, also prefaced by a guard chamber, included a first and second chamber, a room with mirrors, and a 'dancing' chamber (see fig. 7).

Lodging Ranges

Any ranges against Henry II's towered curtain wall on the east and south sides of the upper ward were replaced between 1364 and about 1370 by a line of lodging ranges, two storeys high and one room deep. They faced on to the courtyard and were interrupted by the earlier towers rising behind them. Elements of these lodgings were found immediately south of the Prince of Wales Tower after the 1992

fire, supporting the pictorial evidence of Hollar's drawings of the ward. These stone-built ranges for courtiers, guests and senior household staff were a repetitive pattern of unheated rooms with courtyard windows, generously scaled to the more important rooms at the upper level, and approached through paired doors serving the ground and upper rooms respectively. Their number cannot be firmly determined but it is likely that there were at least ninety lodgings, sufficient to accommodate up to two hundred people as befitted the monarch and his court. Though planned on the grandest scale, they were so drastically remodelled in the late seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries that they betray little visible evidence of their origins today.

CONSTRUCTION OPPORTUNITIES AND FUNDING LIMITATIONS

The development of the royal apartments at Windsor Castle under Edward III is of outstanding significance – historically, architecturally, and artistically. It reflects his triumphalist position as monarch and the prestige of the crown as leading a nation of European standing. Initially, Edward's work was prompted by the cult of chivalry. Though the Order of the Round Table which he initiated in his early thirties proved a false step, the collegiate buildings of the Order of St George survive in the Lower Ward to the present day.

His sumptuous building project during the later years of his reign was of European significance. Its construction was dramatically affected by the bubonic plague and its lethal variants, pneumonic and septicaemic plague, which swiftly spread across England and Wales between August 1348 and September 1349. Over a third of the population died, there was a temporary food shortage and for Edward III there was an acute scarcity of skilled labour, compounding and accelerating the movement for rising wages and the mobility of labour that had developed twenty years or so before the plague.

The extended campaign for rebuilding Windsor Castle over a period of about twenty years from 1354 could only be achieved by coercing masons and carpenters from across the country, creating a scarcity for other people's projects until the 1370s.⁴ Their names and places of origin, listed at the end of the monthly account rolls, reveal the widespread coverage forced on the king's sheriffs to achieve and maintain the necessary building teams. The number employed was far fewer than the number sought, with some remaining for only a few months, but it was during these key stages of building that William Wykeham's abilities came to the fore. As clerk of the king's works at Windsor from 1357 to 1361, he was responsible for ordering materials, engaging workmen, paying their wages and imprisoning malefactors during the critical early years of construction. His successors, William Moulsoe (1361–65) and Adam Hartington (1365–77), were the beneficiaries of Wykeham's prodigious efficiency in extremely difficult circumstances.

The costly alliances that had marked the early years of the war against France had created severe financial difficulties for the king in 1340–41, but Edward's reputation had soared with victory in the field at Crécy and through taking Calais. Edward was now seen as a monarch of European stature, capable of humbling the French, and the decision to rebuild Windsor was taken in that light. Yet it was the subsequent victory at Poitiers in 1356 and the capture of the French king that confirmed the superiority of the English crown and stimulated a wave of nationalism. Edward III personified the country's pride and confidence at all levels of society through defeating the national enemy.

Against this background, the foreground becomes clearer. The wars had stimulated a national hegemony. It was only appropriate that the monarch should have an up-to-date palace befitting his status. The Palace of Westminster was central but old-fashioned, while Windsor was not too far distant

– in the same relation to the capital as the Palace of Versailles was to Paris in a later age. The castle was the most spacious of all residences in royal hands, so it could take the form of a palace-fortress, with the power and character of a formidable defensive enclosure, cloaking the multi-windowed heart of a palatial residence. The Order of the Garter had consolidated Edward's relationship with his most trusted companions in arms, and was a distinctive if inexpensive form of patronage. The rebuilding of the castle was a broader affirmation of pride and confidence in the monarchy at a time when it 'enjoyed a degree of popularity unparalleled in the history of the Plantagenet dynasty'.⁵ It was also an opportunity to give substantive employment at a time of sudden demographic change, and unlike many of his successors, Edward's building extravagance never attracted criticism.

Money, however, was always a problem for Edward. The French king's ransom of £500,000, payable in seven annual instalments, and the £66,666 for King David of Scotland, together with the lesser sums from other nobles, literally provided a war-chest to fund this costly project, just as the grant of the Gascon town, castle, and mint of Bergerac to Henry, duke of Lancaster in 1347 had enabled him to build his palace of the Savoy in London. Edward's funding was essentially private, with little recourse to government funds and potential opprobrium. But ransoms were rarely paid in full and there was an uneasy peace with France between 1360 and 1369 when comparable replenishment was barely available. To help contain costs, the decision was taken to eschew adventitious ornamentation. Design simplicity and uniformity was the keynote. It applied externally to the courtyard façade, fenestration, and embattlement of the royal apartments and the two extended lodging ranges. It applied internally to all dressed stonework and roof structures with the exception of the hall and chapel, though even these were hardly lavish. The practice not only would have considerable financial benefits but would help to overcome the on-going difficulties of limited skilled craftsmen. It would also hasten completion, in marked contrast with the unstructured and turgid alteration and development of the apartments under Henry III (1233–63). Architectural uniformity, minimalist decoration, and plain roofs all played their part in achieving the twin goals of cost efficiency and speedy completion – the same targets behind the restoration programme of 1992–97. The design was driven by the singleness of purpose that is popularly attributed to William Wykeham, following the ascription of the continuator of Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*. But apart from the much greater design responsibility of the master-mason, John Sponlee, until his retirement in 1364, together with his subsequently promoted deputy William Wynford, and William Herland as the master carpenter throughout, it is not unlikely that the fundamental strictures of architectural style were made by the king.

PLANNING AND FUNCTION

Through Edward's close attunement to the mood of the country, Windsor Castle was metaphorically a flagship site. One of the consequences was that it became a benchmark in the movement from meaningful to decorative fortification. Edward I's sequence of castles in north and central Wales had an overwhelmingly military purpose. They were intended to overawe and hold down a recalcitrant populace. In contrast, Edward III's defensive gatehouse, the so-called Norman Gate, was almost theatrical in narrowing a visitor's progress from the middle to the upper ward, as well as being furnished with the trappings of defence, under the menacing presence of the towered motte. Both inner gateways were multi-storeyed, and embellished with defensive features, machicolations, and portcullises, but faced with a smooth freestone rather than the rough heathstone used elsewhere. They were essentially grand porch entries to residential courts, with the battlements encircling all the ranges round the ward clearly

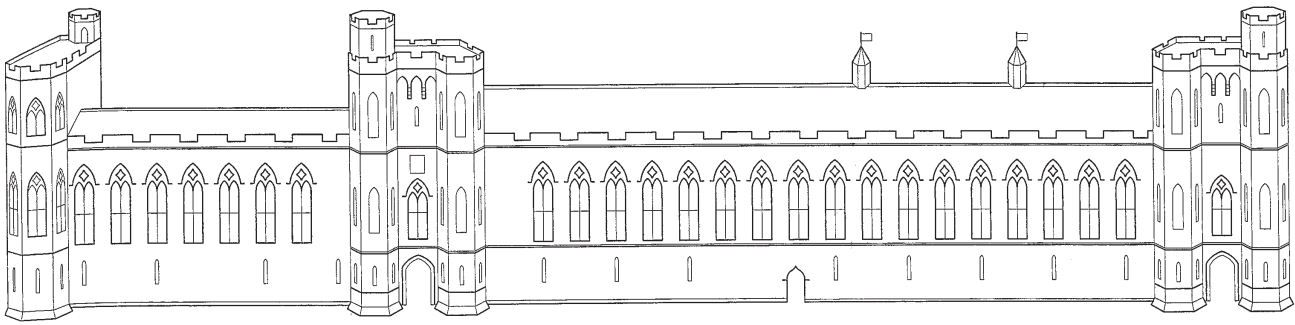


Fig. 8 Windsor Castle: reconstruction of upper ward frontage c.1365

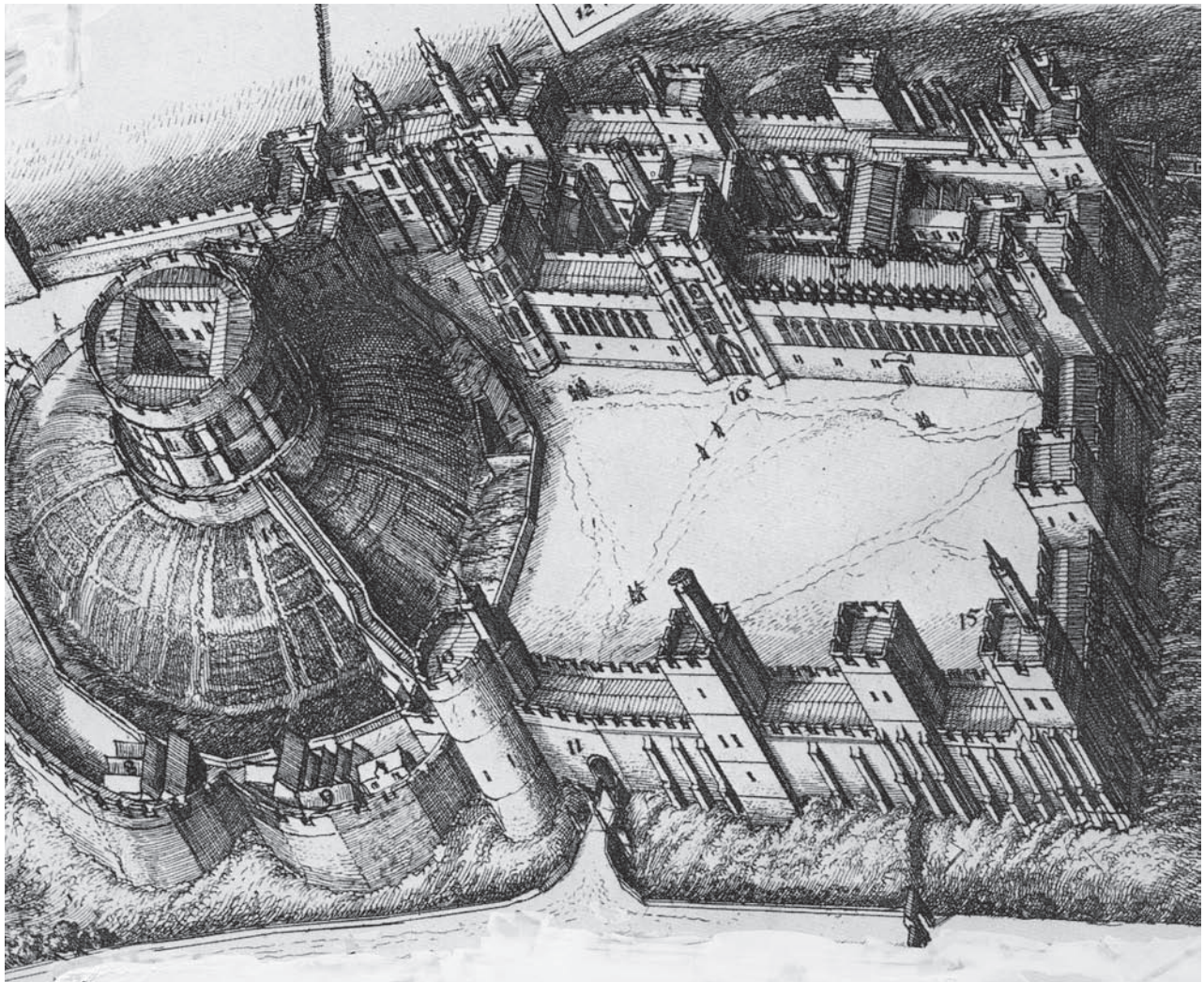
symbolic and decorative. This was the architectural equivalent of the crossover from bloody tournaments to chivalric encounters and was both contemporary with and complementary to that movement (fig. 8).

The plan of the new royal apartments was not limited by the earlier site layout and was totally different from that of any contemporary mansion. It had been the standard practice in major mansions for the past hundred years for great halls to be at ground level, flanked by the kitchen and services at the lower end, and with the private apartments at first floor level. At Windsor, there was a totally different layout with the kitchen position retained, but a total separation between ground and first-floor functions, with all the primary apartments at the upper level. It was inappropriate that the monarch should participate in the growing popularity of the ground-floor hall such as that built earlier at the castle, and more recently those at Caerphilly Castle, Mayfield Palace, and Penshurst Place. Henry III's hall was swept away in favour of a ceremonial apartment raised over an undercroft. The prominence of the chapel was a reflection of the scale of that recently completed by the king at his Palace of Westminster. But whereas that was two-storey in emulation of the Sainte Chapelle of the French king in Paris and Saint-Germain-en-Laye, the Windsor chapel was ground-breaking in its siting back-to-back with the great hall. The interlocking character of these two inaugural state apartments in a façade that could be immediately read externally, and their close association with the Garter is clear. What is only just being comprehended is the further function of these apartments for other ceremonies and high-status activities.

The royal apartments were also differentiated from earlier regal accommodation by the approach to them and by their scale. The approach was an extended one. Channelled through the new ceremonial gate (Norman Gate), the visitor would enter the massively scaled upper ward to be faced by dramatic façades of uniform design on all sides except the approach which was itself closed by the great motte of an earlier age. Crossing the multi-populated courtyard, a visitor entered through an imposing porch-like gateway, opening by the sixteenth century (and almost certainly so considerably earlier) into a two-storey cross wing on the site of the present Grand Vestibule, to separate the two cloistered courts. It held the private stair leading to the king's apartments. The scale and spaciousness of the king's and queen's apartments (an early example of the more familiar early Tudor concept) would have amazed contemporaries. Those of Edward I at Conwy Castle were an extended sequence, but the king's apartments at Windsor eighty years later were a dramatic spatial parade of nine chambers, prefaced by a guard chamber and increasingly private in purpose until the royal bedchamber was reached. The delightful angle tower with its privy stair, painted chamber, and belvedere was a deliberately positioned *bonne bouche* before the more intimate line of rooms. The sequence not only reflected the increase in

household staff and royal protocol but was a reflection of the king's majesty at the apex of society. The queen had a similar if shorter line of apartments terminating in the royal bedchamber, back to back with that of the king.

A less privileged visitor would pass through the Great Cloister, like the Little Cloister a timber-framed structure, two-storeyed, and possibly glazed at both levels as it was a royal residence. It led to the foot of the second cross range that had been Henry III's hall but was now the ceremonial stair to the grand new hall. As there is a touch of the theatre about Edward's work, it is likely that the first-floor approach was anticipatory and imposing, just as Edward II had created in his solar tower at Knaresborough Castle (1307) and as Gaunt was to preface his hall at Kenilworth (1376–7). It may well have been a long straight flight of steps such as that seen to good effect added by Wykeham to the earlier chapel at Broughton Castle (c.1380) but the concept did not originate at Windsor. The late thirteenth-century approach to the chapter-house at Wells Cathedral or to the bishop's two halls at St David's Palace (c.1330–40) are earlier examples, though the Windsor stair was innovative in serving as the all-embracing approach to hall, chapel, and royal apartments, and from the kitchen.



Pl. 8 Windsor Castle: Upper Ward by Wenceslas Hollar c.1649

For the first time, the great hall was not the focal point of the residence, though Windsor did not establish the precedent for a practice which only occurred two centuries later. Nevertheless, Edward's ceremonial hall showed up that at Westminster as an old-fashioned ground-floor aisled structure. The visceral impact on the visitor would be enhanced by the breathtaking richness and scale of the adjacent chapel. Neither of the royal suites was in the usual domestic position beyond the high end of the hall, emphasising the latter's pre-eminent ceremonial function but also facilitating a response to the need for the royal apartments to be more private and comfortable. If the visitor cared to see the new kitchen, he would be impressed by its scale as he would by the number of subsidiary offices. Even the number and extent of the lodgings round two sides of the ward would be beyond belief – extended ranges of upper rooms for leading guests, courtiers, and officials, with ground-floor rooms for the staff attendant on them.

If the architectural decoration and roof structures of both state and private apartments were relatively plain, walls and roofs could be embellished with a wealth of colour and applied decoration. A glimpse of such overall patterning can still be seen in the uppermost room of the Rose Tower, but records also refer to the timber ceilings of the various chambers, wainscoting, and stained glass windows as well as decorative floor tiles and mirrors. The painted and gilded fragments of 1340–63 that have survived from St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, with their numerous figures, dense patterning, and illusionistic devices hint at what has probably been lost, for Decorated and Perpendicular structures were essentially settings for decoration and imagery. Tables, benches, desks, trestles, screens, cupboards and iron utensils were supplied to the royal apartments between November 1363 and April 1365. Unfortunately, we have no record of the plate, hangings, and jewels that sumptuously befitted and dramatically furnished the royal apartments and contributed to the backcloth of lavish hospitality and deliberate splendour that was a hallmark of Edward's reign.

EDWARD III'S LEGACY

The redevelopment of the palace-complex at Windsor reverberated for decades. It made a political, symbolic, and aesthetic statement for secular architecture through consolidating the development of the proto-Perpendicular style, introducing new planning concepts, and initiating the structured contrast between external rectilinear formality and internal exuberance. If Edward III created a 'Windsor style', it was one of chivalric splendour, the contrast between external discipline and internal richness.

Windsor confirmed the quadrangle as the basis of multi-purpose occupation in a secular environment. The cloister had long been the centre of monastic establishments, just as courtyards had been for site-dictated fortresses. It was the concentric form of defence which had determined the quadrangular form at Caerphilly and Beaumaris castles, whereas the Windsor complex was the consequence of a single unified and speedily achieved residential scheme. It was swiftly adopted across the country – in the south at Winchester College and Bodiam Castle, in the Midlands at New College, Oxford and Drayton House, and in the north at Bolton, Lumley and Wressle castles. It became the paradigm for large-scale residences for the next 300 years.

William Wykeham, rewarded with the bishopric of Winchester for his services to the king, used the financial resources of this wealthy see to establish his colleges at Oxford and Winchester that disseminated the Windsor style, particularly through using the same master-mason, William Wynford. Newly cleared sites enabled the courtyards at New College, Oxford, and Winchester College to be regular, with lodgings round at least two sides following earlier collegiate precedents. As was usual, the

upper lodgings (for fellows) were more generous than those below (for students), but several Windsor innovations were repeated. Wykeham's two colleges were the first to be approached by a dominant three-storeyed entry gateway, have regularised courtyard frontages, hall and chapel built back-to-back, and the kitchen and offices sited outside the courtyard enclosure. Even the concept of a cloister, and more particularly a belfry which Wykeham had overseen at Windsor in 1359–61, was introduced at Winchester and New College, Oxford.

The Windsor complex renewed the status and importance of the first-floor hall, initially at Kenilworth, Bolton, and Raby castles and subsequently at leading academic foundations including Eton College and Christ Church, Oxford, and at particularly magnificent residences such as Wingfield Manor and Hampton Court. Windsor encouraged the development of the palace-fortresses at Bolton, Lumley, Raby, Sheriff Hutton, and Wressle, built by magnates who considered themselves and acted as mini-rulers of northern England. The remodelling and expansion of Kenilworth Castle by Edward's third son was more rightly prompted by his claim to a regal title. Apart from Raby, which was developed round an earlier site, the northern fortresses were more compact than the royal exemplar, but followed the same principles of rectangular enclosure with a clear division between ground-floor services, the separation of public and private apartments above, the development of private chambers of increasing privacy, and the contrast between imposing but severe exteriors and an internal sequence of lavish first-floor apartments. Windsor was also the exemplar for the marked uniformity of the façades at Bolton Castle and the Warkworth tower-house, the balanced frontage of Gaunt's work at Kenilworth, and the elongated lodging ranges at Dartington Hall and Hampton Court Palace. What is missing is the essential complement to all these stone envelopes, for the paucity of artefacts and never-ending changes in taste have deprived even the roofed buildings of their rich furnishings and showy interiors.

Cultural and artistic influences did not cease because England and France were at war. Philip of Valois had immediately imitated Edward's establishment of a Round Table as a centre of chivalric excellence in France in 1344, but it was the dauphin, later Charles V, who initiated a generation of royal projects based on the English model. During his father's three years' English custody from 1361, Charles promptly set about building a massive residential tower-house at Vincennes completed between 1364 and 1369. Like Windsor, the Vincennes tower-house was externally defensive but internally residential, with delicate vaulting, refined carving, and suites of apartments in vertical mode. Under Charles V, Vincennes became the king's favourite abode and it was completed as a symbol of royal prestige and power with a vast symmetrically towered and moated circuit that almost mirrored the much earlier ward enclosure at Windsor, adopted similar rectangular flat-topped towers, and deliberately surpassed it in size (15 acres to Windsor's 13).

Charles V also followed the English precedent by transforming the Louvre with new living quarters built round the courtyard, approached by a magnificent pillar-supported stair.⁶ More fundamental was the work of Charles' brother, Louis, duke of Anjou, who immediately initiated the rebuilding of the castle at Saumur in 1368 after returning from seven years in England as a hostage. Though he adopted the Flamboyant rather than the English linear style, the formidable defensive quadrangular enclosure concealed magnificently appointed courtyard ranges of first-floor apartments. It also followed the Windsor practice of an independent hall with the family apartments beyond its lower end though this hall range no longer survives, nor its courtyard stair approach.

Despite small-scale additions, fabric repairs and internal alterations, Windsor Castle stood essentially unaltered for 300 years from the death of Edward III until the reign of Charles II. Even so, Edward's work established the matrix for all later modifications and rebuilding within the Upper Ward up to

and including the twentieth century. What the visitor sees today is an exhilarating display of English baroque and a glorious exhibition of Regency romanticism, but its core is the pre-eminent chivalric palace-fortress of fourteenth-century England.

Notes

1. J. Munby, R. Barber, & R. Brown, *Edward III's Round Table at Windsor* (2007).
2. The church was replaced by the present St George's Chapel in 1475–1512 whereas much of the original college buildings survive.
3. *History of King's Works*, vol. 2 (1963), 881. The French king's ransom helped to pay for this work as Louis XI's payments to Edward IV for withdrawing his army from France in 1475 helped to pay for the great hall he promptly built at Eltham Palace.
4. Continuator of Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon* ed. J.R. Lumby (1886), 184. For fresh thoughts on the effects of the plague on English building activity, P. Binski, *Gothic Wonder* (2014) 355–60. Despite the terrible losses, the many building projects of the 1350s and 1360s were not overwhelmingly hampered by lack of workmen.
5. W.M. Ormrod, *The Reign of Edward III* (1990), 39.
6. For an important contribution to this aspect of Windsor, M. Whiteley, 'The courts of Edward III of England and Charles V of France: a comparison of their architectural setting and ceremonial functions', in *Fourteenth Century England*, ed. N. Saul (2000) 153–66.

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ENGLAND: 1360–1400

RETRENCHMENT AND FAILURE

The closing years of Edward III's reign were one of decline, beset by problems centred on Greater Aquitaine. Responsibility for the duchy had been put into the hands of the Black Prince in 1362 but his administration gradually became unpopular in eastern Aquitaine. His opponent, the count of Armagnac was supported by troops and money provided by the French king who announced the confiscation of Aquitaine from what he considered a disloyal vassal in 1369 even though the Treaty of Calais had granted Edward III full sovereignty over the principality. Gradually and subtly, Charles V of France had been building up a more efficient machinery of war, helped by his younger brother, the duke of Anjou. The Black Prince had become almost permanently ill since going to Spain in 1367 so that he was unable to provide effective military leadership though Poitou, Saintonge and Angoumois remained staunch supporters of the Prince until their defeat by the French in 1372. The Black Prince had returned to England in the previous year and never recovered from deteriorating ill health.

Except for the Black Prince, Edward's other sons were militarily ineffective, whereas Charles V could count on the practical support of two of his three brothers, the dukes of Anjou and Burgundy. The opening campaigns of the war went well for the French with the capture of much of eastern Aquitaine. Their tactic was to harass the enemy rather than to hurtle into battle to face him as they had previously learnt to their bitter cost. The English responded with *chevauchées*, Gaunt in 1373 and Sir Robert Knolles in the Île de France in 1370. Meanwhile, the French under Anjou and the Constable, Du Guesclin slowly reconquered further parts of Aquitaine.

England was exhausted but so was France. The last Avignon pope, Gregory XI worked tirelessly for a reconciliation between the two countries as a prelude to the papacy returning to Rome. For their part, the differences between the two kingdoms were as deep as ever with their uncompromising positions. France demanded that England should give up all its lands in France including Bordeaux and Calais while the English demanded their acceptance to the throne of France or at least a return of the Treaty of Calais. Agreement was impossible so that both sides drifted towards war.

The death of several nobles who had been the king's former companions in arms, such as the earls of Warwick, Hereford, and Arundel, followed by that of the Black Prince and an enfeebled Edward III together with the accession of a ten-year-old king made England particularly vulnerable. The French had rebuilt their naval strength and launched raids along the English coastline preparatory to a major invasion. The English government's strategy was to keep up the pressure on France across several theatres

of war – with *chevauchées* across the countryside, and at sea by controlling a ring of fortresses along the French coast. They acquired leases on Brest and Cherbourg but attempts to take St Malo, Harfleur, and Nantes all failed (1378–79). A year later, Thomas of Woodstock, earl of Buckingham, led a highly destructive raid from Calais to Champagne, Beauce, Anjou, Nantes, and thence to Brittany. Little was spent on protecting Aquitaine but the English-supporting Gascons put up a stronger resistance than had been anticipated, helped in 1378 by English forces under John Neville of Raby. Two years later, Charles V of France died at the age of 42.

Richard II's reign was marred by a sequence of political conflicts beginning with the introduction of an excessive poll tax to help pay for the war with France that led to the Peasants' Revolt (1381). The attempt to lead a 'crusade' against schismatic France (1383) was as futile as the subsequent royal-led campaign to the north of England to deal with the threat of a Franco-Scottish invasion. John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster sailed to Castile to press his claim to that throne (1386) leaving the young Richard II at the centre of a baronial struggle to purge the royal household of favourites and replace them with the baronial tools of government (1388).

Gaunt's absence had encouraged Charles VI to prepare an invasion of England and though a massive fleet was assembled in the estuary of the Zwiyn together with a very substantial army at Sluys, lack of funds forced Charles to abort the planned attack. Even so, the Scots launched an invasion of England in a three pronged attack with raids against Ireland and the Isle of Man, Cumbria, and Northumberland. The northern nobles were left to defend their regions. Henry Percy's forces were defeated (and Percy captured) at Otterburn marking a serious reversal on English defensibility.

For a time, peace reigned and Richard avoided antagonist actions until the closing years of his rule. His peace policy was unpopular with the nobles who had fought in France during his minority but by pursuing it, Richard would avoid his financial dependence on parliament that war necessitated. With the unwavering support of Gaunt, a three-year truce with France was concluded in 1389 with Richard supporting attempts to follow it up with a permanent peace. Several years of negotiations followed with considerable anguish over the question of liege homage for holding Aquitaine. The problem was postponed by a twenty-eight-year truce, sealed by Richard's marriage to the King of France's daughter, the six-year-old Isabel (1396). In that year, the two kings met near Calais and though there was no peace treaty, reconciliations existed in word and gradually in deed.

ROYAL AND SEMI-ROYAL PALACES: 1370–1400

Major building projects during Richard II's reign primarily lay in the hands of the baronage rather than the crown. John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, rebuilt the domestic accommodation at Kenilworth Castle on a royal scale, while several northern barons remodelled their residences on the grandest scale to create a number of palace-fortresses. The one entirely domestic residence on an equivalent scale was Dartington Hall in south Devon constructed by the king's step-brother, John Holand, earl of Huntingdon from 1388 to 1400. The great hall survives with a replacement hammer-beam roof but with the benefit of a well preserved screens passage, services block, and kitchen, again with a replacement roof. Equally important is the extended line of household lodgings lining both sides of the outer court providing comfortable accommodation for over one hundred retainers.¹

Except for John of Gaunt, William Wykeham bishop of Winchester, was more prolific than either the crown or the baronage. He had gained building experience at Windsor Castle when in charge of work

there between 1356 and 1361. His principal survivals are his collegiate foundations at Winchester and Oxford – Winchester College and New College, Oxford – little altered and still serving their original educational purposes. Less well known are Wykeham's domestic activities. The defences at Wolvesey Palace at Winchester were strengthened in 1372–76 by widening the moat and rebuilding some of the curtain walls in anticipation of invasion from France. Wolvesey Palace is ruined as is his work at Bishop's Waltham Palace where he rebuilt the first floor great hall, services, and kitchen (1377–93). His country house at East Meon is far more complete and still inhabited with a modest but delightful great hall with cross wing (1395–97). Wykeham's most expensive project was his rebuilding of Highclere Palace, twenty miles north of Winchester. Considerable documentation survives among the extensive records of Winchester diocese for Wykeham's aggrandisement of the apartments round the inner court (1370–74) but the remains are all covered by the towering mansion of 1840 by Sir Charles Barry. Highclere was a prelude to Wykeham's more ambitious projects, all with that status symbol, first floor halls above undercrofts.²

Richard II's work was less extensive than Wykeham's but equally impressive. He was responsible for funding the restoration and re-roofing of William II's great hall of 1099 at the Palace of Westminster. The roof of 1393–97 spans a width of 69 feet, achieved by combining two major principals of roof construction – arch braces from collars and hammer-beams. At the same time, the hall was given new windows in the side and end walls, a new entrance façade and wall niches with statues of Richard's royal predecessors in the entry frontage and the dais inner wall. The result was the finest and most aesthetically impressive hall in medieval Europe.

Richard's last building project was the reconstruction of the royal accommodation within Portchester Castle between 1396 and 1399. It was modest in scale and decoration compared with the work by Lancaster and Holand at Kenilworth and Dartington for speedy completion seems to have been imperative. As peace was assured by Richard's marriage to the French king's daughter, the reasons for this building activity near Portsmouth was not for defensive reasons but possibly for a residence while hunting in the nearby forest of Bere or as a resting place whilst waiting with his new wife to visit France. The élite accommodation was again at first floor level, compact in layout, spartan in style, and with whitewashed walls externally.

Notes

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2. A. Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses*, 3 (2006) 137–45, 312–17, 333–36, 418–25, 430–34.

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KENILWORTH CASTLE

John of Gaunt's redevelopment of Kenilworth Castle during the 1370s converted it from a stronghold into a palace-fortress. His purpose was not only to provide an up-to-date range of reception, family, and staff apartments but a sequence of hall and chambers which would outshine those of all other power princes in Britain. Less than half his work survives and the remainder is in ruins, but its scale, comfort, and richness still impress. Nor did Gaunt spare any expense: the extent and decorative quality of the surviving buildings are testimony to that.

SITE DEVELOPMENT

Gaunt's plan was determined by earlier site buildings. The large twelfth-century keep filled the north-east quadrant of the inner bailey which had been stone surrounded shortly afterwards. Gaunt included this outer wall in his new kitchen and his state apartments opposite, but breached it for the towers projecting either side of his new banqueting hall on the west side of the inner court. There is some evidence that the late Norman hall on the site of the present one was an aisled ground-floor structure, rebuilt in 1313–14 and modernised by Henry, 1st duke of Lancaster in 1347 when the hall was reroofed and given three new screens at a cost of 250 marks.¹ It is unclear whether he retained the earlier hall but remodelled it to create an aisless ground floor hall as at Penshurst (1338–49)² or reconstructed it as a first floor hall following the precedent of Warwick Castle (c.1331–40).³ All analysts are agreed, however, that John of Gaunt was responsible for the present splendid structure, modelled on Edward III's hall at Windsor, supported by a new residential range of rare splendour.⁴ His revisionist approach resulted in the finest sweep of semi-royal apartments of the later middle ages to survive in Britain.

The castle had passed to Edward III's third son in 1361 through his marriage to Blanche (d.1368), daughter of the first duke of Lancaster. Gaunt spent a great deal of time during the next thirty years at Kenilworth and lavishly updated the fortress, but the particular stimulus was his second marriage to Constance, the heir to the Castilian throne in September 1371 and his acknowledged claim in January 1372 to be called King of Castile and León. For the next sixteen years until he abandoned his claim in 1388 he conducted himself as king of one of the more powerful realms in Europe, behaved accordingly, and developed his Warwickshire castle to serve as a residence appropriate to his new position and status.

Major building activity had started by September 1373 with work including timber for the ceiling of the hall in 1376–77 and the fitting of hinges, doors, and window catches in 1379–80. A second development phase of substantial but unclear activity occurred in 1391–93 under Robert Skillington which possibly included remodelling elements of the existing hall and the Saintowe Tower.⁵

The new apartments were ranged around two and a half sides of the moat-enclosed inner courtyard with the still functioning keep filling the remainder of the north side, and a retained chapel and wall closing the fourth side. The entrance from the outer to the inner court was across a newly built causeway and bridge (destroyed) to a portcullis-protected archway at the foot of the keep, with an imposing flight of stairs to Gaunt's new hall rising beyond the forebuilding at its furthest corner (fig. 9).

Great Hall

The great hall, one of the grandest in Britain, was created by a prince and king to impress and entertain on a royal scale. Measuring 89 feet by 46 feet internally, it was divided into six bays. Though the entry porch was balanced by a bay window at the dais end, the exceptionally tall windows in between are

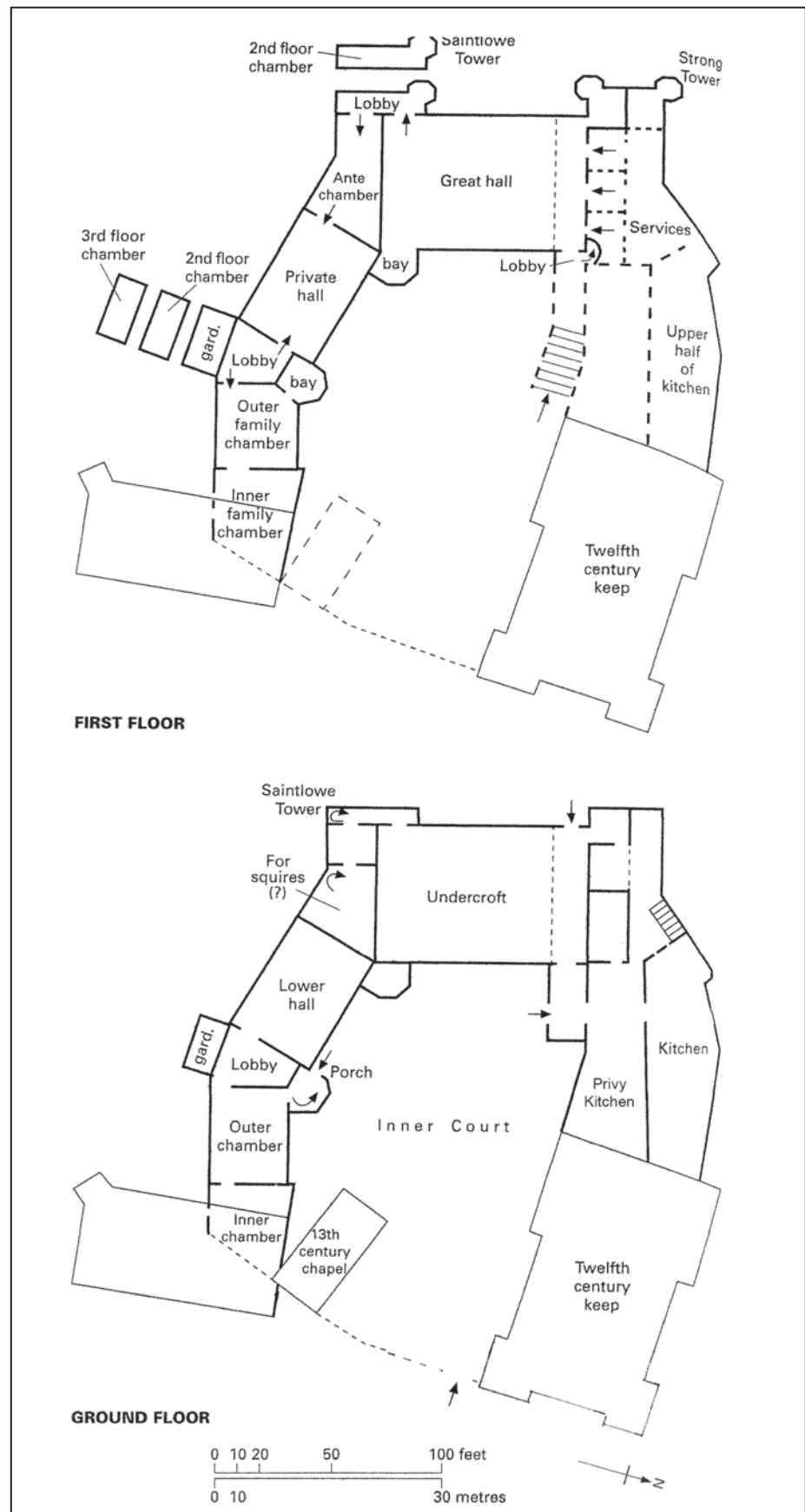


Fig. 9 Kenilworth Castle: inner court floor plans



Pl. 9 Kenilworth Castle: first floor hall above undercroft

almost bereft of outer mouldings. The hall was raised over a pillar-supported vaulted undercroft used for storage. An almost destroyed broad straight stair rose from the courtyard to a vaulted lobby. The magnificent hall doorway hints at the splendour to come with its six slender pillars with foliated capitals, vaulted panels, and arch of three orders, similarly carved. Neither weathering nor broken stonework has ruined its richness, re-used from the earlier fourteenth century.

The first bay of the hall was a cross passage with triple service access marked today only by a single door jamb. There is no evidence of a stone screen though a wooden one may be postulated to hide the offices and access to the lodgings in the Strong Tower.

The body of the hall was dominated by deep set windows divided into three sections. They are among the largest in a castle hall, for its contained position and the lake on the western and southern sides made military considerations irrelevant. The lower lights were shuttered but the tracery heads were glazed. These are the best surviving examples of early Perpendicular tracery in a domestic setting. Each window was provided with stone seats with panelled surrounds. The adjacent panelled walls would have been covered with tapestries to add to the richness (and warmth) of the hall.

It has been recently discovered that this apartment was heated by six fireplaces. In addition to the two in the side walls, there was one in the dais bay window and three in the destroyed end wall. The

most well-known example of a triple fireplace is that in the palace at Poitiers but there was a precedent in England at the Black Prince's palace at Kennington (c.1358).

It is not known what form the roof took as there is no record of it but it was the widest roof in medieval England except for that at Westminster Palace. It is arguable whether it was spanned by an arch-braced and collar trusses, a hammer-beam structure, or one combining both elements as subsequently occurred at Westminster Hall.

This hall has one further distinguishing feature. The broad bay window was not so much to light the dais as to provide a separate dining area for the lord and his family on the occasions when they used the great hall. Some 19 feet deep and entered through a wide (destroyed) archway; it was lit by four windows repeating the hall form. The bay possessed its own fireplace and was crowned with a mini-roof like that of a chapter-house creating an area spatially independent from the hall.

Private Apartments

The open arch opposite the bay window led into a well-lit double lobby or gallery with generous windows and seats overlooking the protective lake and fields of Warwickshire. This was an elegant retiring area, particularly for the afternoon sun, with two generous lodgings above with fireplaces and garderobe (Saintlowe Tower).

Little remains of the two-storeyed range of Gaunt's private apartments, outside the lower half of the outer walls. In planning terms, Gaunt's personal apartments on the upper floor were of increasing restriction and privacy. Just as the body of the hall had been preceded by a porch and communal entry bay, so his private hall and withdrawing chamber were preceded by an ante-chamber and private lobby enabling restriction to be exercised.

The double lobby from the hall dais opened into a narrow ante-chamber at the immediate rear of the hall, with secondary staff access from the undercroft. It was the prelude to Gaunt's private hall,



Pl. 10 Kenilworth Castle: private apartments (foreground) and great hall

58 feet by 23 feet, sited at an oblique angle to the great hall. It was lit by two large windows in the outer wall with a fireplace between and presumably two opposite, though the courtyard foundations and above are those of later sixteenth-century bay replacements. The floor was supported on a line of pillars in the room below.

Advantage was taken of the acute angle of the two suites to create an almost triangular-shaped privy lobby well-endowed with a screened bay window projecting into the courtyard and double garderobe facility opposite. The oriel bay repeated the form of that off the hall dais with five traceried windows, entirely glazed, while the screened garderobes had an adjacent newel to a pair of bed chambers above.⁶

The pattern of windows and fireplace in the outer wall was repeated in the withdrawing or presence chamber which has been all but destroyed. A further room might be expected serving as an inner or bedchamber, possibly with access to the timber-framed chapel at first-floor level on the surviving thirteenth-century foundations. Any such room was replaced by Lord Leicester's buildings in the later sixteenth century, but a short ground-floor continuation of later fourteenth-century courtyard walling suggests that a double suite may have existed at this point.

The whole sequence of the private apartment range was repeated at ground level with one key difference. There was little communication with the suite of apartments above, except possibly for the privy kitchen under the presence chamber. The substantial room under the private hall probably housed the wardrobe which included the repository for the expensive tapestries, bed hangings, and plate used whenever the duke and his family were in residence.

Staff and Household Apartments

The undercroft of the great hall was approached through a double-vaulted porch and a stone-screened through-passage between the outer and the inner courts with portcullis closure at the outer entry. The vaulting of the five-bay undercroft was supported on two lines of piers, though only their bases and the half shafts and arch springers remain *in situ*. Lit by four narrow loopholes in the courtyard wall with evidence of iron bars, this was a staff hall similar to that at Wingfield Manor (c.1440) where the limited window, vaulted form, and corner access to the hall above was repeated. The further room at the south end with its own fireplace and garderobe gave more immediate access to Gaunt's private hall.

The service quarters were necessarily extensive. The kitchen next to the keep was rebuilt by Gaunt with evidence of three great fireplaces with hoods against the earlier curtain wall as well as a fourth fireplace with double ovens inserted next to the keep in the fifteenth century. Some 83 feet by 28 feet, this was one of the largest kitchens in Britain. It was almost as long as the great hall to the foot of the stone steps where the food was carried to the first-floor server, across the screen bay, and thence into the hall. Between the kitchen and hall stairs, which screened this work area from the courtyard, lay the privy kitchen where food was prepared for the lord's table.

The Strong Tower at the lower end of the hall was so-called because all four floors were vaulted. The ground floor was used as larders and for storage, and the first floor was occupied by the buttery and pantry with central passageway for service. The second and almost destroyed uppermost floor, newel approached, were quality suites with outer and inner chambers, closets, fireplaces, and garderobes. They would have been used for guests, household officials and other privileged people, though the small size of the second floor windows is surprising for such apartments.

ASSESSMENT

Despite its ruined state and total absence of roofs and parapet detailing, Gaunt's redevelopment is the finest surviving example of a royal palace of the later middle ages in England; significant for its scale, form, and quality of workmanship. Like nearly every other phase in the castle, ashlar blocks of warm red sandstone were used in a building campaign characterised by quadripartite vaulting for the hall and end towers, sharp segmental-pointed arches for all openings, with window heads ranging from trefoil (Saintlowe Tower) to cinquefoil (Garderobe Tower) and multi-cusped (great hall). Fireplace lintels were square-headed with important wall areas panelled. Common standards throughout this work suggest that it was undertaken in a single though extended campaign attributable to the years from 1373 to 1380. The great hall and flanking towers are of an uncommon unity but the lack of detailing in the ruins of the state apartments makes it difficult to judge whether they preceded or followed this masterpiece of the chief mason, though probably the latter.

The scale of the public, private and service areas at Kenilworth is self-evident. The hall was the largest domestic structure without aisles of its era and, for the next 200 years, unsurpassed by the later royal halls at Eltham (36 feet) or Hampton Court (40 feet). Only Richard II's consummate achievement at Westminster was the exception. The fireplaces are small but numerically impressive in a hall of overwhelming grandeur. It encompassed an extended approach, window-filled walls, decorative stone panelling, a separate dining facility, and an imposing roof structure. In Gaunt's hands, the usual lower residential block became a four-storeyed, multi-vaulted complex combining storage, service, and two floors of residential facilities on a lavish scale.



Pl. 11 Kenilworth Castle: great hall from the west flanked by Saintlowe Tower (right) and Strong Tower (left)

The range of private apartments at Kenilworth marks a key stage in the expansion of domestic requirements that lasted well over a century. What Gaunt built was a range of privileged use on two levels, with the upper floor reserved for himself and his family. The size of the castle was such that its defensive character imposed little restriction on their extent, proportion, or open character. In fact, he turned the earlier siting to advantage, positioning a porch and upper bay window at the junction separating his private hall from his personal suite. This work also marks a stage in the development of privacy with deep window embrasures, lobbies serving as ante-chambers, and bay windows giving a degree of quietness and private space.

The redevelopment of the castle at Kenilworth is the dominating survival by the dominating magnate of his time – the only duke in Britain of comparable standing to the uncles of the king of France. It was the primary centre of his power and status, a symbol of his royal estate, and a fitting residence for his queen. Edward III had spent heavily at Windsor as well as at Havering, Sheen, the Tower of London, and on several hunting lodges, with the redevelopment of the royal lodgings at Windsor between 1357 and 1365 as his primary task. Within fifteen years, Gaunt was emulating his father and more importantly, adopting the same two-storeyed hall form. We have substantial documentary evidence for the royal work at Windsor but considerably less structural evidence, whereas the reverse tends to prevail at Kenilworth. Both projects were dictated by the earlier castle layout, but it proved less inhibiting at Kenilworth than at Windsor. Furthermore, both palaces were divided into formal state apartments – the great hall (with a dramatic approach at Kenilworth), ante-chamber, and private great chamber – and the private rooms and closets where the owner and his family spent much of their time. Though less survives of the latter in Warwickshire than we would like, we are fortunate to have such a tangible monument to the landed wealth, sovereign power, and exalted dignity of late fourteenth-century England.

GAUNT'S PATRIMONY AND DISPLAY

Whereas English magnates fought abroad mainly for the profits of war, Gaunt's continental aims were more ambitious. He aspired to be a European prince through his marriage in 1371 to the daughter and heir of the murdered Pedro I of Castile (d.1369). He was never to attain the crown of Castile, but Gaunt maintained close links throughout his forty-year career with the rulers in the Iberian peninsula, the Low Countries, and Brittany, and with the Valois princes of France. Gaunt developed his own foreign policy, not always in harmony with that of the king's council, behaving more like a French prince than an English magnate. Unlike other English nobles, he made treaties in his own name, and established the long-lasting Anglo-Portuguese alliance by betrothing his daughter to the king of Portugal in the aftermath of the Treaty of Windsor (1386).

With his extensive resources, Gaunt could afford the largest retinue and household establishment of any English magnate throughout the last third of the fourteenth century. His retinue fluctuated in strength between 1379 and 1383, but the list of 222 retained members included two earls, three barons, 96 knights, and 121 esquires. His household retinue of permanently retained knights and esquires was smaller, though still very substantial and could be expanded without difficulty if he was travelling on a diplomatic mission, visiting the court at Westminster, or progressing round his estates. This was Gaunt's most obvious display of state and his retinue would have filled the courtyards at Kenilworth and crowded those at most of his other castles.

His household expenditure covering staff, food, wine, and gifts was equally sumptuous but Gaunt's most recent biographer assesses that, by contemporary standards, it was hardly extravagant.⁷ Yet, as

Froissart records, Gaunt enjoyed a luxurious lifestyle enriched by the many gifts which he received from overseas. Kenilworth and his other prime residences at Pontefract and Hertford displayed sets of French tapestries, rich furnishings, and much gold plate. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Gaunt's ecclesiastical patronage rarely extended to building projects outside supporting the completion of the collegiate church (and family mausoleum) at Leicester.

Gaunt was responsible for buildings held by the duchy of Lancaster between 1361 and 1395 which included twenty-nine castles, seven houses and a number of hunting lodges. He did nothing to change this balance. The fortresses numbered about half those held by the crown though considerably fewer were in a neglected condition. For Gaunt, castles were preferable to the domesticity of storeyed houses for they made a symbolic statement about his majesty. His practice was to keep his properties in sound repair and make improvements where necessary. In northern England, for example, he heightened the keep at Pontefract in 1374 so that it could dominate the skyline just as Wyatville's additions did at Windsor 450 years later. In 1380–84 he converted the earlier gatehouse at Dunstanburgh into a donjon and built a new gatehouse and inner ward to its rear. At about the same time, he initiated the virtual rebuilding of Hertford Castle to serve as a country retreat from the political pressures of Westminster (c.1380–95). It is against this background and the maintenance programme at the other fortresses that the work at Kenilworth must be judged. It marks the apogee of Gaunt's activities in scope, expense, and standing, and can still be appreciated today. By contrast, the evidence at Pontefract is only pictorial, that at Hertford is documentary, and his gatehouse at Dunstanburgh has been essentially reduced to foundation level.

Notes

1. L.F. Salzman, *Building in England* (1952) 436–37. Thompson (1977) 217–18.
2. Thompson, *ibid.*
3. R.K. Morris, Sidelights on the 14th Century Architecture at Kenilworth Castle in *Coventry*, ed. L. Monckton & R.K. Morris (2011), 349–62.
4. A. Goodman, *John of Gaunt* (1992) 305–6. R.K. Morris, *Kenilworth Castle Guidebook* (2006), 20.
5. J. Harvey, *Archaeological Journal*, 101 (1944), 95–96. Morris (2011), 358.
6. The combination of garderobes and lodgings in a tower at the junction of two chamber blocks had been developed at Ludlow Castle over fifty years earlier.
7. Goodman (1992) 349, 355.

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PALACE-FORTRESSES IN NORTHERN ENGLAND

Except for two of Edward III's sons, Edward of Woodstock the Black Prince, and John of Gaunt, dukes of Cornwall and Lancaster respectively and Henry V's brother, duke of Bedford, none of the upper aristocracy of England matched the almost regal position enjoyed by members of the royal family in France between the mid-fourteenth and mid-fifteenth centuries. However, political developments in northern England elevated several regionally important families from a local to a far more dominating and authoritarian position. Two families, in particular benefited from this expansion in their political and financial fortunes – the Percies and the Nevilles – with the surge in their building activities reflecting their enhanced financial and social status.

Early in the century, Edward I's incomplete and non-too successful conquest of Scotland had given way to Edward II's record of failure and humiliation. The young Edward III sought to restore royal authority and political stability with a sequence of military achievements which brought relative order in the north, culminating in an assured baronial victory against the Scots at the battle of Neville's Cross outside Durham (1346). Success at home had been matched by success at Crécy, together with the rewards for the military leaders of booty, ransoms, and land grants.

As Edward III's priorities now lay in France, it became necessary to find an alternative method of defending the Scottish border and avoid the outlay of a permanent military burden. In 1345, the region was divided into two marches or border areas roughly corresponding with the bishoprics of Durham and Carlisle with the office of warden initially held by the two bishops from their fortresses at Durham and Rose respectively.¹ However, responsibility gradually passed to those who showed leadership against the Scots and almost continuous service on the border as well as in France. Initially, the most successful were the 2nd Lord Percy (1314–42) and his son (1352–68) whose principal estates had lain in Yorkshire, but their success during the renewal of the Anglo-Scottish war from the 1330s onwards changed them from a middle ranking family to the dominant figures in the north. A host of supporters developed in their shadow, bound by bonds of mutual obligation and responsibility. The family deliberately cultivated such a network across the east region, centred on an almost miniature version of the royal household so that Percy tenants looked upon that family as their natural leader.

Henry, 4th Lord Percy (1368–1408) was created earl of Northumberland in 1377, the first earldom in northern England for two centuries. By far the richest landowner in that region, his extensive holdings were expanded in 1381 by his marriage to Maud Lucy who held Cockermouth and Egremont castles in Cumbria.² The Percies' influence now extended across the whole of northern England including Yorkshire and it was to counter this that Richard II turned to men outside the north-east region including John of Gaunt and Lord Neville. The campaign against the Scots in 1385, led by Richard II, was not a success and was followed by John of Gaunt's departure to claim his inheritance in Spain. The likelihood of a French invasion in the summer of 1386 meant that all royal resources were deployed in the south of England while political antagonism against royal favourites culminated in a group of earls (the 'lords appellant') capturing the king and forcing him to abandon his close friends (1387). Despite the years of calm that followed, Richard never travelled northwards beyond the Midlands and Cheshire except for a single visit to York (1396). With Lord Neville created earl of Westmorland in the following year, the north was left in the hands of the two leading power players, now almost mini-princes with their spread of supporters across the whole region. For the previous forty years, they had combined military prowess and business skills with the exploitation of the militarisation of the border. War booty, financial subsidies from the crown, and the control of local offices had contributed to the vigorous competition

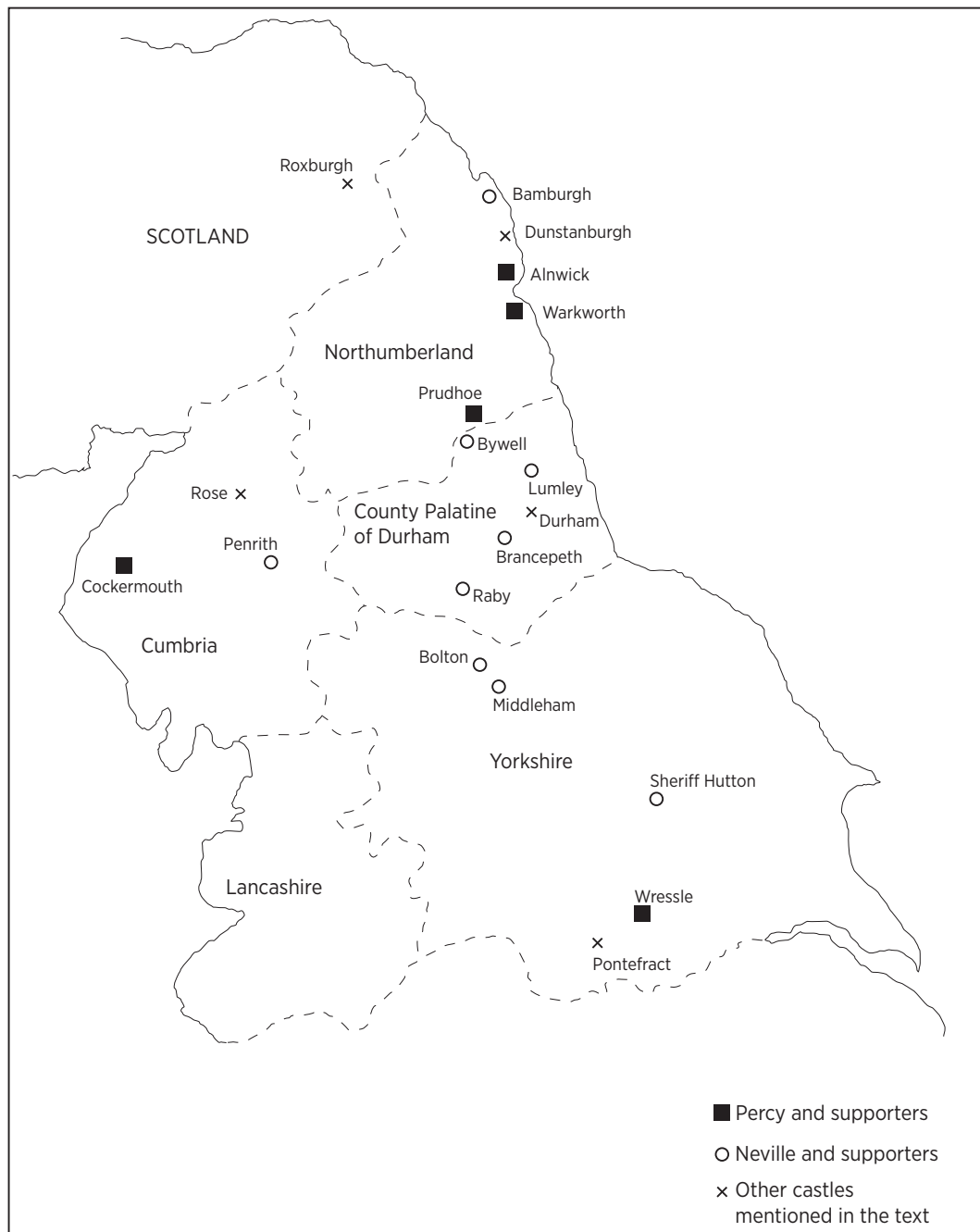


Fig. 10 Northern England: 1350–1400

and political jostling between the Percies and the Nevilles for control of the region and is still apparent today in the scale and splendour of their architectural patronage.

The Percies

During the later years of the century, John of Gaunt's massive building programme included defensive additions in the north of England at Pontefract Castle and subsequently at Dunstanburgh. Edward III repaired those castles damaged or destroyed by the Scots, particularly Roxburgh but his major activity

was concentrated on the royal castle at Windsor. This left the Percy family free to develop their own power-base in Northumberland.

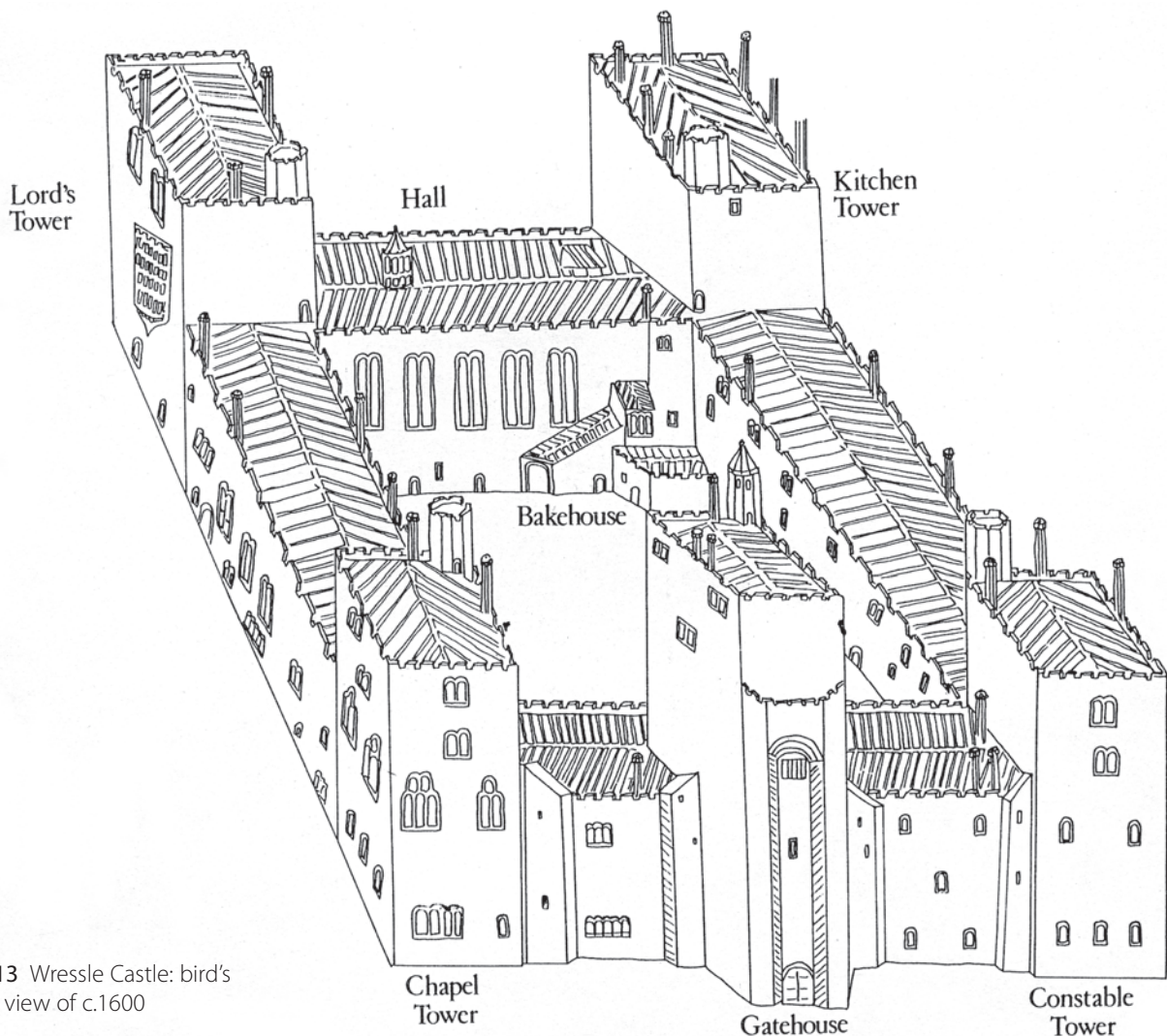
Shortly after the early stages of the protracted Anglo-Scottish war, Henry 1st Lord Percy had purchased the honour of Alnwick (1309) and immediately set about converting the earlier stone castle at Alnwick into a major bastion to defend the Scottish border. In this understudied fortress, it is believed that the twelfth-century gatehouse-tower was totally reformed with a cluster of D-shaped towers round a small court with the work continued by his son in the 1320s to create the massive towered enclosure visible today. By about 1340, this new circuit of domestic apartments was prefaced by the great gatehouse with its armorial figures and heraldry. The extensive outer circuit was then completed with a striking combined outer gatehouse and barbican. Still inhabited, Alnwick Castle was a forerunner of the major building programme that soon extended across northern England during Richard II's reign.

The Percies acquired the honour of Warkworth in 1332. Initially, the long-established castle at Warkworth only needed modest additions but it became the family's favoured residence for the next



Pl. 12 Warkworth Castle: the Percy tower-house

six generations culminating in the replacement of the earlier keep by one of the supreme building achievements of the fourteenth century. Possibly influenced by the Alnwick keep in its remodelling as a putative tower-house, that at Warkworth – as remarkable as any in contemporary Europe – combines regal domestic living within a tightly planned tower-like block. Square in shape with substantial canted projections from each side, the ground floor was devoted to services and staff functions with the principal apartments on the first floor and two residential suites above. The interlocking but socially demarcated layout, carefully detailed, demonstrates a vigorously controlled design that occurs elsewhere in late fourteenth century planning (Nunney, Wardour, and Bolton) but is extremely rare in an entirely domestic residence. Although it has lost its stone crown of battlements, pinnacles and turrets, this near complete structure commands the remainder of the castle, the nearby settlement, and the immediate countryside with the heraldic lion of the family sculpted on the outer face of the earl's bedchamber facing the road to Scotland. Possibly designed by John Lewyn, the work is imprecisely dated but it is agreed that it was constructed by the 1st earl between the years from about 1385 to 1400 and did not supercede the earlier great hall and residential apartments of the castle. It was also the earl's ambition to erect a large collegiate church at Warkworth rather than at Alnwick but work does not seem to have progressed beyond the foundations still in front of the tower-house.



Pl. 13 Wressle Castle: bird's eye view of c.1600

Meanwhile, Sir Thomas Percy, the younger brother of the earl of Northumberland built a splendid new residence for himself at Wressle in south-east Yorkshire. A career soldier for over twenty years, counsellor and diplomat, Percy was chamberlain and then steward of the royal household from 1390 onwards and a favourite of Richard II who created him earl of Worcester in 1397. Diplomatically a newly-recruited supporter of Henry IV, he was caught up in his family's rebellion against the crown and was executed after the battle of Shrewsbury.

Percy's castle at Wressle was probably begun in about 1390 and was finished by 1402. The outer court was of timber construction and has not survived, nor has much of the inner court except for the principal residential range and the adjacent dais wall of the great hall. However, a drawing of c.1600 which gives a bird's eye view of the inner court in its complete state shows that it was far more a princely residence than a fortress. It followed the quadrangular plan with corner towers that had been adopted a few years earlier at the Neville castle at Sheriff Hutton (q.v.) But it is closer in design to Lumley Castle (q.v.) sharing a dominating central entry, an opposing first floor great hall, an extended range of private apartments, and newel stairs in the courtyard angles. Wressle was not primarily a family home for Sir Thomas never married, but it was intended to be a residence reflecting his pedigree and distinguished state service. Consequently, it has an openness denied to its more northern contemporaries.

The Nevilles

Ranulph Neville (d.1331) came to local prominence as a successful border soldier but it was his son who made his family pre-eminent in the Durham palatinate. Ralph Neville (1331–67) not only served overseas in a military and ambassadorial capacity but he was the victor at the battle of Neville's Cross. His son John, 3rd Lord Neville (1367–88) proved a consummate soldier and supporter of Edward III fighting in Scotland, France, and Spain. Just as the Percies expanded northwards from their base in Yorkshire to Northumberland, so the rising family of Neville expanded southwards from their power base in Durham to north Yorkshire round Middleham and Sheriff Hutton. Ralph, 4th Lord Neville (1388–1425) spent less time on the battlefield than his father but was deeply involved in negotiating truces and peace with Scotland. To offset the power of the Percies based at Cockermouth, Richard II expanded the Neville estates into Cumbria with the royal honour of Penrith (1396) and Ralph's creation as earl of Westmorland.

The extensive building activity of the Nevilles seems to have been initiated by Ralph, 2nd Lord Neville with his rebuilding of the family castle at Brancepeth. It was made up of a series of large, almost free-standing towers, curtain wall linked, round two courts with a group of three forming Neville's residential *ensemble*. The massive rectangular towers are supported by angle buttresses terminating in corner turrets and where they have been destroyed, they were rebuilt during the early nineteenth century including a neo-Norman gatehouse on a Brobdignagian scale. There are no building records, but the work was probably completed by John, 3rd Lord Neville (d.1388). The two courts were made into a single one in the early nineteenth century and the residential core is still occupied, but Brancepeth is important because it was the template for the further sequence of major building projects by this family and their supporters.⁴

Raby Castle had been in the hands of the Neville family since the thirteenth century but its expansion was centred on the licence to crenellate of 1378. The two storeyed hall range with the lower hall as large as that above, first floor chapel, and the polygonal stone kitchen serving both halls bespeak the standing and aspiration of the Neville family. All are enclosed within an irregular circle of free-standing towers, turreted as at Brancepeth. The principal gate with its display of heraldry was constructed



Pl. 14 Raby Castle: entry frontage

between 1381 and 1388, and the whole site was enclosed with an apron wall. Though still occupied with interiors substantially altered in the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, Raby retains its essential combination of austerity and defence, feudal authority, and seigneurial luxury that is part of the fascination of these northern palace-fortresses.

In contrast with Brancepeth and Raby, the Neville stronghold at Sheriff Hutton is fragmentary. Begun under licence in 1382, it is more regular in plan than its two predecessors with ranges against the tall curtain walls and dominating towers at the four corners of the quadrangle. Completed by the earl of Westmorland by c.1402, the outer and middle courts, the great hall and most of the residential ranges have been destroyed, but the scale of the standing towered ruins reveal that Sheriff Hutton was a bravura residence.

Sheriff Hutton made a bold declaration of the family's intent not far from York just as the work of Ralph, 4th Lord Neville did at the long established castle at Middleham. The sequence of two storeyed lodgings developed round three sides of the inner courtyard helped to convert a Norman fortress into a palace-like residence, a move which may have been initiated after Neville was created earl of Westmorland in 1397.⁵ This may also have prompted the need to establish a fortalice at Penrith.⁶

Middleham stood almost within sight of Bolton Castle to the west, recently completed by one of Ralph Neville's supporters and later held by one of his sons-in-law. Bolton Castle was begun in 1378 by Richard, Lord Scrope whilst he was chancellor of England. Planned by John Lewyn and completed by about 1396, it follows the northern quadrangular pattern with rectangular towers integrated with the apartments lining each side of the courtyard. Of considerable internal complexity, the layout clearly differentiates the social scale and the staff activities of the castle's occupants. Bolton Castle is the most

complete and best preserved palace-fortress in England. It not only exhibits an unfettered design of its time but it is an unparalleled record of the permanent accommodation within a single residence by a leading magnate and his family.

A similar quadrangular plan was chosen by Ralph, Lord Lumley (d.1400), a leading supporter of the earl of Northumberland who held licences to crenellate Lumley Castle in 1389 (from the bishop) and in 1392 (from the king). Adopting a formalisation of the plan of Bolton Castle, the armorial decoration suggests completion by 1399. Still roofed and occupied, this palace-fortress was substantially remodelled in the 1570s by John, Lord Lumley and again by Sir John Vanburgh in the 1720s. Even though much of its internal accommodation has been dramatically altered, Lumley still retains its commanding presence, its great hall range, and a proud achievement of arms on the main gateway.

Though the power and wealth of the two leading families transformed the architectural scene in northern England during Richard II's reign, the balance of their relative importance and status was played out during the opening years of the fifteenth century. The death of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster in February 1399 and the royal seizure of his estates which should have passed to his exiled son brought an immediate response. Henry Bolingbroke, now duke of Lancaster, may or may not have planned to overthrow Richard II but his progress across Yorkshire after landing at Ravenspur gave him the confidence to challenge the king. Among his supporters were the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, heading the houses of the Percy and Neville families who signally failed to support the throne that had enriched them.

Though the newly-crowned Henry IV rewarded both families for securing the northern region, the earl of Northumberland, together with his brother and son, felt that their efforts had been insufficiently appreciated. At the battle of Shrewsbury (1404), Henry defeated the earl's son whilst Northumberland



Pl. 15 Bolton Castle: west range

fled to Scotland. Foolishly, he again took up arms, was defeated, and lost his patrimony. With his fall from grace, the star of the Neville family moved into the ascendancy. The earl of Westmorland founded a collegiate church close to his seat at Raby (1408) at the same time that he was improving the residential accommodation at Middleham Castle. Until his death in 1425, he continued to be the dominating magnate in the north of England, erecting late in his life the tower gatehouse at Bywell to protect his Northumbrian tenants from Percy attacks launched from nearby Prudhoe Castle.

During the second half of the fourteenth century, the crown had virtually left the government of the north to a tight group of magnates who readily filled the gap created by an absent monarch. They became the princes of the north and their extended building programmes reflected their rise in status. Contemporary castles in the Midlands and southern England were similarly quadrangular but smaller in scale with circular angle towers and comfortable but relatively modest domestic accommodation as with the castles at Shirburn, Scotney, Sterborough, Hemyock and even Bodiam. The northern fortresses were more extensive and on a palace-like scale. Though they were rarely as magnificent as those of contemporary princes in France, Bolton and Raby castles approach their complexity and scale. It is the totality of this handful of baronial castles developed over a relatively short period that makes them a worthy group to stand alongside contemporary work across the channel.

Notes

1. The richly-developed and still occupied fortress at Durham commands the city and adjacent cathedral as much as it has done for the past eight centuries. Rose Castle was rebuilt during the mid-fourteenth century. Although its scale is known, the destruction of a substantial part of it in 1664 and the remodelling of the remainder in 1828–31 makes it a shadow of its former self. A plan of 1671 shows that it was the only fortress in Cumbria to vie with the palace-fortresses to the east.
2. During the 1360s, Thomas Lucy had rebuilt the hall and private apartments and added the massive kitchen tower in the late 1370s. His daughter and her husband added a new gatehouse range as well as another court and armorial decorated gatehouse. The Scots captured and burnt the castle in 1387 necessitating a new outer court and heightened gatehouse. The development was essentially military-determined.
3. There are several obvious affinities with Raby Castle, particularly the machicolated parapets and diagonal corner turrets, but there is also a planning tentativeness about the massing of the towers at Brancepeth's residential core and in its internal layout which suggests that it may well have preceded the Raby development.
4. John Neville also reconstructed the great hall and principal apartments in the Norman castle at Bamburgh. This work was on a regal scale, undertaken by Neville in his role as constable and warden of the East Marches. The structure has been overlain by a heavy-handed rebuilding programme of 1894–1904 for Lord Armstrong. N. Guy (ed.) *The Castle Studies Group Journal* 26 (2012–13).
5. Middleham became of greater significance in the mid-fifteenth century as a Neville residence under Warwick the Kingmaker and the future Richard III.
6. Initially a sandstone tower and rectangular enclosure, a second tower was added in the early fifteenth century, but the major development was during the 1470s when the future Richard III converted it into the substantial, though ruined residence of today.

ENGLISH RESPONSE TO THE THREAT OF INVASION

In contrast with France throughout a protracted war, England never experienced an invasion from France or a battle on English soil. Yet the likelihood of a French army crossing the Channel in the 1380s caused near panic in London and throughout much of southern England.¹

Defending Southern England

There were few periods during the fourteenth century when parts of England were not under the threat and sometimes the reality of invasion. The marcher borders suffered uncertainty though not reprisals from Edward I's conquest of Wales, whereas northern England experienced the bitter wrath of Scottish raiders throughout much of Edward II's reign, with widespread damage as far south as central Yorkshire and Lancashire. During the early years of Edward III's rule, the south coast began to experience short-lived raids by French privateers, culminating in attacks on Portsmouth and Southampton (1338), Dover, Hastings, Portsmouth and Plymouth (1339), and Portsmouth again in 1342. They showed up the defensive weakness of the Channel coastline though few practical steps were taken to rectify the situation outside strengthening the Tower of London and Carisbrooke Castle.

Widespread fear of French invasion in 1359–60 drew attention to the vulnerability of London and the Thames estuary to foreign naval attacks. The crown was persuaded to upgrade the defences and add a royal suite at Hadleigh Castle on the north side of the Thames estuary (c.1361–70) and to construct an entirely new fortress on the opposite side. Queenborough Castle on the Isle of Sheppey (1361–c.1372) safeguarded the main shipping channel of the Swale and its confluence with the Medway, but more importantly, it commanded the broad approach to the Thames and its hinterland. The inhabitants of some of the towns on the south-east coast also became jittery. A severe French attack on Rye and Winchelsea in March 1360 worried the men of Rye, persuaded Lewes Priory to protect its precinct with crenellated walls (July 1360), and frightened the burghers of Southampton into initiating the sea-facing defences, still unfinished by 1386 when the king's help was sought to complete the project. Whereas Southampton was mainly a trading port, Portsmouth was essentially a naval port used for mustering ships throughout the war. In 1369, the crown reviewed the defences of the harbour's guardian fortress, Portchester Castle, and heightened its walls and towers, with the added floors of Assheton's Tower dominated by early examples of gunports. The walls of Rochester Castle guarding the river Medway also benefitted from two new towers (1367–70) but no private individuals took similar protective measures during this period of impending invasion.

The thirty ships that landed forces at Portsmouth and burnt the town in 1370 pointed up the inadequacy of English control of the Channel, which was confirmed by the defeat of an English expeditionary force by a Castilian fleet in a fierce battle off La Rochelle two years later. Edward III's claim to be lord of the sea was shown to be illusory, encouraging the French to expand their own fleet rather than rely on a Castilian ally whose support might not always be so readily available. French attacks against vulnerable south-east England became increasingly severe, peaking in 1377 with two waves of enemy forces. The first in June burnt Rye, Weymouth, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, trashed the countryside round Lewes, and retreated unhindered across the Channel. The second offensive in August virtually captured the Isle of Wight, besieged Carisbrooke Castle, and extracted a ransom of 1,000 marks from the populace before re-crossing the Channel to attack Calais. These were little more than the minor skirmishes of war but they panicked the southern counties and initiated a wave of defensive building that embraced royal, civic, and private enterprise working to a common end (1378–c.1392). Rumours throughout 1379

that a French invasion was imminent seemed to be confirmed in the following year when a combined French and Castilian force harried the north Kent coast between Hoo and Gravesend, followed by a further attack on Winchelsea and inland Appledore in the following year. Fear that the very gates of London would be under siege intensified the urgency of the national building programme.

Richard II protected the waters of the Solent and the Isle of Wight by rebuilding the keep at Southampton Castle (1378–82), which was understandably ordered to be completed quickly under the king's master-mason, Henry Yevele, though it took ten years to achieve. Among his many defensive assignments at this time, Yevele was also responsible for heightening the mid-fourteenth century gatehouse of Carisbrooke Castle with its high-level gunports and machicolated gallery (1380–83). Rochester Castle was strengthened still further by a bastion gateway dominating the strategic bridge across the lower Medway and the main road from Dover to London (1378–83). At the same time, all castellans from Kent to Caernarvonshire were put on alert, and even the defences at Conwy, Beaumaris, and Caernarfon castles in North Wales were reviewed and some new lookout positions created. Later crown involvement extended to supporting the town defences at Southampton and Canterbury, which had stretched the resources of the local citizens.

With royal encouragement, two or three leading magnates contributed important works in the south-east. Lord Cobham began building a new castle at Cooling on the recently attacked marshland overlooking the narrowing estuary of the Thames. Although there is evidence here, as elsewhere, that work was begun at least eighteen months before the licence to crenellate was issued in February 1381, it is the rare brass and enamel panel on the outer gatehouse boasting of the value of Cobham's castle to the country that commands attention. Archbishop Courtenay extended the defences at his residence at Saltwood with an impressive gatehouse and newly towered outer baily (c.1382–c.1385). Bishop Wykeham similarly repaired the precinct wall of his episcopal palace of Wolvesey and helped with that enclosing Winchester.

Private landowners further from the coast similarly sought to protect their properties. As far as we know, their work was not part of any concerted scheme but an individual reaction to anticipated foreign attack. The fortified house at Scotney (c.1378) by Roger Ashburnham, the younger son of a local knight, and that of Sir John Cobham at Hever (1383) were essentially new works by modest landowners, whereas the fortifications by the bishop of Chichester at Amberley (1377) and by Thomas, Lord St John of Basing at Halnaker (c.1380) were additions to earlier domestic residences. Lord St John was active throughout his life as a commissioner of array and conservator of the peace in Sussex and his work at Halnaker, if not formidable, was certainly a deterrent to all but the most determined enemy. The three-storey tower and defended entry added at Wilmington Priory were probably part of this response, as was the gatehouse at Michelham Priory. Some additions were more modest, such as the machicoulis added to the gatehouses at Allington and Leeds Castles. The owner of Westenhanger must also have been pleased that the walls and towers begun under licence in 1343 had probably been completed by 1381 when a private vendetta assault on the castle gave a foretaste of more serious problems ahead.

Most of the civic defences in the vulnerable south-east were erected in response to this threat of French invasion. The refortification of Canterbury, initiated by the burgesses in 1378, was supported by Archbishop Sudbury who starter-funded the imposing west gate in 1380. Richard II gave further encouragement five years later with a grant of £100, with work continuing throughout the 1380s and 1390s when the towers and walls along the banks of the River Stour were erected. New walls were built or existing ones repaired by burgesses at Rochester, Dover, Rye, and Chichester though newly

Pl. 16 Saltwood Castle:
gatehouse



made ditches, earthen banks, timber palisades were deemed adequate at Portsmouth and Sandwich. As it was held that the south-east was at the greatest risk, comparable work in East Anglia at Harwich, Yarmouth, Norwich, and Kings Lynn was relatively minor. London was reasonably well protected but plans were drawn up by the city in 1390 for building a tower on each side of the Thames below the port of London to protect its shipping.

It is difficult at this distance of time to appreciate the fear that invasion can engender. News, alarm, and hope spread as rapidly as intelligence confirmed or contradicted earlier rumours. Some idea of the same local response to a comparable situation can be seen at Cobb's Hall, Aldington, overlooking Romney Marsh, an early sixteenth-century timber-framed house where the rear face has been completely covered with a massive stone wall with tiny openings for muskets. If this was the local reaction to the Napoleonic scare, how much more frightening must it have been in the late fourteenth century when rumour and counter-rumour were even more rife.

The government's strategic response was to launch a *chevauchée* across northern France led by the earl of Buckingham (1380), take key French coastal fortresses to combat the naval activity, and regain control of the Channel. Leases were negotiated on Brest and Cherbourg but attacks on St Malo, Harfleur, and Nantes were repulsed, while the 'crusade' in Flanders led by the belligerent bishop of Norwich (1383) turned into a fiasco. A truce followed in 1384, but earlier in that year the French king's uncle, Philip duke of Burgundy, had inherited the county of Flanders he had long coveted, and with the loss of English influence there the French now pressed home their plans to take the war across the Channel. The possibility of an invasion of England by a Franco-Burgundian force which Philip was now urging upon the young Charles VI became frighteningly possible. Rumours of an impending invasion were rife throughout England in 1385, with the south coast particularly vulnerable as Richard II ineffectively led an army to Scotland. The southern counties were now left dangerously exposed to an attack by the French. Had the waiting French fleet taken advantage of the situation, it would have encountered little opposition. However, a protracted revolt in Flanders postponed the invasion to another day. It is against this background that Sir Edward Dalyngrigge was granted a licence in October 'to construct and make into a castle his manor house at Bodiam near the sea in the county of Sussex for the defence of the adjacent country and resistance to our enemies'. One of the best known castles in Southern England was the result. Some expenditure was also incurred in putting Dartmouth, Plymouth and the royal castles at Trematon and Tintagel in good order as it was feared the French might attempt a secondary landing in the south-west.

Despite marginalisation by some historians,² the danger was real enough. Ships, men, materials, and supplies poured into the Zwin estuary in Flanders throughout 1386, giving credence to the likelihood of imminent invasion.³ Troops were deployed along the south coast, while the possibility of Scottish attacks across the northern border in support of the French warranted enhancing the defences at Tynemouth and Carlisle castles. By August, London and the south-eastern counties were in panic, for it was accurately reported that the armada at Sluys was ready to sail. Although estimates vary, it was "by common consent the largest ... army that had ever been seen in Europe".⁴ London was guarded by 4,500 men positioned within a 60 mile radius of the capital while its citizens were now pulling down houses near its walls, the better to resist the enemy. Yet the French aborted the enterprise in November on the grounds of its high cost, the lack of further financial sources, and poor weather conditions. For the second time in a year, England was spared invasion. Any thought of postponing the project for only a few months was thoroughly dampened by the incisive naval successes scored in the following year. In March, the earl of Arundel captured fifty ships of the combined French and Flemish fleet and sank another dozen in a mortal blow to French naval activity. This was supported five months later when the earl of Northumberland's son defeated a French naval attack on Brest (1387).

The widely held desire for peace by both countries led to a three-year truce (1389) subsequently renewed each year as a prelude to a more lasting reconciliation. Though there were an increasing number of voices supporting Richard II's ardent desire for peace with France, the invasion scare had fuelled resentment and bitterness against the French so that rebuilding the walls and towers at Canterbury continued, financially supported by Archbishop Courtenay and Prior Chillenden. The crown now proposed to repair the decayed keep at Canterbury Castle (1390), while Winchester refronted the west gate to include gun ports (c.1392–94) and put the castle in good order (from 1390 to 1403). It is possible that the licence granted to John, Lord Devereux in 1392 to enclose his entirely domestic residence at Penshurst was a similar response, but it is more likely to lie in local politics in Kent at this time.⁵ Like the English king, Charles VI was also keen for peace and it was his bouts of insanity from 1392 onwards that spurred

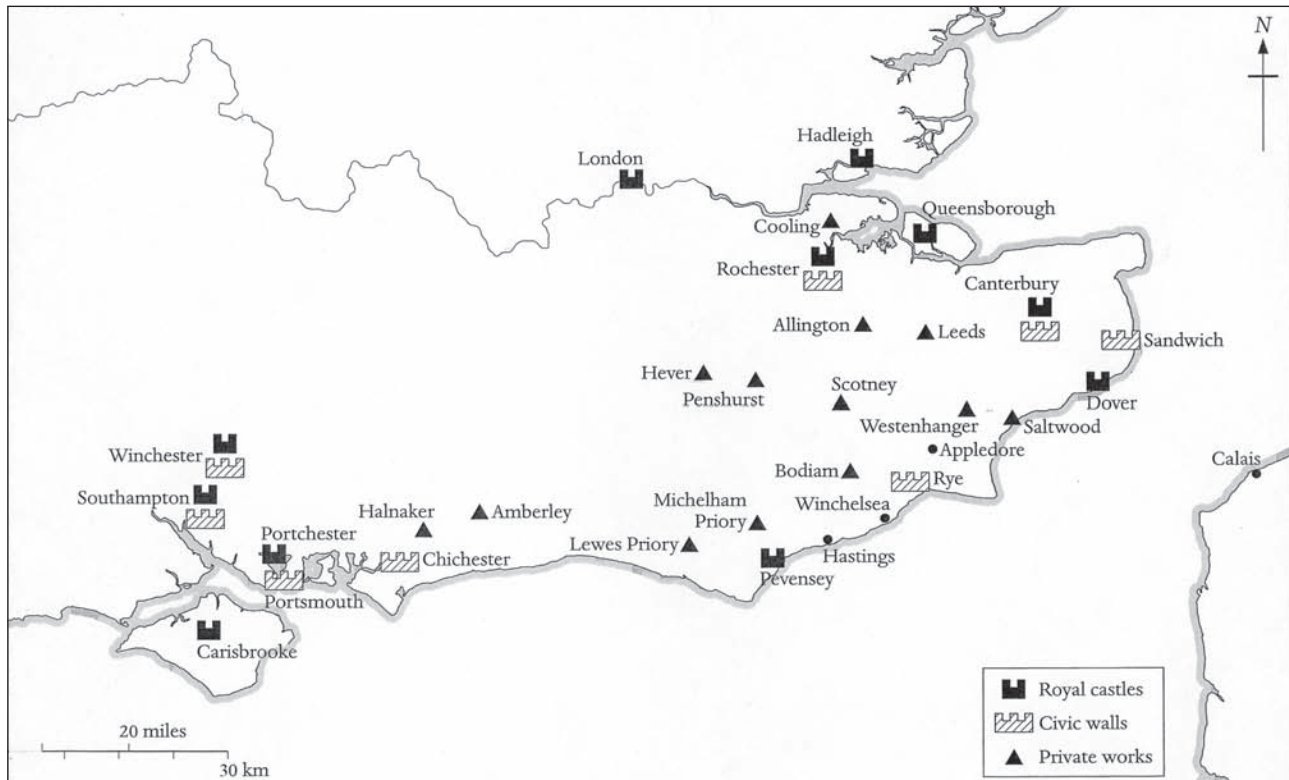


Fig. 11 Defences in Southern England: 1360–1400

attempts between the two demoralised countries to reach a grudging but mutual reconciliation. The threat of invasion receded as negotiations led to the relatively permanent truce in 1396, confirmed by the marriage of the recently widowed Richard II to the six-year-old daughter of the French king.

The Character of the Defences

These thirty years of crisis witnessed the most important spate of fortress-building activity between Edward I's subjugation of north and central Wales in the 1280s and Henry VIII's defence of the south coast in the late 1530s. The strategy adopted in the later fourteenth century was similar to that of a hundred years earlier in its combination of royal and magnate activity, but the Ricardian work was marked by rigorous financial constraint and severe limitations of manpower resources.

The threat of an enemy invasion of England was met by three differing responses in terms of defensive architecture. Queenborough Castle the only royal castle built on a fresh site throughout the later middle ages cost the immense sum of about £20,000. It was a concentric design of circular rather than the rectangular form adopted by Edward I, with a central ring of buildings enclosing a small courtyard interrupted by four towers and a twin-towered gatehouse. Encircling this 'rotunda' was a low, moat-enclosing wall with opposing gatehouses. As at Windsor, the principal apartments were at first floor level above undercrofts and again like Windsor, the detailing was austere and the roofs were low pitched in contrast with contemporary castle architecture in France. The castle was pulled down shortly after 1650 and is poorly documented, particularly regrettably so in view of its design importance when few military structures were being built in England.⁶ In contrast, the royal work at Hadleigh was more conventional. It was a mixture of defence and residence – a new main entrance and towered east front facing the sea, plus a now lost suite of apartments for the aging Edward III.

Cooling Castle was a hastily built defensive station. It was made up of two rectangular wards within encircling moats, the inner ward a quarter of the size of the outer one. Both were summarily protected by enclosing walls and modest angle towers reminiscent of mid-thirteenth century work, but the outer ward (as at Saltwood Castle) was capable of accommodating a large number of troops. To ensure that work was completed quickly, at least three contractors were involved, the design was of the simplest, and the outer and inner wards were built virtually independent of each other.

Bodiam Castle combined military intent with quality residential facilities influenced by work at Windsor. Dalyngrigge's high quality structure was in the popular quadrangular form that bristled with defensive features. The forbidding circuit of gatehouse, towers, and walls included a broad moat, independent barbican, machicolated parapets and gun ports, though some of the fortifications are less serviceable than they appear to be. For this castle has been at the heart of recent revisionist views in a still ongoing debate of differing social, political, aesthetic, and landscape interpretations.⁷

Apart from the additions at Hadleigh, all these castles were entirely new strongholds, unaffected by earlier structures, though they had certainly existed at Cooling and Bodiam. This period also saw the use of cannons in the field and the earliest exemplars in England of circular and keyhole-shaped gun ports. Queenborough was the earliest castle to deploy artillery in this country as well as the more traditional and still effective weapons such as mangonels. The earliest extant gunports are a few years later, spread across royal, civic, and private structures in Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent. Finally, the expansion of the water defences which had been such a prominent feature at Leeds Castle since the thirteenth century was mirrored at Saltwood and to a lesser extent at Scotney and by the wide moats at Cooling, Bodiam and Westenhanger castles.

Nor were these years without their effect on the form of domestic houses in the south-east, although again there was no common solution. Haver anticipated Bodiam and Westenhanger in adopting the moated rectangular plan, though with miniature corner towers and gateway, while the residential core at Halnaker was protected by a more formidable frontage. The two courts at Scotney were an adoption of the Cooling design to another lowland site but with the now destroyed residential cross range rising above the low angle towers and enclosing walls. The earlier houses at Amberley and Penshurst were now protected by high perimeter walls and towers – circular at Amberley, rectangular at Penshurst.

These castles and defended houses reflect the haphazard and limited financial arrangements imposed by the scarcity of royal funds and the need to rely on private resources. The new castles supplemented the long-established but maintained fortresses at Rochester, Dover, Pevensey, Lewes, Portchester, and Carisbrooke, whereas the fortified houses were an individual reaction to the anticipated invasion. The decision to build a new one, or to extend an earlier house defensively, was particularly likely with war veterans such as Cobham, Dalyngrigge, and Lord St John of Basing who had experienced the tension, fear, and material destruction of invading forces abroad. Their houses may have been out of the immediate reach of short-lived coastal attacks but they were just as powerful a reaction to the prospect of invasion as the sea-facing fortresses.

Defensive necessity stretched the financial resources of the crown, local landowners, and urban communities for it was never recognised that sustained war with France was beyond the financial resources of both the English state and the capacity of its population. Crown expenditure on coastal defence was modest compared with the cost of war during the later fourteenth century but parliamentary grants were meagre, and the exchequer was empty so that disquiet about the royal finances became increasingly shrill until the close of the 1380s when the danger of invasion had passed. With one exception, the castles developed by local landowners reflected their financial constraint. Work was essentially limited to curtain



Pl. 17 Bodiam Castle: entry frontage (right) and residential range (left)

walling with open-backed or closed towers and modest gatehouses as at Cooling, Halnaker, Hever, and Amberley. The gatehouses at Saltwood and Cooling were rubble-built whereas more expensive ashlar was used at Scotney and to a limited extent at Hever. As Roger Ashburnham's income was modest, he must have benefited from additional financial resources. Lord Cobham was a leading landowner in Kent but the construction of Cooling pushed his finances to the limit. And though Bodiam was obviously expensive to build and the only castle of belligerently military intent, it was the assertive response of a knight whose upwardly mobile career had been bested by John of Gaunt's local agents.

The financial limitations on urban defences had been particularly highlighted in 1338 by Southampton's ineffective seaward defences. It was a further generation before its timber and earthen defences were replaced with walls of stone but once spurred into action, expenditure on urban defences in England were pursued with vigour, sometimes helped by the crown. Work at Canterbury was funded jointly by the city, the cathedral priory, and the archbishop so that its defences were as militarily up-to-date as they were at Southampton and Winchester where the response included armorial pride for crown support.

The Aftermath

The coastal raids on southern England during the early and mid-fifteenth century were a coda to the justified fears of Richard II's time. They were essentially the consequence of piracy rather than invasion and were aimed towards the developing ports of Portsmouth, Poole, Dartmouth, Plymouth, and Fowey rather than the decaying Cinque ports of Kent and Sussex. Recent research has suggested that Henry

IV used privateering as a controlled form of safeguarding the Channel, and not surprisingly there was a retaliation. The defences were strengthened at Portsmouth and Poole and further west at Dartmouth, Plymouth, and rather later at Fowey, where individuals as much as the towns took the initiative to protect themselves. Private measures even extended to defensible frontages at Compton and Berry Pomeroy castles (c.1450–95) and more modestly at Pengersick (c.1520).

The French successes of the late 1430s initiated the inexorable reversal of English fortune in northern France and the likelihood of French retaliatory expeditions across the Channel. A tower seems to have been added at about this time at Lympne Castle overlooking Romney Marsh, while a two-storey brick gun tower, The Bulwarks, was built in 1451 to defend Sandwich. The town was the only one to be raided a few years later when the French ‘with many gonnes’ sailed as far as the Norfolk coast.

One consequence of the earlier invasion threat and the reality of coastal raids was that the gunports came to be added to the portfolio of military features in a domestic context. The defensive arcade at Southampton and the west gate at Canterbury show a surprising sophistication in their distribution of gunports to achieve interlocking fields of fire. This was repeated at Raglan Castle in the mid-fifteenth century where their siting at waist level as well as their careful flanking capabilities shows they meant business. On the other hand, those at Minster Lovell Hall, Sudeley Castle, and Kirby Muxloe Castle are at odd levels or in newel stairs, either incapable of being operated or, at best, used for firing salutes to impress visitors. At least, their inclusion shows that the owner was up-to-date in his symbolism.

Notes

1. *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. A. Curry & M. Jones (1994).
2. This particularly applies to some of the assessments of Bodiam Castle determined with hindsight.
3. French chroniclers exaggerated when they estimated that 900 ships and 60,000 men were assembled, but the scale of the operation was clearly impressive. N. Saul, *Richard II* (1997) 152–6, 167–9, assesses that ‘England stood in graver danger of being overwhelmed than at any time since the beginning of the long struggle with France in the 1330s’, *ibid.* 153. Also J.J.N. Palmer, *England, France and Christendom 1377–99* (1972).
4. Saul, *Richard II*, 153.
5. *Cal. Pat. Rolls: 1391–96*, 164. B. Webster, ‘The community of Kent in the reign of Richard II’, *Arch. Cant.* 99 (1984) 217–29.
6. A few mounds and the central well survive close to the railway station. Although built in the early fourteenth century with a taller rotunda, Bellver Castle, Majorca, is similar in plan and in its combination of residential and military features.
7. For a summary of the arguments, A. Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses*, 3 (2006) 317–9. For more detail, C. Coulson, *Ideals & Practices of Medieval Knighthood*, 4 (1992) 51–107 and the riposte by C. Platt, *Medieval Archaeology*, 51 (2007) 83–102.

THE FRENCH CROWN: 1330–1400

CROWN AND PROVINCES IN FRANCE DURING THE WAR

France is physically diverse with no obvious geographical frontier to the east. It is bounded on the west by the Atlantic Ocean and separated from England to its north by the English Channel. Its eastern frontier followed the courses of the rivers Scheldt, Meuse, Saône, and Rhône which separated it from the many states of the Holy Roman Empire, while the country's south-west frontier was abruptly marked by the Pyrenees.

Throughout the thirteenth century, the French crown had adopted an aggressive policy of expanding the modest royal demesne centred on Paris and the Île de France. It was crowned early in the century by the acquisition of the formidable Angevin empire – Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine – through success at the battle of Bouvines (1214) over the forces of King John of England. Poitou was fully acquired ten years later, while Henry III of England agreed in 1259 to pay liege homage to the French king for the duchy of Aquitaine. At the same time, the Albigensian crusade broke up the county of Toulouse with Mediterranean Languedoc becoming part of the royal demesne in 1229. The crown lands now extended to the Mediterranean and included Champagne after 1284 through Philip IV's marriage to its heiress. On the accession of Philip VI in 1328, the royal demesne covered two-thirds of the kingdom that became France.

This vast expansion of the royal demesne naturally transformed the monarch's revenue base and legal authority. The determination to claim and collect all possible sources of revenue ensured that the French king became the richest monarch in Europe and the most feared through his development of an efficient royal army. Yet throughout the thirteenth century and for generations beyond, the king and the aristocracy rarely conjoined. The interests of the aristocracy were centred on the locality from which they derived their titles. The king essentially relied for advice on close relations, royal servants, and his confessors. The aristocracy resented them, particularly from the early fourteenth century when two regencies encouraged the development of a royal council made up of the king's close supporters. The king would occasionally grant some of the royal lands to members of the royal family as appanages but their control would only last for a generation or two, usually following royal policies, until reverting to the royal demesne.

One of the determining facts of French history throughout the later middle ages was the division of the country into the royal domain with the remainder broken up into semi-autonomous regions. These varied from the great fiefs which were continually seeking greater independence from royal authority

to minor communities with their differing loyalties, legal customs, and language. By the opening of the war in 1337, the royal demesne was centred on Paris and the Île de France. It included Picardy, Normandy and Maine to the north and west, Anjou, Touraine, Orléans and Champagne further south, the central provinces of Poitou, Limousin, and Berry, and the southern regions of the Auvergne and Languedoc in the far south reaching to the Mediterranean sea.¹ The king's authority over the rest of the country varied from the considerable to the hardly at all. This was the consequence of the patchwork of fiefs, some of substantial scale and significance, with others of modest size and importance. Whereas the church hoarded all lands and territories granted to it, the French and to a much lesser extent, the English kings granted whole areas to royal relations and favoured friends. This largesse of the French monarchs, sometimes encompassing vast regions, almost brought about a permanent break-up of the country – despite the bond of blood ties – particularly during the 1420s.

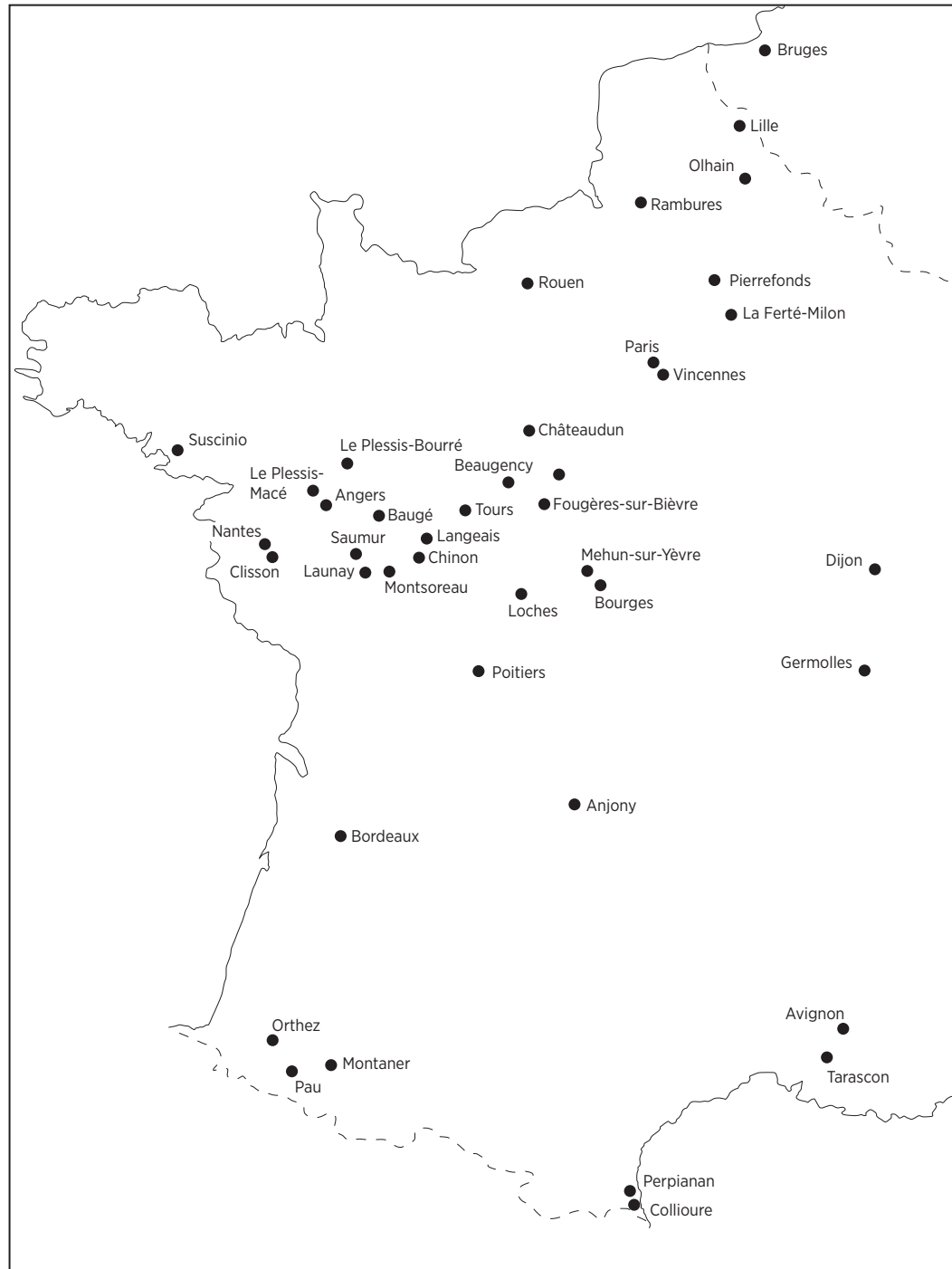
By 1337, there were three great fiefs – the county of Flanders and the duchies of Brittany and Aquitaine. They were virtually autonomous principalities ruled by independent dynasties, though related to the Valois monarch. The same applied to the small but independent kingdom of Navarre.

Brittany had built up its strength and independence under the four counts (using the title of duke) who had ruled it during the thirteenth century and had developed a centralised administration. Philip IV, the Fair had recognised their achievement when he officially raised the region to a duchy in 1297 and hoped thereby to enmesh it more closely to his own court, though the dukes were adamant in preserving the autonomy of their court. Furthermore, much of Brittany's trade was with England where members of the ducal family were welcomed guests. Initially, Brittany was very faithful to the French crown until the Breton war of succession (1341–64). It was this dynastic quarrel that brought Brittany to the forefront of the war in 1341, while its peripheral position towards France ensured that it held this position for many years.

Flanders which included the western part of what is now Belgium, was the most powerful and wealthy fief because of the prosperity of its cloth trade which depended on imports of English wool. Ghent was the largest city of northern Europe after Paris, followed by Bruges, Lille and Ypres. Wealth and hardship lived side by side with a volatile population that erupted in a series of urban riots. It was the clash between the region's close dependence on the wool trade with England and the French monarch's determination to ensure that the cloth trade was turned to France's advantage that led to the prolonged struggle that marked the first phase of the war. The upset of the Flemish cloth trade was to the advantage of neighbouring Hainault whose relations were warm towards England. Count William had provided Queen Isabella and Mortimer with a small fleet to return to England in 1326 whilst his daughter had married Edward III in 1328.

Aquitaine was the third and most troublesome of the great fiefs.² The kings of England had long held this duchy but it created an impossible situation whereby an independent sovereign was also a vassal of the king of France. This feudal relationship and the very different interests were almost certain to lead to an inevitable conflict. Aquitaine highlighted the problems created by the royal policy of establishing the ascendancy of the royal administration without annexing them to the royal domain. It was in Aquitaine (and to a lesser extent in Flanders) that this practice encountered resistance. The fact that the boundaries of Aquitaine were vague and undefined encouraged both monarchs to build castles and new towns³ throughout the first third of the fourteenth century. The preservation of this duchy depended on its many castles and walled towns, most of them along the lines of the rivers that characterise the region. These castles and towns were the bases for the continuous and debilitating guerrilla war that marked this region throughout the war. During the first phase, the Armagnac, Albrets, and Foix were

Fig. 12 French residences described in the text: 1330–1480



the leading families in the region, though Henry of Lancaster, earl of Derby spent much of his time in Aquitaine in 1345–47 as the Black Prince did between 1355 and 1371.

These great fiefs played a major role in determining the course of the war through their opposition at different stages to the French monarch and their desire to humiliate him. There were also many smaller regional units including the appanages created by the kings for their younger sons – the duke of Bourbon and the counts of Artois and Evreux.⁴ They were relatively close to the crown but some of the remaining lordships were territorially significant and more independent such as the count of Blois,

the lords of Montmorency, and particularly the count of Foix-Béarn. Most of the remaining lordships were modest and were centred on a fortress which was the base for the lord or *seigneur châtelaine*. By the close of the war, some of these units had been brought within the rule of a great fief, but even though Charles VII and Louis XI absorbed much of France into the royal domain during the second half of the fifteenth century, many of these provincial units continued to exist, though they were far more mindful of the political authority of a less distant monarch.

Organising support for the royal cause from this unwieldy group of fiefs and smaller appanages was difficult enough, but their autonomous status gave them the facility to support the enemy as much as the crown if it suited them. This was certainly the case throughout the war in Aquitaine, for one of the key differences between the princes of the realm and the lesser nobility was that the king's judges and officials had no jurisdiction over the inhabitants of the great fiefs. This continuous political, judicial, and administrative tussle was one of the reasons why the war was so protracted.

It was John II's generosity to his three younger sons during the 1350s that fundamentally altered the territorial balance between the crown and the aristocracy and created massive problems for the monarchy that took nearly two centuries to overcome. The development of Burgundy as a virtual independent state typified the political and territorial consequences that these royal principalities created. Through John II granting the modest appanage of Burgundy to his youngest son, his line gradually developed an independent duchy that within four generations threatened the crown itself.

Notes

1. In 1349, Charles VI also acquired the Dauphiné, north of Provence.
2. At times, Aquitaine and Gascony seem to be interchangeable titles among historians. There was no duchy of Gascony but that of Aquitaine or its popular name Guyenne (coming from 'Aguaine'). At that time, Gascons, like Flemings, were considered as distinct people from the French. Gascons spoke a language of Occitan while most Flemings spoke a Germanic language. Western Gascons (from Bordeaux to Bayonne) were traditionally faithful to the kings of England as dukes of Aquitaine (direct descendants of Eleanor of Aquitaine) while eastern Gascons fought for the French.
3. Some became bastides (fortified towns) but that was subsequent to their foundation.
4. The Bourbon appanage, close to Berry, was transformed into a duchy in 1327.

PRIDE AND DISGRACE: 1337–1360

Recent opinion confirms that it was Philip VI who initiated the war with England in May 1337 with the confiscation of the duchy of Aquitaine.¹ This was only one of several disputatious situations at the time. They included England's fear that Philip VI was going to invade England on behalf of his Scottish ally David II, while the French king's great concern following Edward III's marriage to Philippa of Hainault was about England's increasingly close economic ties with the prosperous cloth weaving towns in Flanders and the Low Countries. Though the outbreak of hostilities occurred in 1337 and included attacks on the Channel ports, particularly Southampton, military activity proved secondary to the intense bargaining and political negotiation for potential supporters by both sides. Edward's alliances collapsed first though this was followed shortly afterwards by his formal claim to the title and arms of the king of France (1340). It was at this point that the tenor of the war fundamentally changed from one about feudal rights to a dynastic claim to the French throne and a fundamental threat to Valois authority.

The naval defeat at Sluys was the first setback for France but the disputed succession to the duchy of Brittany that arose shortly afterwards was a distraction that cost the Valois dear. The leading claimant, Charles of Blois, Philip VI's nephew seemed to have an undisputed title until Edward III threw his support behind John, count of Montfort by invading the duchy in 1342. Brittany commanded England's sea trade with Aquitaine and was a potential gateway to France's interior. The war was one of attrition – siege, counter siege, and raids – in what was essentially a civil war. Most of the nobility, the clergy and the French-speaking part of Brittany supported Blois. The gentry, most of the towns, and the peasantry of the Breton-speaking west supported Montfort. The war lasted over twenty years until the defeat of Blois at the battle of Auray in 1364, but the duchy continued to be an irritant to the Valois throughout the fifteenth century.

Meanwhile, the English hold on Aquitaine had deteriorated. Philip VI's armies had taken many ports along the Garonne necessitating military intervention. English success in Brittany had pointed the way forward – short campaigns across France intent on devastating the enemy, plundering the countryside, and seizing as much booty as possible. What followed was intended to be a three pronged attack. The first expedition to Flanders was to be led by Edward; the second to Brittany was under the earl of Northampton, and the third to Aquitaine under Henry, earl of Lancaster. Edward's campaign was nullified by the murder of his principal supporter in Flanders. In Brittany, the reopened war led to the capture of Charles of Blois (1347) and English control of the duchy; while Lancaster's capable military and financial performance over two years in Aquitaine brought as much benefit to the Gascons of the English party as rewards to the English commanders.

In 1346, Edwards initiated a two pronged attack led by him to Normandy and one led by Sir Hugh Hastings to Flanders to take the pressure off Lancaster in Aquitaine. Much of Normandy was sacked encouraging the French army to try and vanquish the English army on the battlefield at Crécy. The consequences were a disaster for the French who retreated in total disarray. The long siege of Calais that followed established an English bridgehead for future invasions instead of needing to rely on access through Flanders. Philip VI assembled a relieving army but after assessing the scene, he retreated rather than lose more troops. At the same time, the Scottish invasion of northern England resulted in defeat at Neville's Cross outside Durham and was sealed with the capture of David II of Scotland.

It was unfortunate for the French that Philip VI (d.1350) was competent but irresolute whilst his successor John II (1350–64) was a mediocrity. Though chivalrous, he was quick to take offence, a poor judge of character, and lived in a perpetual state of uncertainty and irresolution. The early years of his reign were marked by the appalling consequences of the plague which had massively reduced the populations of both countries at war between 1347 and the early 1350s. There were no invading armies, though plenty of threats from Edward, but the French king's difficulties were compounded by the machinations of the devious Charles II of Navarre leading a formidable opposition party from his power-base in Normandy. He had a potential claim to the French throne but he pushed his claim to Burgundy, Champagne and Angouleme far more vigorously. Despite agreeing to marry John II's daughter, he was deeply implicated in the murder of the upstart Constable, Charles of Spain (1354). He intrigued with the English as much as with the French, while his arrest two years later led to disturbances in Normandy. French misfortune was compounded by the resounding defeat of the army at Poitiers and the capture of the French king (1356).

The consequence was a political and financial crisis with the eighteen-year-old and deeply humiliated dauphin Charles² battered between the opposing views of greedy counsellors and self-centred merchants. The treasury was empty but Charles' attempts to reform the currency prompted a division between

the wealthy merchants led by Étienne Marcel seeking government reform, and the king of Navarre's supporters led by the bishop of Laon who wished to take over royal control. Charles of Navarre escaped from prison (1357) but in the following year, the dauphin fled from Paris to raise sufficient forces from the estates of Champagne to quell the Navarrese supporters ravaging the countryside. The civil war that spread from Normandy to Paris was as devastating to the local populace as any raid by the English but it was compounded by an independent revolt. The Jacquerie was an explosive peasant rebellion in Champagne and Picardy against all forms of authority – nobles, routiers, and tax inspectors (1358). It had no leader and no organisation but Charles of Navarre swiftly put himself at the head of the resistance that defended the nobility and in so doing, became incredibly popular. The dauphin joined him in putting down the rebellion while Étienne Marcel appealed to the Flemish towns for aid but he was murdered in Paris whose fickle citizens promptly welcomed back the dauphin.

The rapprochement between the dauphin and Navarre was short-lived when the latter negotiated with the English for the division of the kingdom between them. Meanwhile, local communities were increasingly reluctant to meet royal demands for taxation, particularly as brigandage and the devastation of the *routiers* weighed far more heavily on them. These roving forces even spread to the Auvergne which had so far lain outside the scope of the Anglo-French conflict. Out of this maelstrom of confusion developed attempts to negotiate with the English. Discussions were uneasy until Edward III ravaged the countryside as far as Burgundy resulting in the Treaty of Calais (1360). The royal hostage was released (1362) though Louis of Anjou failed to honour the terms of his release so that King John the Good returned to London to take the place of his renegade son and died there shortly afterwards (1364).

In administration as much as in battle, the distance between the French crown and the nobility was in marked contrast with the close relations between Edward III and the English aristocracy. And while the English armies were barely more disciplined than the French, the lure of booty and plunder were denied to the French who subsequently had to deal with the pillaging and terrors of the *routiers* and the enormous ransoms they demanded. For the enemy, France had become a sauceboat for the profits of war. French military operations were primarily in the hands of the constables whose abilities varied. The position particularly developed as a consequence of a line of weak monarchs in military matters which ran as a thread throughout the war. In England, the contrast with Edward III, Henry V, and Bedford could hardly be greater. Furthermore, the promotion in France of men from the minor nobility rather than the aristocracy was a major weakness in that country's military organisation. Du Guesclin (1370–80) was merely one of the more obvious examples, elevated from a routiers-captain to Constable and a tomb in the royal necropolis of St Denis. Such people were bitterly resented by the long established aristocracy who were themselves divided on resolving the current military situation.

Notes

1. R. Knecht, *The Valois* (2004) 23; A. Curry in *France in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. D. Potter (2002), 99.
2. Throughout this study, the eldest son of the French king has been referred to as the dauphin until his coronation as monarch.

REPAIR AND RECOVERY: 1360–1400

The Treaty of Brétigny and its confirmation by the Treaty of Calais (1360) marked a change in fortune for both countries. The closing years of Edward III's reign were ones of decline, not reversed by the succession of a child of ten years. The contrast with the advent of Charles V from 1364 to 1380 could not be greater, particularly as his successor was a giddy youth who succumbed to extended bouts of mental breakdown.

Charles V's aim was to regain what his father had lost and thereby revive the standing of his country which had suffered as much during his regency from 1356 to 1360 as it had under John the Good. As dauphin, Charles had been forced to devalue the currency on several occasions while the countryside continued to be ravaged throughout the 1360s by *routiers*, bands of unpaid demobilised soldiers from England, France, and Germany. As Charles V left it to local communities to deal with them, they were usually bought off in preference to fighting them. For his part, Charles gave stability to the currency and obtained a far more regular income by a series of *aides* and by maintaining the gabelle (salt tax) initiated by his father in 1341.

Rather than build up a large army and face defeat again on the battlefield, Charles' weapons were those of diplomacy, subterfuge and short but sharp armed campaigns. Charles succeeded on several fronts. Initially the enemy lay not in England but much nearer to home on the border between Normandy and the Île de France. Charles of Navarre had again raised the banner of rebellion from his border castles. Charles V preferred not to lead his troops into battle but ordered the constable to do so. Du Guesclin defeated Navarre at the battle of Cocherel (1364) forcing him to make an uneasy peace with the French king.

Within a year, the succession dispute in Brittany was settled after the battle of Auray with John of Montfort's son recognised by Charles V as the legitimate heir who then undertook homage to the king. An even more substantial achievement was Charles' tortuous negotiation with the count of Flanders for the marriage of his daughter and heiress. Edward III and Charles V both vied to achieve diplomatic success with their respective candidates, Edward's fourth son Edmund Langley, and Charles' brother, Philip duke of Burgundy. French pressure on papal dispensation needed by both parties was more effective than that from England so that Margaret was married to Philip of Burgundy at Ghent in 1369. Though Louis of Mâle, the long-lived count did not die until 1384, English intervention in Flanders was no longer paramount.

Charles was not always touched with success. In 1362, the Black Prince had concluded an alliance with Pedro I of Castile who faced a force of French-led freebooters under Du Guesclin four years later. Initial success and Pedro's flight was soured when the Black Prince routed the enemy at the battle of Najera (1367). Two years later, the restored Pedro was murdered leaving his eldest daughter as heiress whose marriage to John of Gaunt (1371) was the basis for his claim to the throne of Castile. Rather than face defeat on the battlefield, Charles V persuaded the Castilian nobles to deploy the Castilian fleet against England. At that time, it was the most capable and professional fleet in western Europe and it was used to attack shipping between England and Bordeaux as much as to harry the ports along the coast of southern England.

It was not long before Charles V turned his attention to the thorny problem of Aquitaine. The Black Prince's rule was challenged, particularly as a consequence of his taxation demands. Charles fostered this, spreading discontent in eastern Aquitaine supported by the count of Armagnac and the lord of Albret and underpinned by the bribes and promises proffered by Charles' brother, the duke of Anjou.

Matters again came to a head over the Black Prince's refusal to pay homage so that when war broke out, Charles was far better prepared than either the ailing Black Prince or the increasingly listless Edward III. The Black Prince's sack of Limoges in 1370 failed to stem the tide of French success which was helped by the English failure to field commanders of political or military consequence. Charles had not only levied taxes throughout France that tended to become permanent, but his administration was now able to mobilise French resources more effectively than in the past, pay his troops more quickly and rely on his capable brothers, the dukes of Anjou and Burgundy. He avoided pitched battles in favour of guerrilla tactics. The English responded with *chevauchées* such as those led by Sir Robert Knolles (1371) but Charles failed to give battle. Yet in not doing so, he lost face through failing to prevent the extensive ravaging of the French countryside.

The English losses in Aquitaine meant that little more than the heart of western Gascony remained under English authority. The further *chevauchée* under Gaunt across France from Calais (1373) was no more successful than the English attempt to re-open the war in Brittany by seizing some of its fortresses to protect the shipping route to Bordeaux (1375). But the English practice of following two policies at once was far less successful than a generation earlier so that the papal negotiations were welcomed to resolve the Brittany problem.

When he died in 1380, Charles V knew that he had recovered most of the territories lost as a consequence of the Treaty of Brétigny. But the sixteen years of his rule not only witnessed a political and military revival but also a cultural one. Charles was frail, frequently ill, and died in his early forties but like Edward III in his earlier days, he wished to revive the standing of the monarchy. And like Edward, he did so architecturally as well as culturally. He extended the Louvre with a grand stair and library, and built a new fortress at Vincennes that developed into a small city. Like his brothers, Charles had a taste for illuminated manuscripts, jewels and tapestries but he always ensured that the reins of government and power stayed firmly in his own hands.

The early years of Charles VI's rule seemed to augur well for France in its war with its old enemy. An army was sent to help the Scots attack northern England while the invasion of southern England was put in hand. The Scottish attacks petered out but Gaunt's departure to claim the throne of Castile encouraged Charles' invasion plan. The threat was a realistic one but it was suddenly called off in November 1386, probably as a consequence of an almost empty treasury unable to pay the troops.

Financial exhaustion on both sides led to a truce, followed by several years of negotiation. Peace was as much an advantage to France as to England but though Charles VI had declared himself of age in 1389, his heady youthfulness abruptly ceased with the first of his periodic bouts of insanity (1392). With both sides anxious for peace, the proposed marriage alliance between Richard II and Charles' daughter Isabella offered the reasonable prospect of a rapprochement between the two courts (1396). The century closed with the truce promising a more permanent settlement and the cessation of war.

CASTLES DURING THE LATER FOURTEENTH CENTURY

It is all too easy when considering a country's defensive (or domestic) buildings to view the properties in isolation and ignore what was being erected in nearby regions, and to omit the determinant of whether they were innovators or followers. Members of the late medieval aristocracy were far less insular than we usually think. They were employed as ambassadors, captains of war, went on pilgrimages, and

would discuss major building projects with their close friends. The countries with which England had the most affinity were France, Flanders, and to a lesser extent Italy, and of these the region known to the largest number of Englishmen during the late middle ages was northern France. Apart from the potential cross-fertilisation inherent in fighting on French soil, it was recognised as a country of greater wealth and economic resources and was a leader in artistic and social taste.

Well before the close of the middle ages, national characteristics were as developed in castles and houses as in speech and temperament. This is less obvious in considering domestic residences than in the field of fortification where common weapons of attack and the tactics of defence were practised on both sides of the Channel. The Île de France retains two imposing examples of late fourteenth century secular residences with powerful military characteristics – the tower-house at Vincennes (1361–70) and the palace-fortress at Pierrefonds (1393–1407). They are both outstanding royal survivals but they are not wholly typical of their time. For that and for key developments in the fifteenth century, it is preferable to turn to two of the regions of the Loire Valley.

During the first phase of the war, much property was devastated in Anjou and Touraine. Touraine never left royal hands but John II granted Anjou to his son Louis in 1351 and elevated it to a duchy nine years later. It was under the dukes of Anjou that the territory reached a peak of prosperity as they sought to turn the province into a major power through the proliferation of building projects, their patronage of the arts and the refinement and luxury of their court. That attitude culminated in the palace-fortress that Louis and his son built at Saumur (1368–1400) which summarised that burgeoning strand of luxury and magnificence behind a defensive façade.

The central Loire valley was defended by three major fortresses and they were all subject to substantial building works during this period. The dukes undertook major work at Angers (c.1370) as king Charles VII did at Chinon (1425–30) and Loches. In all cases, their work was entirely residential though within the protection of earlier formidable defences. English devastation meant that little other work has survived before the mid-fifteenth century. One of the few is the little-known château of Coudray Montpensier, almost circular rather than rectangular and built in stages between about 1380 and the mid-fifteenth century.

One of the characteristics of fortress development during the last third of the century was that while the lower floors of castles should ensure strong and powerful protection, the upper floors could be more open and light in character culminating in a highly decorated roofline. The contrast is immediately identifiable by the plainness of the Papal palace at Avignon with the castles at Saumur and Pierrefonds. The towers and turrets, excessive decoration, pinnacles, gables and chimneys are clearly helped by the development of machicolations where the rampart walk was transformed into a projecting parapet. Machicolations undoubtedly added to the defensive capability of a fortress with their open flooring, but the corbels could be enhanced with blind arcading and towers at different heights could create a lacy profile against the sky as can still be seen at Mehun-sur-Yèvre and in the monthly miniatures of the *Très Riches Heures*. A further development of this period was the introduction of statuary on a large scale and more particularly, sculpted portraits such as those at Poitiers and formerly at the Louvre.

For Charles V architecture was as much a tool of government to display the standing of the monarch as it had been for Edward III at Windsor. Free standing statues, recognisably modelled on the face and clothing of the person depicted, helped to strengthen the cult of kingship. Internally, reception rooms became more imposing with larger windows and wall fireplaces. But a less obvious development was the collection of precious or ‘unusual’ items, a passion shared by Charles and both his brothers – in the case of the duke of Berry, almost to excess. Many of the items were rare or antique, but scale was

also important so that Charles' cabinet of curiosities had nearly four thousand objects. This mania for collecting must be added to that of acquiring tapestries. The inventory on Charles' death listed 180 pieces, not as many as those held at that time by the duke of Anjou but a royal collecting practice maintained by the crown for several centuries.

Excessive decoration was far from universal for there was a completely different approach to defensive aspects of buildings across much of France after the Treaty of Brétigny. This was far wider in its relevance. This sprang from two comparable sources – *routiers* and *chevauchées*. Though there had been bands of *routiers* – redundant soldiers, including Englishmen, who had turned brigands – before the Treaty of Brétigny, large swathes of France became infested by them in the years that immediately followed. The Auvergne was the first region to suffer but it soon became a factor of life in Brittany after 1365 and subsequently in parts of Aquitaine.

For the English, *chevauchées* or 'great raids' were a more organised and high-minded attempt to strike at the heart of France. For despite victory in battle and the peace treaty that followed, further English success was gradually replaced by a puzzling succession of defeats. For Charles V had given strict orders that his forces should avoid facing the enemy on the battlefield. *Routiers* roamed at will while small-scale English forces tried to seek out the enemy. But the French limited themselves to small, mobile forces whose swiftness of movement achieved frequent success. One by one, the English-held fortresses guarding Aquitaine fell to the French. The defensive character of many castles and urban fortifications were put to the test and when taken from the enemy, refortification or additional defences often proved necessary. It was a consequence of French success to the surprise of the English that John of Gaunt launched his great *chevauchée* of 1373 with the intention of setting off from Calais to reclaim the lost towns and territories of Aquitaine via Champagne, Burgundy and the Massif Central.

Meanwhile, the French invaded Brittany in support of its baronage and knights. The duke fled to England leaving his duchy at the mercy of the French forces and the *routiers*. The consequence of these turbulent years was that following Charles V's orders, a large number of castles in France were put into a state of defence or modernised to make them so as at Billy, Blandy-les-Tours, Clisson, and Lavardin. At the same time, urban fortifications were extended or newly built (e.g. Paris, Le Couvertoirade, Nevers, Avignon and Villeneuve-lès-Avignon) while bridges, churches, and manor houses were also given defensive protection. Charles' insistence that all castles should be properly manned made them not only structurally effective but also ensured that they were provided with adequate supplies and weaponry. Walls were heightened, moats were widened, and machicolated parapets became a common feature. Gaunt's attempts to capture castles or urban centres during his six month march across 600 miles of France proved futile, particularly as he was hampered by an obscure enemy in strongly defended operational centres, and lacked the siege artillery that proved such an offensive weapon during the subsequent stages of the war.

Further *chevauchées* followed in the Iberian peninsula as well as in France during the 1380s but with equally dispiriting results so that by the close of the century, English-held lands were limited to a handful of coastal enclaves. At the same time, the *routiers* continued to cause dispiriting havoc in France.

THE ROYAL RESIDENCES

Far fewer residences of the medieval French kings survive than in England with only Vincennes Castle and parts of Palais de la Cité in Paris helping us to appreciate the scale and quality of their early domesticity. All the homes of the kings of France were within a fifty mile radius of the capital as they continued to be throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The prime exception were those of the Valois kings along the Loire during the closing years of the war when Paris was not considered safe, plus an occasional fortress that came into royal hands such as Beauvoir-en-Royans in 1215 and Mehun-sur-Yèvre in 1332. The frequent determinant in their location was their proximity to a forest, for French kings were great hunters and this is still apparent today in the forests close to Paris at St Germain-en-laye, Fontainebleau, and Compiègne. The second factor was their need to guard the approach roads to Paris, especially from the south. And even after the several provinces had been united with the royal lands, entirely new palaces continued to be built within this limited compass including Villers-Cotterêts, Fontainebleau, Rambouillet and Versailles. Perhaps surprisingly, the Revolution was less destructive of the royal palaces than many other properties. There was considerable damage to them (Marly was the principal victim¹), but the nineteenth century was able to restore these residences to a surprising extent including those at St Germain-en-laye, Vincennes, Rambouillet and Versailles.



Pl. 18 Paris, Palais de la Cité: from the *Très Riches Heures* (June) with St Chapelle (right), keep (centre) and apartments (left). c.1410–16. (Le mois de juin/Limbourg Pol, Jean et Hermann/© RMN-Grand Palais (domaine de Chantilly)/René-Gabriel Ojéda/Chantilly, musée Condé)

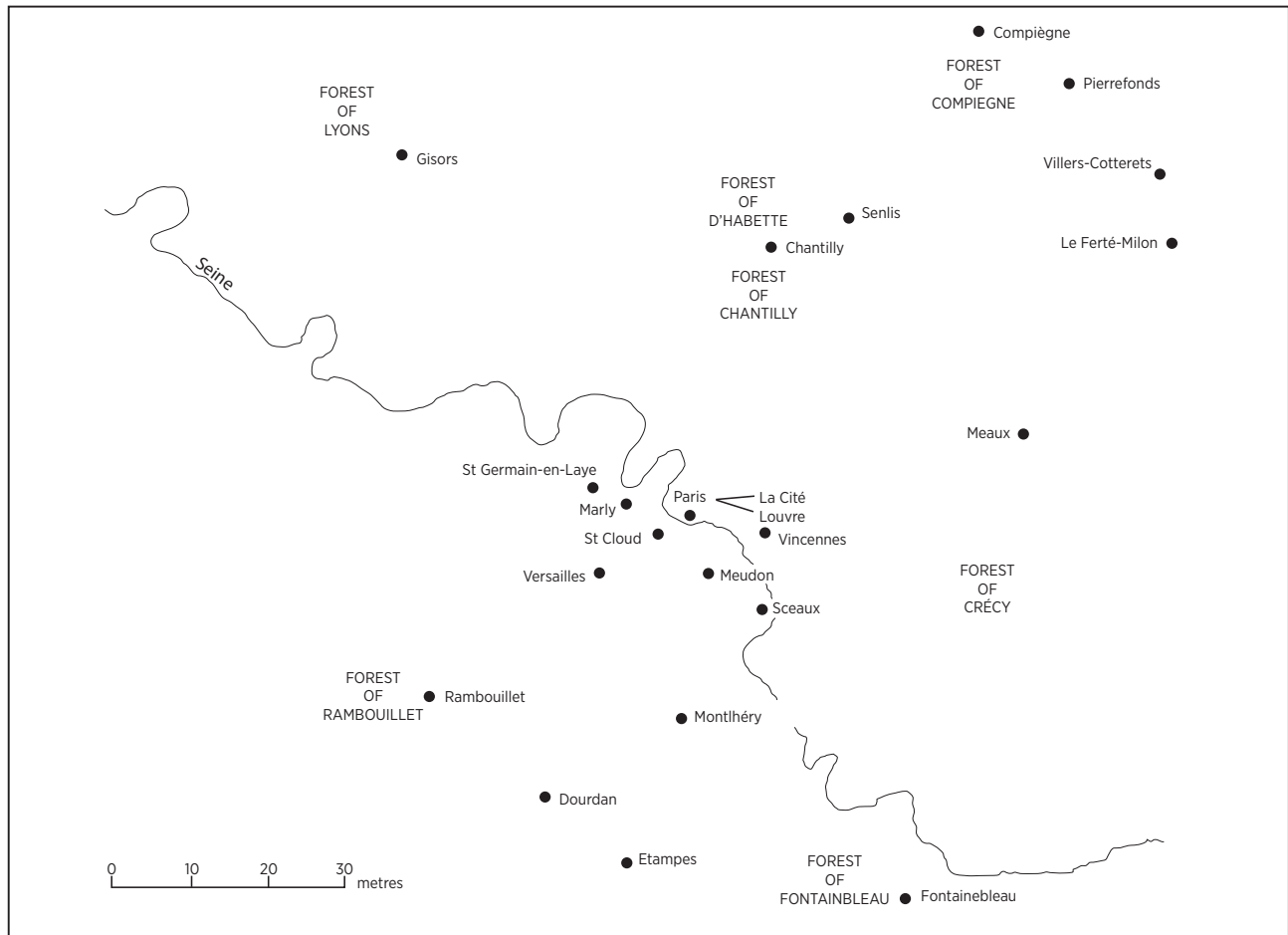


Fig. 13 French royal residences: 12th–19th centuries

Four ruined castles stand that were part of the early royal estate, three to the south of Paris – Montlhéry, Étampes, and Dourdan – and Gisors to the north-west of the capital. Montlhéry essentially protected the road to Orléans. Much fought over during the Hundred Years War and the Wars of Religion, only one of its towers survives with fifteenth century machicolations. The nearby four-lobed tower at Étampes Castle is a shadow of its representation in the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*. Gisors was built on the Normandy border to keep the Plantagenet kingdom at bay with the present keep and towered enclosure combining French and English work during their twelfth-century occupation. The circular keep at Dourdan is not central to the courtyard but positioned at one of its angles for Dourdan was built in the 1220s by Philippe-Auguste with a plan that reflected that at the Louvre. This castle was subsequently owned by the duke of Berry and is therefore represented in his *Très Riches Heures*. It is no longer so easy to identify the keep and gatehouse shown in the April miniature, for the castle was still favoured by Louis XIII in the seventeenth century.

The royal forests were marked by several hunting lodges such as that at Senlis and the lodge of St Christophe in the forest of Halate where Edward III met Philip VI in 1331. Those closer to Paris such as St Germain-en-Laye, St Cloud, and Vincennes varied in popularity while Philip VI's favourite residence was Pont St Mavence by the river Oise. Two of the hunting lodges close to Paris became fortresses, Vincennes and St Germain-en-Laye, as did the two castles at Fontainebleau and Compiègne



Pl. 19 Paris, Palais de la Cité: entry from Quai de l'Horloge

much further away. Whereas Vincennes was rebuilt by Charles V and stands relatively complete, St Germain-en-Laye only retained its thirteenth-century Sainte Chapelle after the fortress' destruction by the Black Prince in 1346. Charles V rebuilt the tower-house (1364–67) but it barely survives in a much mauled condition after the fortress was rebuilt by Francois I (1539), Louis XIV (1665), Louis XVI's brother (1776) and Napoleon III (1860). The medieval evidence in the two castles further afield was obliterated under their Renaissance and eighteenth century structures.

The two principal royal residences in Paris were a fortress and a palace – the Louvre and the Palais de la Cité. The former has been reduced to its lower walling and infilled but part of the evidence was excavated in the late twentieth century and left exposed under the extensive later structures of the palace and museum. Several of the prime elements of the Palais de la Cité survive but are enveloped in the post-medieval legal departments and the buildings formerly associated with its infamous prison use. Even so, more of that medieval palace exists than of the comparable royal apartments at Westminster. The combination of work by Louis IX in the mid-thirteenth century with that by Philip IV by the early fourteenth century created one of the most magnificent residences in Europe. In contrast, the work of John II was modest – a new kitchen (c.1353) and a clock tower (1350), while Charles V preferred to live at the Hôtel Saint Pol and at the Louvre.

Raymond du Temple

Charles V was the first major building monarch since the beginning of the fourteenth century and Raymond du Temple was his master-mason responsible for executing his concepts. Temple's birth is not known but he had completed the enclosure of the choir of Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris by 1359.

Between 1361 and 1370, he erected the tower-house complex at Vincennes Castle. In 1363, he began refitting the Hôtel Saint-Pol in Paris to make it more comfortable for the king and in the following year, he was officially designated Master Foreman of the King's Buildings. At the same time, he started to refit the Louvre fortress to make it a more suitable residence for the king by raising two early ranges and building two more to enclose the courtyard before totally remodelling the roofline. With Charles V's announcement that he wanted to expand Vincennes Castle into a small town, Temple initiated the enclosing walls in 1370 and by 1380 had erected an enclosure 330 metres long and 175 metres wide, interrupted by a sequence of 54 metre high towers. This precursor of Versailles in serving both monarch and dwellings for friends created one of the leading fortresses in Europe.²

Like his royal contemporary master-mason in England, Temple did not limit himself to crown activity but he also worked for the church and the aristocracy. In 1375, he constructed the buildings and the surviving chapel of the College de Dormans in Rue de Beauvais, Paris and in 1395, the duke of Burgundy's chamberlain commissioned the *grand logis* at Sully-sur-Loire Castle which still stands in a modified form. Work there was finished by 1400, four years before Temple died.

Notes

1. The palaces at Meudon and St Cloud were destroyed in the Franco-Prussian war.
2. Charles V also initiated the expansion of the enclosing wall round Paris, completed in about 1420. The six gateways were protected by forts known as *bastides* with the most famous, the Bastille, built between 1369 and 1382. It protected access to the royal residence of Saint-Pol.

PARIS, THE LOUVRE

Philippe Auguste

Built immediately outside the rampart that Philippe Auguste had initiated around Paris in 1190 before leaving for the third crusade, the purpose of the Louvre was to give the city fortress-protection from Plantagenet threats, and more particularly to defend the western side of the Right Bank of the river Seine. The fortress was begun by Philippe Auguste in 1190 and completed in 1202. It consisted of an almost square-shaped structure with ten towers including two gates facing the river and the city respectively. Some accommodation and storage was built against the south and west walls but the centre of the courtyard was filled by a free-standing keep nearly 100 feet high excluding the roof. The fortress was surrounded by a broad moat with the keep encircled by its own moat. Excavated in 1983–84, the lower walling of much of the fortress has been left exposed to a height of 23 feet, the moat dug out, and the lower part of the keep revealed under the south-west quarter of the Cour Carrée. The only room to survive is the undercroft of a hall with the vaulting added by St Louis in 1230–40 but destroyed in 1546.

The fortress was not intended to be a royal residence, for the king continued to occupy the Palais de la Cité, nor was it a prison. The Louvre was intended to serve as an arsenal, a store for the royal archives, and the treasury. Occasionally, the king held assemblies here but it was not until 160 years later that its function changed fundamentally.

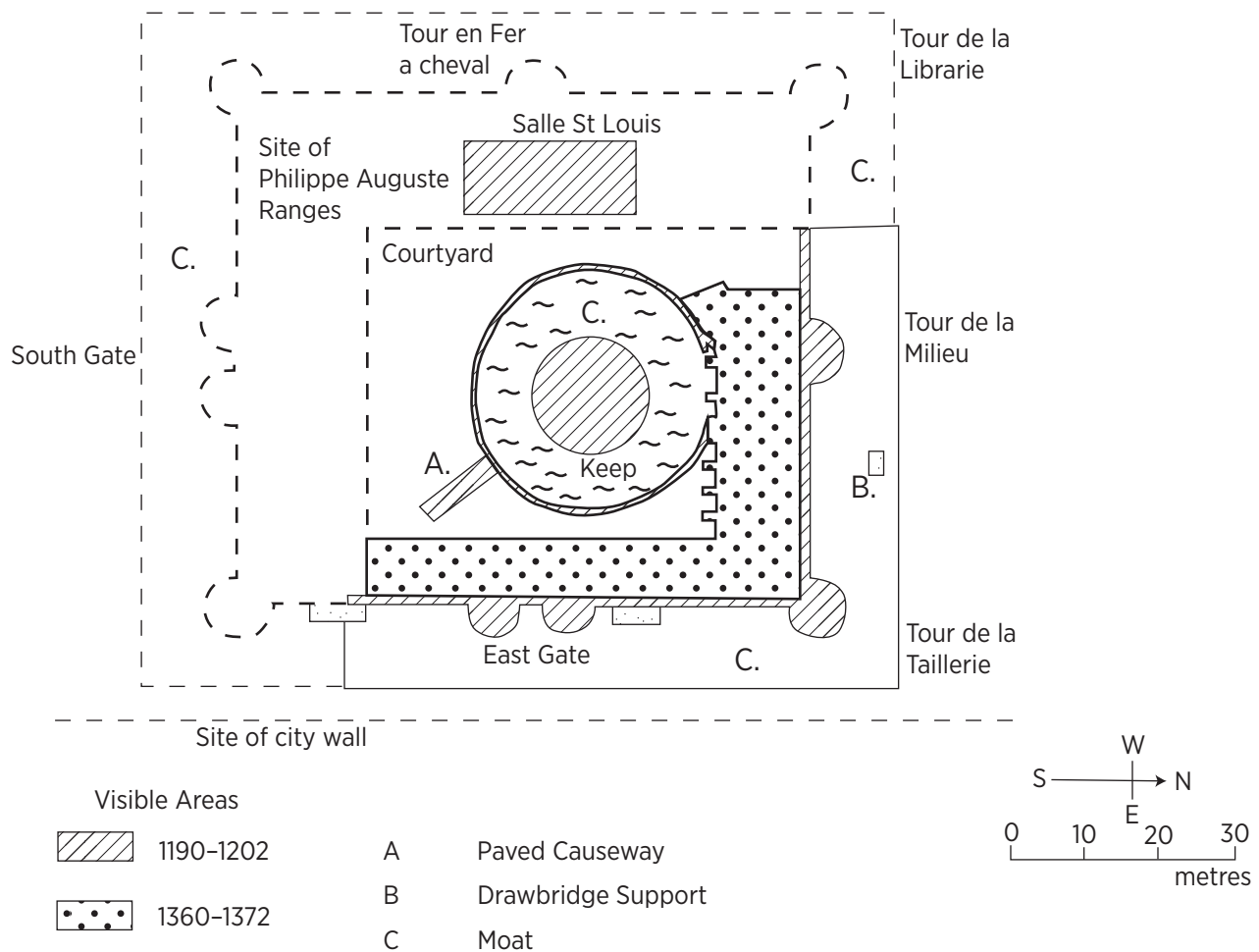
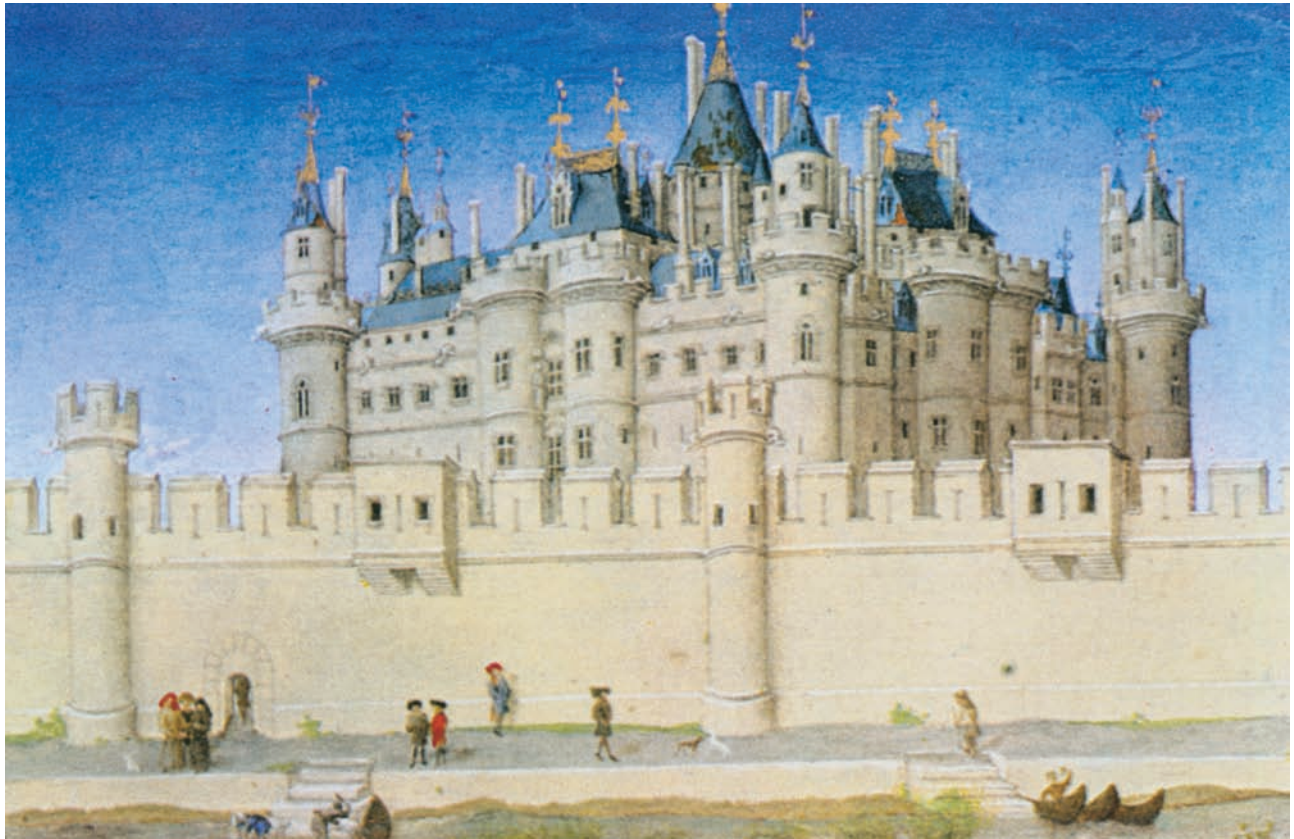


Fig. 14 Paris, the Louvre: ground plan

Charles V

Defeat at Poitiers and the change in war tactics had exposed the weakness of many city defences. Avignon led the way in the late 1350s immediately followed by Paris. The city council planned to build a new rampart in a broad sweeping arc to the west of the Louvre in order to protect more of the growing conurbation. The work was initiated by Charles V as regent and then as king. This brought the castle within the city and therefore put an end to its defensive role. The Palais de la Cité had proved spectacularly inadequate during the recent Parisian riots so that it was abandoned as a royal residence in favour of the revitalised Louvre, now being enlarged and transformed into a magnificent royal palace by a sequence of major additions between 1360 and 1372. Raymond du Temple was the master-mason though he was closely supervised by the monarch who 'understood geometry right well and showed it in devising buildings' (Christine de Pisan). Raymond consolidated and raised the older south and west ranges at the same time that he added new ranges against the north and east walls in a less severe style. New windows were inserted in the old walls; the roofline was heightened and embellished, while quality accommodation was created for the king. That in the north range was reached by a grandiose



Pl. 20 Paris, the Louvre: from the *Très Riches Heures* (October) east frontage (right) and south frontage. c.1410–16. (Le mois d'octobre/ Limbourg Pol, Jean et Hermann/© RMN-Grand Palais (domaine de Chantilly)/René-Gabriel Ojéda/Chantilly, musée Condé)

square-styled stair that may have been a sequence of straight flights rather than a polygonal design, and therefore like the Italian influenced Stair of Honour of 1346 at Avignon Palace. Furthermore, the Louvre stair was embellished with canopied niches filled with effigies of the royal family that became famous for their scale and high quality design.

Raymond du Temple's work converted the property from a fortress to a structure of palatial character suitable for a royal residence. It housed some of the king's own treasures and his magnificent library of 917 manuscripts in the Tour de la Librarie. The palace's character is depicted in the October miniature of the *Très Riches Heures* (1413–16, Chantilly Museum) and the *Saint-Germain des Pres Pieta* (c.1500, Louvre Museum).¹ Regrettably, little of Charles V's palace survives in comparison with Philippe Auguste's fortress so that the excavations and the paintings are our key source for du Temple's work here for the monarch.

Decline

Charles V and his successor frequently lived at the Louvre but after the loss of Paris to the English in 1420, the Valois kings preferred to reside in their palace-fortresses and castles in Berry and the Loire Valley. Even after the expulsion of the English in 1436, the kings preferred to stay in the less austere Hôtel de Tourelles when they were in Paris. Subsequently, the Louvre's keep was pulled down by Francois I in 1528 and the moat filled in, with the remainder destroyed between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries to be replaced by the palace/museum that stands today.

Note

1. The fortress is also shown in the background of the *Retable du Parlement de Paris* (late fifteenth century, Louvre Museum) and in several sixteenth century engravings. There is almost no contemporary documentation.

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VINCENNES CASTLE

Vincennes Castle was built during the 1360s on the north side of a vast rectangular enclosure developed immediately afterwards between 1373 and 1380. It was on the scale of a fortified city for within this walled circuit lived several hundred people protected by nine lofty towers for members of the royal family and household officials.¹ This complex is the primary royal residence to have survived from medieval France. Opposite the castle is the Holy Chapel, begun by Charles V a few months before his death in 1380 but not completed until the 1550s. The classical buildings of the post-medieval royal residence still line the courtyards despite their vacation by Louis XIV in favour of Versailles. They were subsequently used for military and prison purposes until 1962.

During the late 1170s, Louis VII established a royal hunting lodge at Vincennes which was subsequently expanded into a courtyard manor house.² This was the predecessor of Vincennes Castle. Originally moat protected, the castle was built in two parts – a gatehouse and courtyard enclosing wall, and a stand-alone tower-house. This so-called ‘keep’ was truly a towered house, an imposing residential unit joined to the gatehouse and enclosure by no more than an extended footbridge.

Construction

The construction of the castle has been subject to several interpretations. Following the extensive restoration programme from 1994 to 2007, it is now believed that Philip VI laid the foundations of a tower-house between 1335 and 1340 but that work proceeded no further. Two sets of foundations were identified, one attributed to 1335–40 and the other to at least twenty years later. It is therefore no longer certain or likely that John II undertook any early stages of construction before his capture in 1356. However, building was resumed or more probably initiated by the dauphin in 1361 so that within three years, the second floor of the tower-house had been completed.³ Building continued apace with the original plan modified under the direction of the royal master-mason, Raymond du Temple. He introduced the great stair in the south-east corner after the second floor had been built and added the buttressed latrine projection at the north-west angle after the construction of the fourth floor. By 1367, Charles was able to occupy his bedchamber. Machines of war were installed on the roof in May 1369, and the whole was completed by the close of that year. The gatehouse and turreted enclosing wall were built in parallel with this last phase of work which finished in 1371 in a rapidly executed project.⁴

Gatehouse

The approach to the twin-towered gatehouse was by separate bridges for pedestrians (destroyed) and carriages (restored). This gatehouse is only two storeyed with a roof terrace and sculpted frontage of which the leaf string course and five empty niches remain that formerly held statues of Charles V and his wife⁵ and the Trinity. To the rear, a spiral stair modestly projects into the courtyard accessing the courtyard wall walk and the upper floor of the gatehouse. The stair with its balconies with open quatrefoil panels offering four viewpoints was an innovation of Raymond du Temple. It was contemporary with his stair in the Louvre for Charles V's apartments, and that for Louis of Anjou at Saumur.

The relatively modest first floor chamber was Charles V's study, used by him during his regular two or three month visits each year for dealing with affairs of state with notaries and scribes in the two adjoining tower rooms. All three rooms were fireplace provided. The terrace supported the bell cast in 1369⁶ that ensured Charles kept his daily offices punctually. The enclosing wall supporting the machicolated *chemin de ronde* was constructed in 1370 enclosing the 50 metre (165 feet) square area. The corner watch turrets were vaulted but the roof is a seventeenth century replacement of that shown in Fouquet's miniature of circa 1455.⁷

Tower-House

The six storeyed tower-house is a dominating square building, 50 metre (165 feet) high with four bold corner towers and a machicolated crown. The cleaning of its exterior in 2008–12 has not only revealed the warm colour of its stonework but also the detailing of its string courses and the sculpted heads of musician angels under the first and second floor windows. The only interruption to the tower's symmetry is the projection at its north-west corner added by Charles V for a study and personal latrine with the latter also available on four other floors.

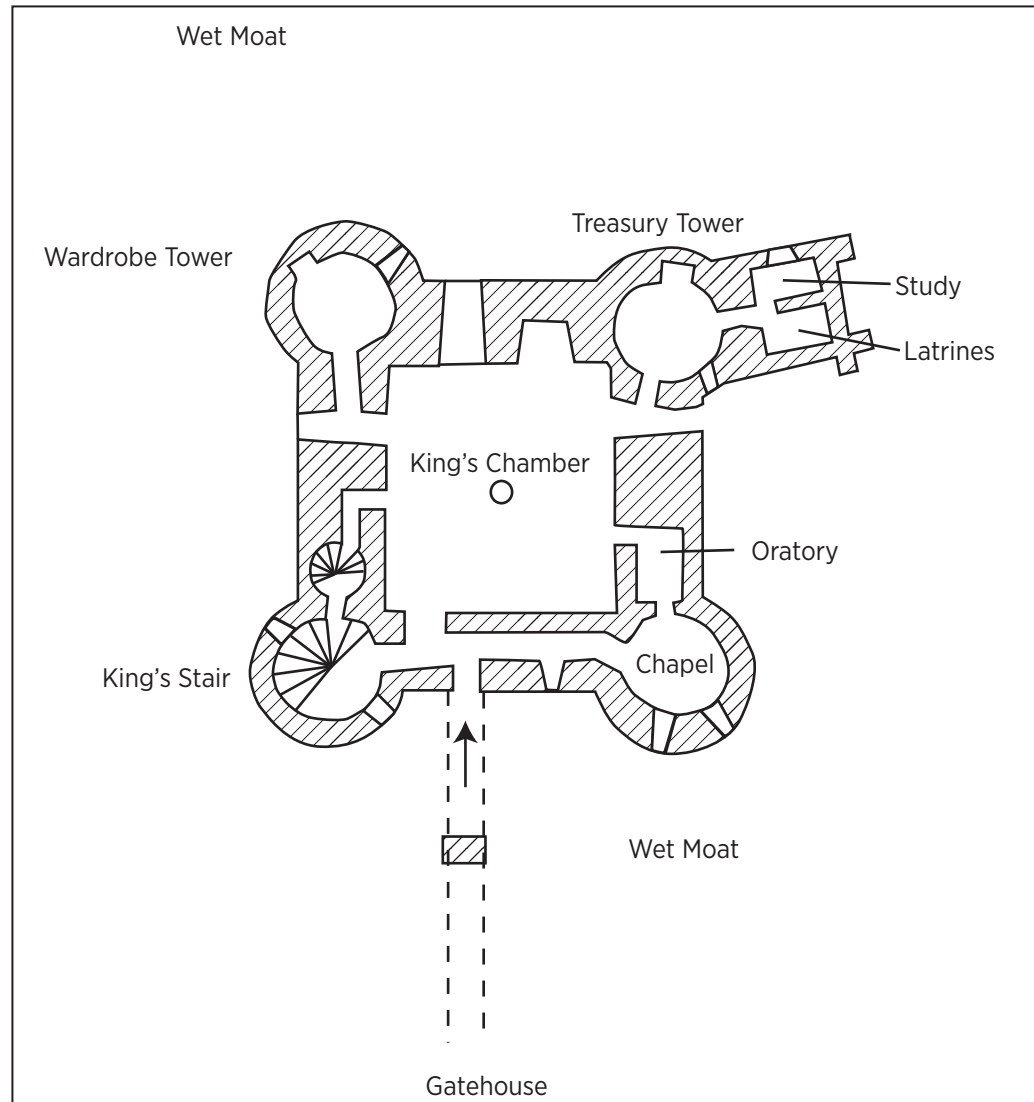


Pl. 21 Vincennes Castle: gatehouse and tower house from outer court

The stone supported footbridge spanning the courtyard was the only access to the tower-house. Each of the six floors followed the same layout of a spacious central chamber with the vaulting supported on a central column with a smaller room in each of the corner towers. The royal apartments filled the first and second floors. The first was used for receiving guests and business meetings and was occasionally occupied by the queen.⁸ The second floor was the king's bedchamber and rooms for his personal use. The other floors were for senior staff and more utilitarian but associated royal facilities.

A corridor screen limited direct access to the principal royal apartment which was dominated by the central ribbed column with decorative head supporting the ribs of the four quadripartite vaults. They still retain considerable evidence of their original painted character. The windows were provided with

Fig. 15 Vincennes Castle: first floor plan of tower-house



seats but the fireplace has a plain head. The corner rooms were also vaulted and heated with that in the east corner used as a chapel. There is a relative plainness about this floor compared with that above.

The stair to the second floor is notably wide with gentle steps leading to the king's personal apartments grouped round his bedchamber. The vault ribs and the central column retain considerable evidence of the decoration of 1367 that includes the royal arms and the fleur-de-lis. The fireplace makes a dramatic statement with its half octagonal hood supported on twin columns on each side – hood and columns with carved decoration. The windows are generous⁹ and the walls and vault were originally lined with painted wood panelling which helped to bring added comfort to the rooms. The panelling was hung on iron hooks which still survive as does some of the vault panelling, dendro-dated to 1369–71.

The tall corner rooms held the stair (with a subsidiary one next to it for staff), the royal chapel (with an adjacent oratory), the king's wardrobe and his treasury. Leading off the last was the king's private study, a small room 12 feet by 7 feet, originally panelled and with shelves for displaying some of his objects d'art. The niche held family documents. The latrine was formerly screened from sight. These rooms were heated from fireplaces which were a smaller version of that in the principal room. Charles'

wardrobe held the royal clothes and linen stored in coffers, while the treasury held his gold and silver vessels and a considerable amount of money for Charles V was a cash-rich businessman.¹⁰ The two chapel windows are trefoil headed and were formally filled with stained glass. Otherwise there is little to identify this royal chapel, as it has been stripped of its initial character. Even so, the high quality stone corbels in the principal apartments – evangelists and prophets – are a reminder of the king's religious fervour.

The third floor is far more austere with undecorated ribs, a beamed ceiling instead of vaults, and an undecorated central column. The two uppermost floors were lower than those below, particularly the sixth floor which supported the terrace. These floors accommodated senior household staff, domestic and military stores including artillery for use on the terrace. There was no external ground floor entry originally. The ground floor was only accessible from a narrow stair from the floor above. It was used by domestic staff and for storage. There is a well and fireplace but the kitchen that might be expected here was sited elsewhere.¹¹

The fundamental restoration of 1994 to 2007 revealed how a 165 feet high tower with round corner towers, vaulted on all floors but with no buttresses could stay standing. The central pillar that rises through each floor carries an enormous weight but the tower's stability was ensured by two recently revealed methods. Above the vaulting of the second and third floors are eight diagonal and medial arches spanning the width of the building and helping to buttress the central column with the aid of supportive iron rods. In addition, the tower was reinforced by iron bars inserted within its walls during construction and was encircled by three hoops of iron bars at the floor level of the fourth and fifth storeys.

Vincennes Castle demonstrates Charles V's ability to assert his will on architecture as much as on his support for other arts. This residence is another reflection of Charles' reputation as an extremely capable, pragmatic, innovative and financially astute ruler. It is as indicative of his controlling determination as a physical realisation of his strength and authoritative power.

Assessment

Between the mid-thirteenth and early fifteenth century, Vincennes was the favoured residence of the French monarchs, gradually in preference to the Palais de la Cité in Paris.¹² Under Charles V, the castle and walled city were quickly but efficiently constructed – surprisingly so, in view of the political turbulence suffered by the French crown at this time. Within less than twenty years, Charles had created a muscular royal residence within a forbiddingly protected enceinte that mirrored other similar contemporary political power-bases in Europe – at Avignon for the pope, Windsor Castle for Edward III, Karlstein Castle for the Holy Roman Emperor, and Malbork Castle for the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order.

Vincennes Castle has a very clean and clear layout. The tower-house is all commanding, particularly as its immediate enclosure was deliberately kept low and with a non-competing gatehouse. Except for the (destroyed) keep at Coucy, the Vincennes tower is the tallest medieval one in Europe. It made a clear statement of political determination. Sculpted decoration was used sparingly, particularly for entry arches and internal doorways. The slender central columns, elegant vaulting, painted decoration, sizeable windows, and imposing room height give the royal apartments an impression of lightness. The welcoming fireplaces provided occupational comfort in winter which was substantially enhanced by the insulation of wood panelling. All these factors contributed to the luxury of this royal residence despite the obvious lack of furnishings to which tapestries may have added a further layer of comfort and colour.

Pl. 22 Vincennes Castle: vaulted roof of second floor apartment



Though Philip VI may have laid some foundations twenty years earlier, the form, scale, internal layout and structural initiative of the present towered residence point to an astute mind guiding a highly accomplished master-mason rather than an unduly early tower-house. This permanent demonstration of power and royal government perfectly matched Charles' political beliefs.

The castle at Vincennes and particularly the towered enceinte that could hold hundreds of people was a key element in the restoration of royal authority, just as Versailles Palace fulfilled a similar function three hundred years later.

The Outer Court

The rectangular outer circuit followed the towered pattern established a little earlier by Edward III at Windsor Castle but on a much larger scale. The protective curtain wall was 330 metres long and 175 metres wide, with a massive inclined base to prevent tunnelling. It was also protected by huge moats between 20 and 28 metres wide, and was interrupted by nine towers, 27 metres higher than the curtain wall, terraced for trebuchets and mangols. In essence, Charles created a privileged walled city.

The principal entry from Vincennes 'village' is 42 metres high with corner towers. It was the residence for the captain or governor of the castle. There was a stone bridge and paired drawbridge,¹³ portcullis loops, gate, and vaulted passageway. This and the other towers held between 28 and 33 lodgings or chambers of comfortable accommodation with carved decoration, fireplaces, generous staircases, and latrines.

The outer walls and towers have suffered considerably from the seventeenth and eighteenth century alterations which included lowering the east wall and gate and reducing the corner towers to the level of the curtain. Their large windows were at first and second floor level overlooking the countryside. They are now blocked, leaving the smaller more military windows above. The north wall was reduced for the seventeenth century arcade and wing, the south wall was drastically rebuilt in 1864, and part of the west wall was rebuilt after an explosion in 1944.

The construction of the imposing chapel was dragged out over 180 years. Modelled on the Sainte-Chapelle in the Palais de la Cité, its foundations and footings were laid in 1379. Under Charles VI, the shell of the building rose to the archivolts of the windows and the west frontage as far as the rose window (1410). For nearly a century, the chapel stood incomplete until the upper walling and windows were added in 1520 followed by the vaults under Henry II in 1552–59 with the insertion of the stained glass completing the project. It is noticeable that the sixteenth century work continued that of the late fourteenth century in both style and sculptured decoration.

Notes

1. Seven of these medieval towers were truncated between 1805 and 1820 to support cannon platforms. The main gate was the principal exception.
2. Some of the foundations were discovered in 1994 in the courtyard area to the left of the main entry gate. They included the base of the tower dating from the time of Philippe Auguste (1180–90) and a fourteenth century tiled pavement.
3. J. Chapelot (2012) 13; G. Boyer (ed.) (2007), 32–4.
4. *Ibid.* The building accounts have not survived.
5. Complete fourteenth-century stone statues of Charles V and Jeanne de Bourbon are held in the Louvre Museum.
6. The original bell is preserved in the Holy Chapel.
7. *Les Heures d'Etienne Chevalier*. Musée Condé, Chantilly.
8. Charles' wife preferred to live in the Hôtel St Pol in Paris.
9. A chest in the west window recess held some of Charles V most precious manuscripts.
10. The inventory of 1380 drawn up after Charles' death identifies much of the castle's contents at that time.
11. Post-medieval insertions for prison use have almost concealed the room's central pillar.
12. In 1376–77, Charles built a small manor-house, the Manoir de Beauté, as a retreat on the south-east edge of Vincennes Forest. The double drawbridge was a development of the second half of the fourteenth century in France.

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SULLY-SUR-LOIRE CASTLE

The early shaping of this castle is not immediately apparent with its grouping of several circular towers of differing heights and scale. However, the principal feature standing on the north-west side is the *grand logis* (mis-called the keep in the current literature), a substantial oblong block with a circular tower at each corner – the two to the east with restored machicolated parapets and pepper-pot roofs: the two to the west truncated to below the wall-walk level. The courtyard frontage is interrupted by a mini gatehouse with the entry flanked by a modest circular tower. Built of the local creamy limestone, the structure is comparable to the generously fenestrated *grand logis* built in 1384–85 for John, duke of Berry at Poitiers – again a central block flanked by prominent towers at the four corners. Therein lies the importance of that at Sully. Whereas the Poitiers structure has been brutally truncated that at Sully survives relatively complete.

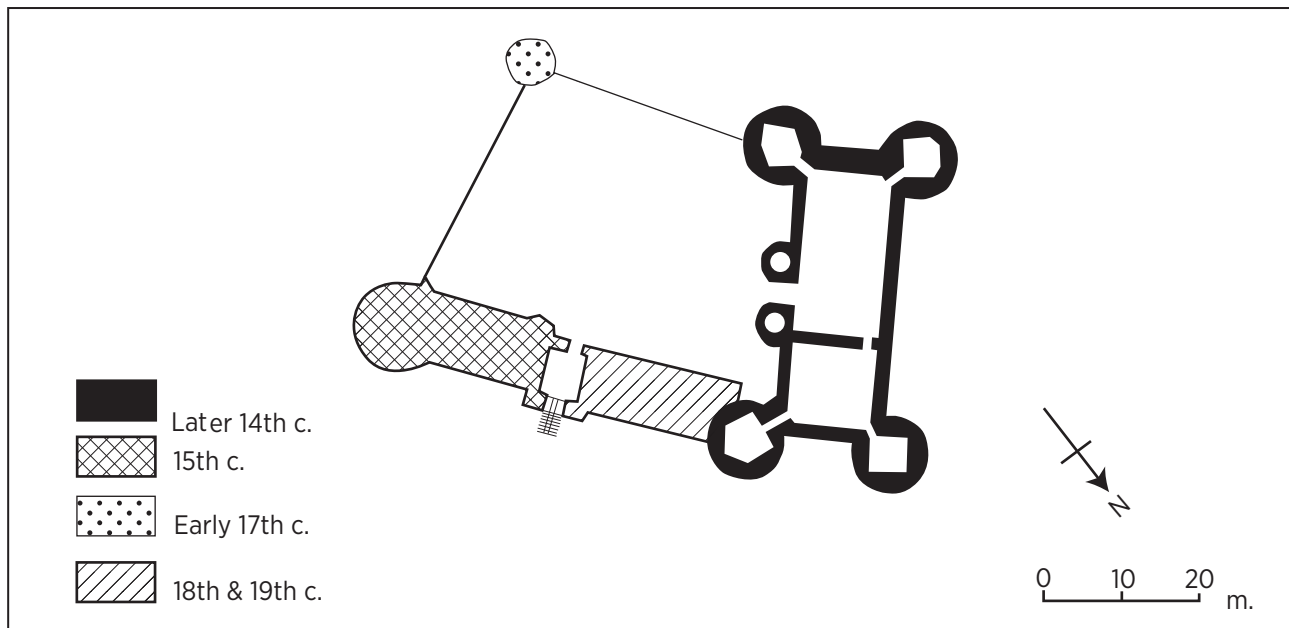


Fig. 16 Sully-sur-Loire Castle: site plan



Pl. 23 Sully-sur-Loire Castle: from the south

It is, in fact, a two phased structure, remodelled for one of Charles VI's favourites Guy de la Trémoille at the close of the fourteenth century by the king's master mason, Raymond du Temple. But before considering it in more detail, the remainder of the site should be acknowledged.

Sully-sur-Loire is well situated for trade between Berry and Solange for it stands at the crossing of three land routes and that of the water-borne river traffic. The development of the site has always included a rectangular outer and inner courtyard, moat separated, but today with a virtually open outer court and an enclosed inner court. The structures span several building phases including:

1218	A circular keep by Philippe Auguste in the middle of the outer court, demolished during the eighteenth century.
By 1363	A great hall on the north-west side of the inner court. Two angle towers were added on the south side, the still standing one was reconstructed in 1454 and the lesser one in 1606. There was probably a stone gatehouse.
1396–1400	Two corner towers built at the front of the outer court (1385). Four towers were added at the corners of the earlier hall block to create the <i>grand logis</i> (1395–1400). ¹
15th century	The gatehouse is early fifteenth century with the drawbridge operated from the first floor until replaced by the fixed stone bridge in 1779. The 'little castle' south of the gatehouse was essentially a three storeyed manorial dwelling of the second half of the century. The interior was refurbished between 1602 and 1609 and again in 1840.
Post-Medieval	In 1602, Maximilian of Béthune bought the estate and his family lived here until 1962. Created duke of Sully in 1606, he was not only the king's leading minister and friend but also the country's Superintendent of Finances and Building from 1598 to 1611. Apart from the <i>grand logis</i> , the castle is very much a monument to this first duke of Sully who died in 1641 and was responsible for widening the moat and much of the castle's internal furnishings.

The Grand Logis

The three-storeyed *grand logis*, 129 feet by 53 feet, is prefaced by a courtyard facing gatehouse with semi-circular towers (now truncated at roof level), modest lights, a small entry with a *passage meurtrièr* or 'murder hole'. It opens into what was formerly a narrow chamber with a broad hooded fireplace on one side but now lacking the partition wall opposite. This chamber is where guests would be received and refreshed before they mounted the broad stair.

This ground-floor reception chamber is now flanked by a columned room lined centrally by five pillars which seem to have been the kitchen and a partitioned service room. However, removing the partition has left the area marked only by a differing pattern of roof beams and floor levels. A third chamber (with later passage separation) has a less ornate fireplace. It is now of unclear purpose but was probably used by staff awaiting attendance on the lord and his guests. The pattern of a single division creating a major and lesser area was repeated on the principal floor above and was structural from the *logis*' inception. The east tower, almost destroyed during the Revolution, was rebuilt in the early twentieth century with a heavy hand including the owner's conceit of a vaulted chapel for his daughter's wedding.

The principal stair is an early seventeenth-century replacement that still accesses the primary residential accommodation at first floor level. This repeats the basic two division plan with the principal chamber filling two-thirds of the total area. The party wall carries the tall broad-hooded fireplace with a second

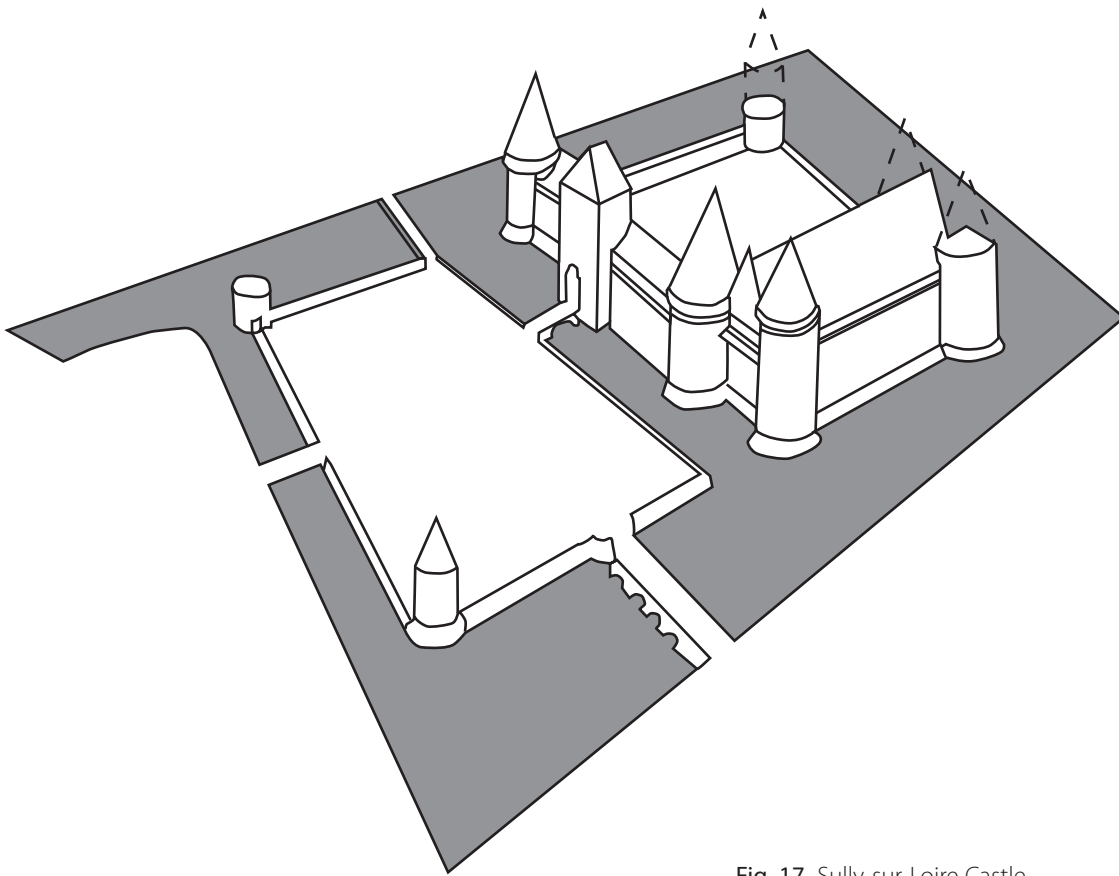


Fig. 17 Sully-sur-Loire Castle

side wall fireplace hinting at lost divisions. The apartment was modified in 1602 when the wall panelling was installed, now joined by fabric hung walls, chandeliers, portraits, and grisaille paintings on the beams and window sides to reflect ducal occupation. Only the two bay vaulted room above the entry reflects an earlier, more defensive element of the *grand logis*. The bedchamber next door equally reflects its early seventeenth century occupation with fabric covered walls, tapestries, and eighteenth-century furniture – all introduced since 1977 when the panelling was added.

The second floor, approached from the covered five feet wide machicolated wall-walk facing the river, opens into the attic area spanned by one of the finest late medieval roofs in France. Rising to a height of 50 feet, it is the scale of this area that makes it far more than an attic floor. The steepness of the roof enabled the relatively light oak timbers to be carried on the outer walls and overhang the wall-walk. The roof frame is not divided into bays by a line of roof trusses but is made up of a sequence of close-set rafters jointed to a line of vertical posts carrying the roof's thrust on to the outer walls. There is a further row of supporting braces to the ridge of this spectacular keel-shaped roof. The line of 56 rafters extending 115 feet was subsequently divided by an extension of the same stone division seen below, thereby reducing the principal chamber to one of 41 rafters. 80% of the woodwork is original with the remainder replacing bomb damage of 1940 and 1944. The Sully roof stands as a late fourteenth-century masterpiece of the Orléans school of carpentry. The clear span of floor area enabled the space to be used for various functions. There were two side wall fireplaces and a gable-end window but a total



Pl. 24 Sully-sur-Loire Castle: roof of the *Grand Logis*

absence of dormer windows. The lack of a substantial light source suggests that the area was essentially for evening use.

Raymond du Temple's grand logis of 1395–1400 was built for Guy de la Trémoille who had married Mary of Sully in 1382.² The work for him by Temple was as much concerned with comfort as with defensiveness. The basic plan of an oblong residential block with corner towers had been practiced for several generations. It had occurred on a modest scale in northern England shortly before the outbreak of the Scottish wars under Edward I as at Edlingham and Drumburgh. The mid-fourteenth-century tower-house at Stafford Castle was of similar plan as was Nunney Castle (1373). The principal apartments at Sully had generous fenestration, while each of the corner towers had its own newel rising from the ground to the roof to provide ease of access to all staff. However, the thick walling, a few loopholes in the towers, and the machicolated wall-walk are reminders that defensiveness had not yet been abandoned.

Notes

1. The east towers were badly damaged by revolutionaries at the close of the eighteenth century.
2. His son, George, was the dominant favourite of Charles VI, his 'evil counsellor' during the king's early years. Edouard Perroy, *The Hundred Years War* (1951), 265, 292.

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THE DUCHY OF BRITTANY

THE WAR OF BRETON SUCCESSION: 1341–1381

There was no certainty during the fourteenth century that the royal patrimony and the several semi-independent principalities that made up France would necessarily lead to the single state that was the eventual outcome. The experience of Germany and Italy shows that such a situation could have taken far longer – several centuries longer. The development of Brittany would have been different had the duchy not been a major coastal peninsula abutting royal lands and had its ducal aspirations been pursued less determinedly. Ducal activity throughout the thirteenth century had concentrated on mastering, if not winning over, an antagonistic nobility and this had proved largely successful by the early fourteenth century. Furthermore, Brittany's extensive coastline and ports meant that it was a convenient mid-point for shipping between England and Aquitaine while the dukes had long been involved in English affairs as holders of the extensive honour of Richmond since the late eleventh century. The dukes therefore had to balance the competing interest of the kings of France and England with the claims of their own people.

In 1297, John II entered into formal relations with Philip IV of France after John received a French peerage in return for promising to perform liege homage and stipulated obligations of service to the French king. But it was recognised by both parties that it was more practical to settle disputes on these sovereign rights by diplomacy rather than by force. However, on the death of John III in 1341, a disputed succession arose between John of Montfort, the late duke's half-brother and the duke's niece, Joan of Penthièvre,¹ the wife of Charles of Blois. Both candidates appealed to their sovereigns with Philip VI of France supporting his nephew Charles of Blois, and Edward III of England giving armed help to the Montfortists. Edward landed in Brittany in 1342, marched on Vannes and pillaged the countryside. A papal truce failed to last with tension between the candidates exacerbated in 1345 when John of Montfort escaped from French captivity and did homage to Edward III for the duchy. As Montfort was killed later that year, Edward assumed responsibility for the Montfort cause on behalf of Montfort's son.

The aim of England's policy towards Brittany during the civil war was to ensure that its ports and castles round the duchy's coastline were in Montfortist hands or those of his supporters. This would not only help to protect England's coastal defences but would safeguard English shipping and the lines of communication with Aquitaine. Hence the leasing of Brest Castle to the English from 1342 to 1397. From the ducal point of view, his policy was to protect his duchy's commercial trade and defend the vulnerable eastern frontier towards Normandy, Maine, and Anjou with the support of fortresses and

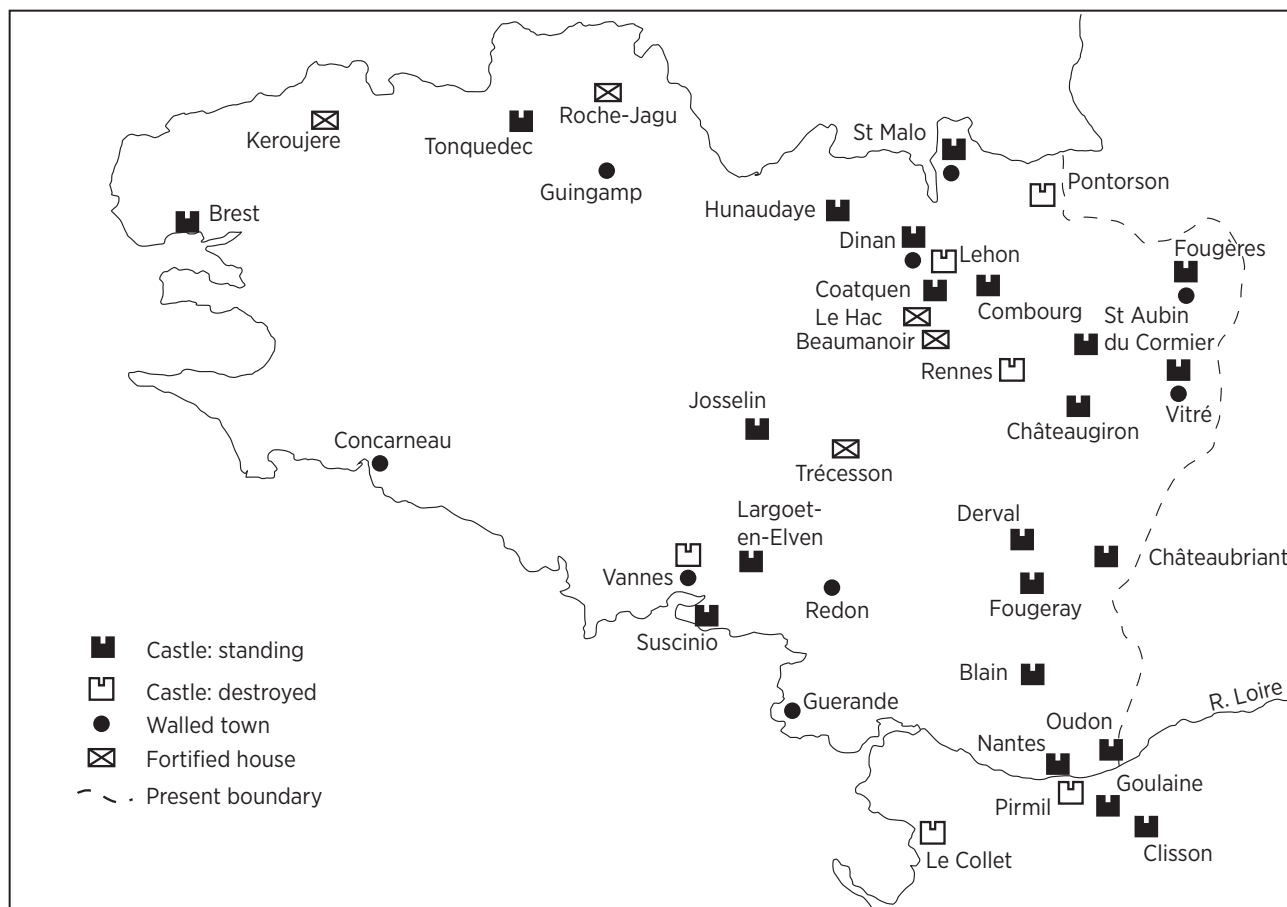


Fig. 18 Defences in Brittany

well-walled towns. This would help to stabilise the local population and protect the heart of the duchy. From north to south, the sequence of towns marking the first line of defence included St Malo, Fougères, St Aubin du Cormier, Vitre, Châteaubriant, Oudon, Nantes, and Guérande.

As Brittany was far from the heart of the Valois territories and therefore of limited value to his army, Edward III was content to allow royal lieutenants to act on his behalf. They, and the captains who often led semi-independent bands of troops, essentially concentrated on protecting the coastal lands in a war that was primarily one of siege and counter-siege. These freebooting captains, such as Walter Huet and Robert Knolles, often established personal control over the regions and carved out seigneuries for themselves.² The stakes were raised in 1362 by the return of the young John of Montfort, the future John IV, from his childhood in England. Within two years the war had been brought to a close by the death of Charles of Blois on the battlefield of Auray near Vannes. Though Charles had been captured by the English in 1347 and held prisoner for six years, the desultory attempts between the kings of England and France to settle the succession dispute show that the civil war in Brittany was essentially a useful but secondary issue to the war between England and France.

During the peninsula's civil war, the greater nobility in the east of the duchy tended to support the Penthièvre family and the lesser nobility, particularly in the west and north of the duchy supported the Montfort family.³ But by the end of this civil war, support for the Montfort family, even among the lesser nobility, was extremely limited. Nevertheless, English assistance enabled the Montforts to

be successful, despite John IV's exile between 1373 and 1379 for his pro-English policies after France had reopened the war with England.⁴ The treaty of Guérande in 1381 consolidated this situation for the duke, and the majority of the nobility were now in accord and continued to be so even while duke John IV clipped the wings of his most powerful subjects and cleared the duchy of English mercenaries.

Notes

1. The Penthièvre appanage had been created by John III in 1317 for his younger brother, Guy.
2. Huet held Le Collet Castle and Knolles those at Fougeray and Gravelle. M. Jones, *Ducal Brittany* (1970), 48–51.
3. At this time, there were three counts, nine great barons, eighteen bannerets, and a considerable number of lesser nobility. M. Jones, *The Creation of Brittany* (1988), 222.
4. Between 1370 and 1380, 'seven major and two minor expeditions involving Brittany or John IV had been launched from England in one of the most intensive periods of aggression in the Hundred Years War'. M. Jones, *Ducal Brittany* (1970), 91–92. Also M. Planiol, *Histoire des Institutions de la Bretagne*, 3 vols. (1953–1955).

DUCAL AND SEIGNEURIAL DEFENCE AND PROTECTION

Brittany retains an extensive number of castles and fortified towns that chart the turbulent phases of the duchy's history between the early fourteenth and the early sixteenth centuries. They not only reflect the changing balance between ducal and seigneurial authority but also the constant necessity to defend the border with France and to protect the duchy's ports.

Before 1340

By the fourteenth century, Brittany had a broad pattern of over fifty seigneurial fortresses and walled towns across the eastern half of the duchy but less than twenty across the more rugged western region. They were initially less militarily advanced than those in northern France but this had changed during the first half of the thirteenth century with fortifications modelled on those of Philippe Auguste as at Fougères, Vitré, and Châteaubriant where impressive curtain walls were interrupted by circular towers. Hunaudaye is a fine example of a pentagonal seigneurial castle developed by Oliver of Tournemine of c.1220. As the century progressed, the ducal family increasingly dominated military architecture across the duchy. Peter Mauclerc (1213–37) had begun the process of initiating the castles at Suscinio (1218) and St Aubin du Cormier (1223–25). This policy was maintained by John I (1237–86) who benefitted from the financial difficulties of several leading families and gained possession of the important strongholds at Brest in 1240 and Nantes in 1259.

The line of fortifications protecting the frontier of Brittany from Anjou and Maine had been well established by the mid-eleventh century. These were gradually replaced during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by stone defences at Fougères, Vitré, Combourg and Châteaubriant. All four castles are still impressive but the first two were the key fortresses protecting the eastern border of the duchy and more obviously retain their feudal character. They were as militarily proficient and are as imposing as any in France. This line was supplemented by further strongholds at Châteaugiron¹ and Dinan after the two had fallen into ducal possession in 1283. Lehon came into ducal hands at the same time. Further south,

the border was protected by major work at Nantes (rebuilt 1466–91), Goulaine (reconstructed 1480–95), and Clisson (later thirteenth century).

From 1237 until the death of John III in 1341, there was a century of relatively political calm. Consequently there was little need for military improvements so that domestic comfort took precedence over defensive techniques. The development of concentric circuits, complex barbicans, and machicolated parapets as developed in France and England found no favour in Brittany so that the duchy was defensively weak at the outbreak of the civil war in 1341.



Pl. 25 La Hunaudaye Castle

1340–1365

Though the civil war of 1341–64 was essentially one of siege and counter-siege, little major construction can be attributed to this period. It was primarily one of temporary repair and patching, applicable to castles and town walls alike. Redon was now walled (c.1350) and the English strengthened Brest which they held from 1342 for fifty-five years, but otherwise castellans had to make do with very limited resources. Ambitious English captains who captured important castles rarely incurred substantial outlay in extending or updating them. Walter Huet built Le Collet (near Nantes) during the 1350s but only a few mounds survive.² Robert Knolles held Derval where the circular donjon survived du Guesclin's siege of 1373.³ Another Knolles-held castle, Le Grand-Fougeray, has an impressive late fourteenth century machicolated donjon but no structural work can be attributed to the English captain.

1365–1420

The last third of the fourteenth century was as distinctive and as ambitious in the development of military architecture in Brittany as it was in England and France. This was partly the consequence of repairing the ravages of the civil war but it was also an opportunity to reassert ducal and seigneurial authority. Apart from the repair to town defences, this work reflected recent developments in the Île de France. This centred on two differing residential forms, imposing tower-houses and commanding gatehouses, in both instances frequently crowned with machicolated parapets. These last were also applied to the principal towers of the town circuits guarding the frontier and proved just as necessary after the Hundred Years War as before when the enemy was again the French rather than the English.

The determination of John IV (1364–99) to rebuild ducal prestige after the civil war encompassed town defences as much as ducal residences. He strengthened the town walls at Vannes with circular towers and gave this ducal centre the added protection of the small castle of L'Hermine between 1380 and 1400.⁴ John added the lesser donjon to the defences at St Malo in 1393 and the Tour Solidor (1369) made up of three linked towers to command the Rance estuary.⁵ John also added the donjon at Brest but his principal civic addition was the donjon at Dinan, initiated in 1380, made up of two interlinked towers, four storeys high, surmounted by a machicolated parapet. The southern approach to Nantes was

guarded by Pirmil Castle (1370s) of a form similar to the Tour Solidor at St Malo but it was destroyed in the nineteenth century.⁶ However, the ducal castle at Rennes was abandoned by the close of the century and never replaced. The castle at Nantes had been rebuilt in the early thirteenth century but John added a substantial donjon that no longer exists. Fortunately, the favoured ducal residence at Suscinio stands relatively complete with its sea-wind buffeted gatehouse recently subject to a major restoration.

John sought to control the building activities of his ambitious nobles by allowing them to proceed with construction only after they had obtained a licence to crenellate. Peter Mauclerc had attempted to introduce this practice but it had faced bitter resistance from the magnates who jealously guarded their unfettered freedom. John IV achieved greater success in controlling such building work and in so doing, strengthened his authority over his nobility. Yet the practice of enrolling these licences did not begin until 1462.

Where the duke led in reconstruction, several seigneurs followed. The Tournemine family enlarged their castle at Hunaudaye with circular towers (1378) but the work of the Malestroit family was far more innovative. Jean Malestroit, lord of Malestroit, added the 144 feet high machicolated tower-house at Largoet-en-Elven (1375–1400) with a lesser and greater apartment on each floor, the latter with massive fireplaces and hoods.⁷ His brother, Adam Malestroit, lord of Oudon, built the octagonal tower-house at Oudon under a licence of 1392. Heavily restored in the nineteenth century, its debt to Largoet is immediate though in a less aggressive manner with larger windows and stone decoration. Both properties, crowned with machicolated parapets, made a statement of seigneurial authority as much as that of domestic comfort.⁸

The Coetmen castle at Tonquédec was destroyed by duke John IV in 1395 but it was rebuilt by Rolland III under licence between 1406 and 1450. This double courtyard residence not only included an imposing twin-towered gatehouse-residence but an independent machicolated tower-house. Tonquédec is the finest Breton fortress of the early fifteenth century. Equally imposing but more altered is Vitré Castle, redeveloped by Guy XII of the Laval family between 1400 and 1420. Protecting the border with France, its belligerent frontage was spanned by a massive residential gatehouse flanked by a keep to the south and the Madelaine Tower to the north.

One of the most prolific builders was Olivier V, lord of Clisson (d.1407) and constable of France from 1380 to 1392.⁹ He refortified the castle at Blain though its quadrangular courtyard was extended by two more courtyards during the later fifteenth century. Clisson also undertook considerable work at his patronal castle. It had been developed during the thirteenth century with a courtyard complex and circular keep crowning a rocky outcrop above the river Sèvre. During the later fourteenth century, Olivier erected a tower-house on the north side of this earlier structure so that it became a key stronghold in the duke's defences south of the river Loire.



Pl. 26 Largoet-en-Elven Castle: tower-house

Notes

1. The present structure is a late fourteenth century replacement.
2. Jones (1988), 36.
3. Nothing survives of du Guesclin's castle at Pontorson.
4. This ducal residence was destroyed in the later seventeenth century.
5. St Malo, and the southern ports of Guerande and Concarneau, retain their walled circuits in their entirety.
6. Jones (1988), 37.
7. Often ascribed to c.1394 to 1400, Malestroit's son, Jean V bishop of Nantes, built the Manoir Jean V in Nantes between 1413 and 1441. It is now an archaeology department.
8. C. Douard *et al.*, *Le Manoir en Bretagne: 1380–1600* (1999).
9. In 1370, Clisson acquired Josselin Castle from the count of Alençon. Documentary evidence shows that he carried out alterations there but most of the *corps de logis* has been subject to a particularly heavy nineteenth-century restoration.

SUSCINIO CASTLE

Suscinio was a modest thirteenth-century castle that became a major ducal residence during the later fourteenth century. The accommodation was extended within fifty years, but the castle was abandoned as a ducal residence in the late fifteenth century in favour of the better politically sited castle at Nantes.

Suscinio was essentially developed in three phases:

1. The castle is first mentioned in 1218 when it was primarily a fortified house used by Peter of Dreux as a ducal hunting lodge. The base of a small square tower dates from this period. The enclosing wall and tidal-filled moat that give shape to the site were developed later in the thirteenth century. Two D shaped towers survive on the line of the curtain wall, one standing to battlement level and one reduced to first floor level. They are of modest significance. Some ranges were also built against the curtain wall while the chapel lay outside the castle close to the postern. The castle changed hands several times during the civil war of 1341–64. It was occupied by English forces until retaken by Bertrand du Guesclin in 1373.
2. Suscinio was developed as a major residence by John IV (1364–99), beginning in about 1380 and continuing until 1400. He erected the imposing east frontage combining a formidable towered gatehouse with a comfortable residential block immediately behind it. This combination of defensive



Pl. 27 Suscinio Castle: gatehouse frontage

frontage prefacing the *corps de logis*, together with the machicolated crowns of the towers and linked curtain walls made Suscinio a small palace-fortress. It was mainly used in winter, partly because of its southern and therefore warmer position in Brittany, and partly because of its value for hunting.

3. In about 1430, John V (1399–1442) added a second *corps de logis* with an imposing angle tower on the west side of the site. The roofs of this building have been reinstated but not the floors. Francis I was the last ducal occupant prior to his preference for Nantes Castle.

Two bastions were added towards the close of the sixteenth century but the castle was subsequently abandoned and fell into ruin. It was restored between 1968 and 2003 when all the towers were reroofed in pyramid form, floors were reinstated in the principal *corps de logis*, the windows, nearly all lacking their dressed stonework, were repaired as were the machicolated wall walks. The moat was also reinstated.

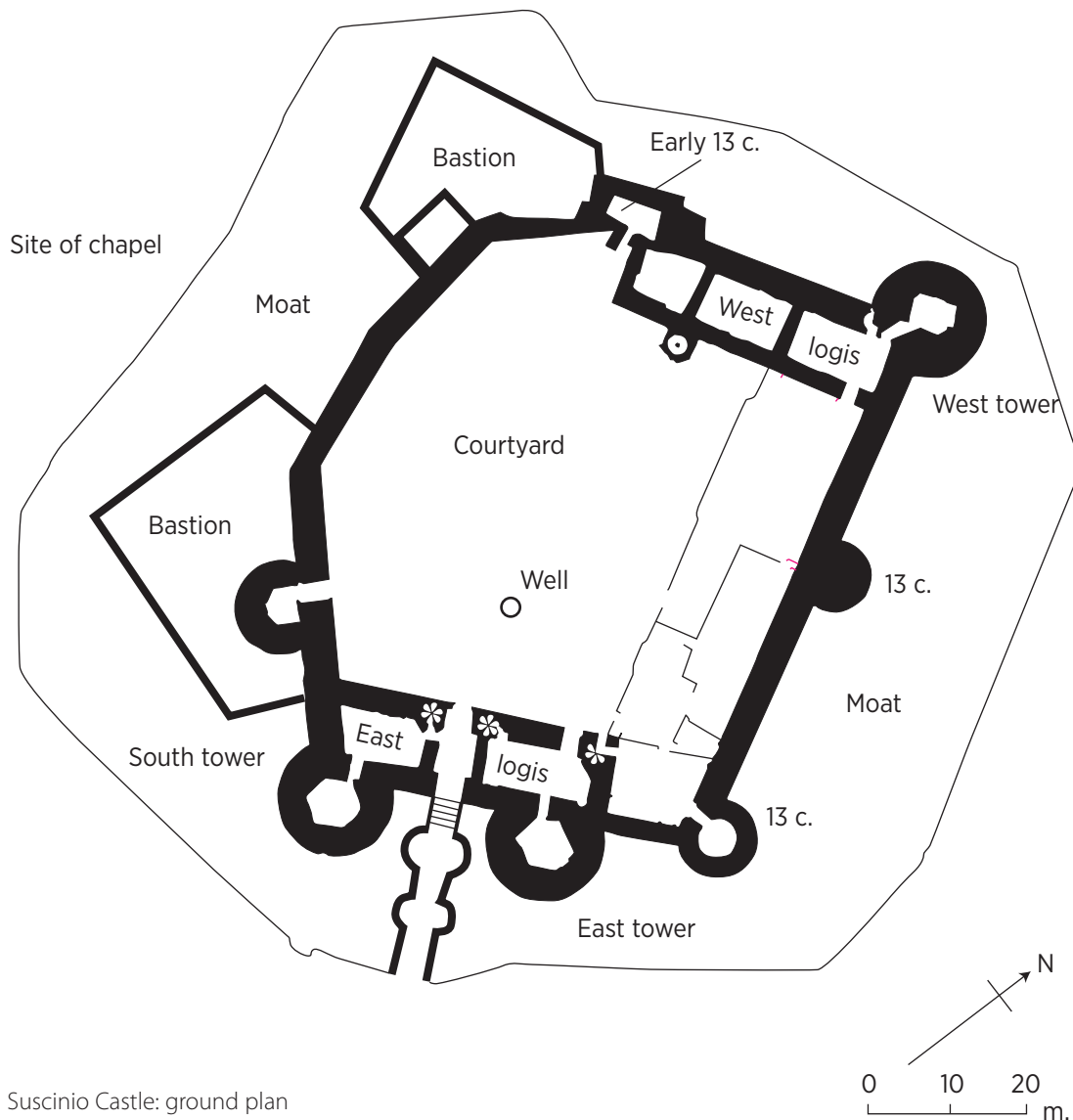


Fig. 19 Suscinio Castle: ground plan

The Castle Frontage and Corps de Logis

The frontage is commanded by three boldly projecting towers with broadening bases rising to a machicolated parapet surmounted by the restored pyramid roofs. The parapets span the residential blocks at a slightly lower level between the towers for the character of this frontage shows that it holds the principal apartments. The castle is rubble-built with dressed stone limited to windows and doorways.

The approach includes the usual elements of a (rebuilt) bridge across the moat, beam slots for the drawbridges above the entrance, and a machicolated parapet. The entry is not portcullis protected so that the vaulted passage is guarded only by wooden doors at each end. The entry is a simple moulded arch with a carved panel above, though the chapel window is a prominent feature of the right hand tower.

The ducal apartments in this frontal range are the key feature of the castle. Rising through four floors, the ground floor rooms were used by guards (left) and storage (right without fireplace). The upper floors were the ducal apartments of increasing privacy. They consisted of two principal apartments in line – a hall and outer chamber – with a more private inner chamber in the towers at each end of the *corps de logis*. The body of the range is served by three newels. One from the courtyard for visitors and guests opened into the lower end of the halls. The second one was a broad private stair for the duke and his family opening from the upper end of the entry passage and rising in a party wall so that it could serve both principal apartments. The third was a staff stair between them terminating at the second floor. Each stair is lit by a vertical line of single lights towards the courtyard. The principal apartments are lit by square-headed mullioned and transomed windows creating two smaller upper lights and two taller lower lights. Internal decoration was limited to doorways with two-centred or shouldered heads, and fireplaces with four-centred heads.



Pl. 28 Susein Castle: *corps de logis*

The Upper Floors

The first floor hall has features that will occur in all three halls such as window seats, and replacement beamed ceilings except where open to the roof. At the lower end of this hall is a servery with a hatch opening into the body of the apartment for the services from the kitchen next to this *corps de logis*. At its upper end is a dais fireplace with corbel-supported lintel.

A short passage links the hall with the outer or withdrawing chamber with its identical fireplace backing on to that in the hall, three windows with seats, and a latrine. The towered inner chamber with its fireplace, two windows with seats, and latrine repeats the form and fittings of the tower room opening off the lower end of the hall.

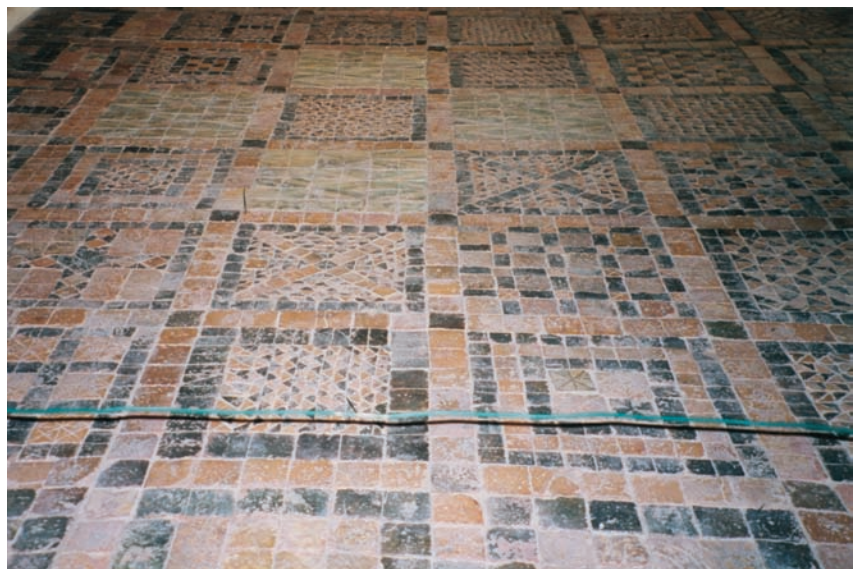
Since 1980, the hall and withdrawing chamber have been filled with two spectacular tiled floors of 1330–40. They were taken from the choir and sanctuary of the chapel that lay immediately outside the castle, remodelled in 1300, destroyed by fire in the late fourteenth century, and excavated in 1975–80. 33,000 terracotta tiles were recovered, decorated with fleur-de-lis, oak leaves, beasts, and letters of the alphabet. Part of the tiled floor from the nave is displayed in the south tower.

The basic pattern of two rectangular rooms, two circular tower rooms, and three newels is repeated on *the second floor* but with some differences. The hall has a side wall fireplace and an elaborate four-light quatrefoil window above a stepped buffet for displaying plate.

The outer withdrawing chamber repeated the side wall fireplace but the latrine was sited near the entry lobby. This chamber enjoyed a twin room steam bathing facility, partially built into the thickness of the outer wall. Warm air from the outer room was ducted to the adjacent room that formerly had a much lower ceiling. This suggests that this outer chamber and towered bed-chamber were used by the duchess with the duke's apartments immediately above. The narrow mural stair joining the two suites confirms this.

The lower tower room was a private chapel, linked to the hall by three broad unglazed openings. This chapel is a hexagonal vaulted room with an east-facing two light cinquefoil window with quatrefoil head flanked by a cupboard-enclosed sedilia and piscine. The two closets in the side walls with fireplace, window and shuttered opening to the body of the chapel, enabled the duke and duchess to pray in considerable comfort.

From a comfort point of view, the hall and two room plan of the duke's apartments on *the third floor* differed from those of the duchess below. The machicolated wall-walk dictated that all the windows were courtyard-facing. The end wall fireplace was supplemented by an inserted one when the apartment was divided into two after its ducal abandonment. But the most immediate difference is the wall panelling arching to the high pitch of the roof – a reconstruction of 1990. This



Pl. 29 Suscino Castle: fourteenth-century tiled floor

insulating material was originally whitened to give the apartment a lighter appearance. The panelling should be compared with that in Charles V's tower-house at Vincennes.

The withdrawing chamber repeats the panelled walling and pitched roof but the machicolated wall-walk is a late addition screening a fourteenth-century window. The private stair from the duchess' quarters below rises to a small room with fireplace under the roof – perhaps a ducal study.

The badly ruined *kitchen block* lay immediately east of the *corps de logis*. The kitchen was positioned at first floor level above the services. The kitchen fireplaces were in the now lost courtyard wall with hall access provided by a door in the common wall to the broad newel and aforementioned servery.

Courtyard and West Corps de Logis

The courtyard has lost the buildings erected against the outer wall. They included the stables and a two storeyed lodging range for staff against the north curtain wall.

The three storeyed residential block of 1430–40 on the west side of the castle consisted of three rooms in line on each floor, linked by the newel in a beak-fronted courtyard projection. It repeats the four-light window form of the ducal block, and with all upper rooms fireplace provided. It was probably built for the accommodation of guests, sited at the furthest distance from the ducal quarters. The ground floor of the adjacent contemporary tower was provisioned for artillery, one of the earliest examples specifically embracing this function.

Overview

This was a favoured residence of the dukes of Brittany, built in the country, close to the seashore, and valuable as a hunting lodge in the Rhuys forest which formerly covered the entire peninsula. The carved shield above the entrance depicting a rider surrounded by two stags indicates the primary value of this castle.

Apart from the heavily altered fortress at Nantes, Suscinio is the only relatively complete ducal castle to have survived in Brittany. The late fourteenth century frontage is a statement of authority. It is only internally that it is clear it embraces a *corps de logis* in a plan of considerable clarity. It encompasses all the primary functions of a residence including eating, sleeping, religion, hygiene, social standing, and marital arrangements. It also holds spectacular examples of floor tiles of the mid-fourteenth century emphasising the splendour of the Breton Court. The castle has lost the subsidiary ranges on two sides of the inner court but it retains a second *corps de logis* that showed little fundamental development in fifty years over its nearby predecessor. The castle was surrounded by ponds, vegetable plots, and orchards for Suscinio was a residence of leisure rather than a government or administrative centre.

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CLISSON CASTLE

Clisson Castle is not unlike Barnard Castle in County Durham. It extends across several courts, its development spans several phases, it towers above a fast-flowing river, with its highest point crowned by a circular keep. Clisson Castle was strategically well sited close to the borders of Anjou, Poitou and Brittany. It was therefore essential for the security of the duchy that there should be harmonious relations between the duke and the castle's owner.

It was the home of the Clisson family who grew to considerable power during the fourteenth century. Olivier V (1336–1407) was constable of France from 1380 to 1392 but became a thorn in the side of the royal dukes. In 1420 the duke of Brittany took control of the castle from Margaret, the last member of the Clisson family.

This extensive castle essentially divides into two key structures:

1. The medieval castle of the Clisson family perched high above the confluences of the river Sèvre and Moine. It was developed between the early thirteenth and late fifteenth centuries. An extremely wide moat separates it from
2. The much larger outer court built for artillery defence by Francis II, duke of Brittany, between 1463 and 1477. This work doubled the size of the castle.

The medieval castle took the form of a small outer court and a polygonal inner court astride a narrow belt of rock outcrop. It was developed in several phases, though their dating is subject to considerable uncertainty. The ruined condition of the site and its battered structures need detailed analysis before a clear development picture can be established.

The Clisson family first occupied the site in the mid-eleventh century but the earliest standing structures seem to be early thirteenth century¹ with the shell of the first great hall on the north side of the inner court attributable to this early phase.

During the second half of the thirteenth century, the entry gate to the inner court was rebuilt, the earliest of four on this site. What is more important however is that this castle holds two keeps. One is cylindrical, built at the prow of the site. It is usually attributed to Olivier V as part of his work of the 1360s.² The other is a six storeyed rectangular tower built in front of the aforementioned thirteenth-century gateway. This is usually attributed to Olivier III (d.1300) at the close of his life.³ These attributions are doubtful. The circular keep is probably of the later thirteenth century while the rectangular keep, now torn open, is probably of the later fourteenth century. Only the inner façade stands of this second keep and the stubs of the return walls, for its frontage has been totally destroyed. More accurately described as a tower-house, the ground and first floor incorporated the bulky earlier gateway to the inner court. Unfortunately, the two semi-circular towers of this gatehouse and the structure above collapsed in the seventeenth century. All four upper floors were generously lit by slender rectangular windows and were well provided with latrines and fireplaces (the second floor with an extended hood). The striking defensive position of this tower-house with its prominent machicolated crown suggests the abilities of Olivier V. It is a plain, undecorated structure, in the forefront of architectural planning, and one that commands the whole site. As tower-houses were a popular development in Brittany during the last quarter of the fourteenth century as at Dinan, Largoet-en-Elven, and Oudon, it is likely that the tower-house at Clisson was of about the same time.

The inner court was lined by a sequence of sumptuous apartments, two or three storeys high, with beamed ceilings. With one exception most of the inner walling has been destroyed leaving the



Pl. 30 Clisson Castle: gateway tower-house

outer walls as the prime survival. There were three halls, spanning the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. The earliest, facing north, retains some of its inner wall and the entry to a first floor hall. The second, west of the circular keep, is the most damaged. The hall was again at first floor level but flanked by a kitchen at the lower end and an ante-chamber at the upper prefacing the keep. The third hall, east of the keep, was the lower part of a three storeyed residential block, remodelled for Francis II, with end wall fireplaces and broad-set windows. The chapel above the adjacent kitchen retains a four light window with trefoiled heads.

Francis II's substantial outer court was developed during the 1460s under the direction of Mathelin Rodier, the ducal master-mason. As the site was uneven, Rodier divided it into four courts at different levels. The whole was enclosed by a substantial curtain wall provisioned

with greater and lesser entrances, a machicolated head, and oak doors but no portcullis. Two re-roofed artillery towers faced the town while a well-planned internal gateway protected the earlier Clisson approach. This development was not only sufficiently large to provide accommodation for the ducal court but the defences gave it the appropriate protection. In 1481, the castle was granted to Francis d'Avaugour, Francis II's illegitimate son whose family retained it until the Revolution.

Notes

1. Not until the mid-thirteenth century according to C.L. Salch, *Dictionnaire des Châteaux and des Fortifications* (1979), 342.
2. J. Mesqui, *Châteaux Forts* (1997), 130–31. G. Denizeau, *Larousse des Châteaux* (2005), 172.
3. C.L. Salch (1979), 342. J. Mesqui attributes this tower-house to Olivier III and Olivier IV, beheaded in 1343. (1997), 130–31. Several writers confuse the several Oliviers of this family.

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THE DUCHY OF AQUITAINE

ECONOMIC PROSPERITY AND POLITICAL UNCERTAINTY

The duchy of Aquitaine was the vast holding in south-west France that came to Henry II in 1152 as his wife's dowry. The territory extended from Anjou to the Pyrenees and from the Bay of Biscay to the Massif Central. As Henry already held Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine, the addition of the lands of Eleanor, duchess of Aquitaine together with Poitou and Auvergne meant that he controlled more of France than its king. However, this Angevin empire quickly disintegrated under the weak rule of King John and his son against the determined aggression of Philippe Auguste of France (1180–1223). With the conquest of what remained of Poitou by Louis VIII in 1224, English possessions in France had been drastically reduced to no more than the southern part of Aquitaine that was western Gascony.

The boundaries of the duchy were never clearly defined and they varied enormously between the early thirteenth and the mid-fifteenth centuries. At times, the area extended from the valley of the Charente in the north to include those of the Dordogne, Lot, Tarn, and Garonne further south. But the duchy's core was always the basin of the Garonne between Bordeaux and the sea and the coastal area southwards to the Pyrenees. It is this valuable wine producing area which tends to be called Gascony, though it was never called a duchy.¹

The several river valleys dominated the region's history, particularly the Dordogne and the Garonne which were spanned by few bridges. Equally important was the commercial significance of Bordeaux and the fleet of Bayonne, particularly for the export of Gascon wines to England. However, the wine trade was one of the casualties of the war for vines were slow to recover from destruction and as they were labour intensive, they were badly affected by periodic bouts of the plague after the late 1340s.

English rule of Aquitaine lasted three centuries but throughout this period, the relationship and attitude of both France and England towards this territory suffered from the problems of distance as well as those of fluctuating power and authority. It proved difficult for the English to find trustworthy administrators while the ambivalence of some Gascons to the rulers and their representatives on either side meant that there was an on-going commercial, financial, and territorial tug-of-war. The clashes between these interests underlay much of the infighting within the region's towns and villages over several centuries.

The feudal disagreements, diplomatic endeavours, and military campaigns during the years preceding the Hundred Years War were offset by periods of commercial prosperity, particularly during the early fourteenth century. These years are not of immediate concern but the persistent reluctance of the English

king to do homage for the duchy of Aquitaine was finally unlocked in 1329 when the young Edward III did so in Amiens Cathedral. But as the ceremony was an ambiguous one, both sides began to take warlike steps to protect their territories. In May 1337, Philip VI ordered the duchy to be confiscated while Edward III subsequently disavowed his homage, reasserted his rights in Aquitaine, and set out his claim to the throne of France (1340).

The duchy was marked by an abundance of castles protecting individuals, and bastides and fortified settlements protecting townspeople. The former were the consequence of political fragmentation while the latter encouraged trade and localised prosperity. Defensible settlements were subject to attacks and frequently changed sides, for the war in Aquitaine was primarily one of sieges and skirmishes rather than major military campaigns and pitched battles.² La Réole changed hands eight times and the castle at Bourq hardly less so, but though the French came close to Bordeaux on several occasions, they never managed to take the city until 1453.³

Gascon support was determined by self-interest and commercial expediency. Froissart was biased when he chose to characterise the Gascons as notable for their instability and shifting loyalties, for allegiance to the English administration by many of them was persistent and sometimes against their own interests. However, reliability was ephemeral, particularly in the borders of the duchy where conditions were similar to the unclear border between England and Scotland. There often seemed little benefit from supporting English rule until particularly onerous French financial demands were pursued more aggressively than those by the English.

There was no purpose-built royal residence in Aquitaine, though the region was marked by many stone castles. The area was usually governed by a seneschal who was the head of government, supported by the constable responsible for financial matters, and the chancellor. Periodically, a major commander would be appointed to re-assert the English king's authority. The first major appointment during the Hundred Years War was Henry of Grosmont, earl of Lancaster during his campaigns in the late 1340s when he successfully pushed back the frontiers of the duchy to the Charente and La Réole in the south where he used the castle as his winter quarters in 1345. A far more significant appointment was that of Edward III's eldest son, Edward of Woodstock, as his lieutenant in Gascony in 1355. The rule of the so-called Black Prince⁴ marked the apogee of English power in Aquitaine with him staying in the archbishop's palace at Bordeaux for Christmas after his arrival in 1355 and again in the following year at Easter and throughout the winter when he celebrated his success at Poitiers with his royal captive and other distinguished prisoners. Further successes eluded the Black Prince (and Edward III) so that the Treaty of Brétigny was not the successful conclusion to battlefield success that had been anticipated four years earlier.

In July 1362, the Black Prince was appointed ruler of the newly created Principality of Aquitaine, a region which had expanded under the Treaty of Brétigny to include Poitou and all the lands to the Tarn, Béarn and Bayonne. This enlarged territory was now a political and financially independent entity with its own ruler under little more than nominal control from England.

The creation of this Principality under the Black Prince meant not only the development of a semi-royal state but also of a royal court. The centre of English administration had hitherto lain with the seneschal and his colleagues but this was no precedent for the feasts, processions, and opulence that now marked the Black Prince's presence. His court was centred on the archbishop's palace at Bordeaux and subsequently at the castles of Angoulême and Cognac, but it was led by a prince who was more interested in military campaigns than in the administration that supported them. The prince sometimes travelled round his domains (Angoulême was particularly favoured during his later years) with his progress marked

by festivities, fashionable clothes, jewels, and new coinage. However, a combination of increasingly dire financial straits, a debilitating and unhealthy interest in Castilian affairs (supported by success at Nájera in 1367), antagonism from some of the Gascon lords, and declining health forced the Black Prince to return home with his family early in 1371 which included his four-year-old son born at Bordeaux – the future Richard II. Late in the following year, the prince formally surrendered the Principality of Aquitaine to his father. He was by now in extreme pain until his death four years later.⁵

The closing years of Edward III's rule were a continuous roll of defeat and lack of interest leading to the loss of Poitou and Saintonge, not helped by the failure of John of Gaunt's *chevauchée* in 1373 when he marched with diminishing forces and food from Calais to Bordeaux. The succeeding years witnessed a stream of losses to the extent that the French were within twenty miles of Bordeaux (1377). The appointment of John Neville of Raby in 1378 saw the recovery of much of the vital Entre-Deux-Mers region that protected the key centre at Bordeaux. But two events made Aquitaine of less consideration than previously by both sides. The first was England's diplomatic achievement in persuading Gaston Fébus of Foix to ally himself to the English crown against his enemies the count of Armagnac and the lord of Acbret. This protected the southern border of Aquitaine. The second was the papal schism of 1378. There was little campaigning in the duchy for the remainder of the century and that was broken by short truces and stilled by the agreement signed in 1396.

REGIONAL RESIDENCES

Commanders did not stay in one place but were continually on the move, dealing with real or imagined grievances and the perpetual problems stemming from French attacks on the duchy from the north and east. With one exception, commanders' visits to Gascony were relatively short. In May 1345, Henry, earl of Lancaster was appointed commissioner to govern Aquitaine and was there from August 1345 to December 1346 and again from late 1349 to early 1350. John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, appointed duke of Aquitaine in March 1390 was present for brief periods between November 1390 and the close of 1395. Edward, earl of Rutland and lieutenant of Aquitaine was in the duchy for a little over a year from August 1401 to November 1402. Thomas, duke of Clarence and lieutenant of Aquitaine was present for eleven months from July 1412 to June 1413. John, earl of Huntingdon was appointed lieutenant in March 1439 to serve for six years but was recalled after less than two. John Talbot was appointed lieutenant in September 1452 and died on the battlefield in July 1453 nine months after his arrival.

The one exception to this pattern of relatively brief stays was Edward, Prince of Wales who spent the majority of his adult life in Aquitaine. Twenty five years old when he sailed to Bordeaux in September 1355, he held court in the duchy for fifteen years until January 1371, interrupted only by periodic visits to England. Though he built a palace for himself at Kennington (1340–52 and 1353–63); he did not repeat the practice in France. Nor did Henry of Lancaster who, having successfully besieged Bergerac in 1345, collected so much booty that he was able to rebuild his palace of the Savoy, overlooking the Thames (1350–57). John of Gaunt used his extensive building projects in England to support his pretensions to the throne of Castile, but he did not do so in Gascony. Nor were the seneschals any more interested in building, even though some of them were of considerable standing such as John, Lord Neville in the late 1370s and Richard, Lord Scrope in the 1380s, both building barons in England.

Bordeaux, sixty miles from the coast, was the administrative and commercial capital of the region

throughout the Middle Ages as it still is today. By the early fourteenth century, the town was estimated to have held about 30,000 inhabitants⁶ and was encircled by three miles of walls between the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The Black Prince made the archbishop's palace in Bordeaux the centre of his court and the nearby Palais de l'Ombrière as his military and administrative centre. In 1394, John of Gaunt stayed at Libourne, Lormont, and then at Saint-Seurin before the Gascons, refusing to accept him as their duke, allowed him to enter Bordeaux and take up residence in the archbishop's palace. During the later stages of the war, Thomas duke of Clarence used the archbishop's palace throughout the winter of 1412 while John Holand, earl of Huntingdon and his wife occupied the archbishop's bedroom during their stay in 1439–40.

The medieval archiepiscopal palace was the heart of the Black Prince's court at Bordeaux. It was an extremely lavish one with eighty or more knights and four times as many squires regularly in attendance.⁷ At first, it was primarily a social centre, marked by splendid feasts but it gradually developed into a more armed court for a strong military presence became increasingly essential in a region of developing conflict. Nor was the conduct and culture of the court, emphasised by expensive clothing, and ostentatious jewellery, helped by the Black Prince's increasing arrogance and dislike of many Gascon lords. Success at Nájera added to the Black Prince's military reputation and made the heir apparent's court particularly desirable to military activists and capable administrators alike. Their enthusiasm faded away as deep-set financial problems and military failures beset the principality of a dying commander. After 1372, the court was held at Cognac or Angoulême, not Bordeaux, and was no longer so costly. The Bordeaux building was totally replaced in the eighteenth century by a neo-classical residence for archbishop Ferdinand Maximilian of Meriadec and is now used as the City Hall for Bordeaux.

If the cathedral of St André was the leading religious complex in medieval Bordeaux, the royal castle of the l'Ombrière was the principal secular building. Overlooking the river Garonne, it was the heart of the ducal administration, the seneschal's residence, and the arsenal. Nothing of it survives today. The core of the castle had been a rectangular donjon, but during a phase of French occupation at the close of the thirteenth century, a new first floor great hall was initiated. It was completed by the English after their reoccupation in 1303. The approach was by a vaulted staircase with the hall enhanced by a rose window. A vaulted two storeyed tower was erected during Edward II's reign, adding to an over-crowded site. It included the chapel for the occupants, an accounting chamber for the exchequer, a mint for the duchy's money, and storage for ordinance and weapons.⁸ Shortly after the departure of the English in 1453, Louis XI determined that the vacant building should be the seat of the Bordeaux parliament, a practice similarly followed with the ducal palace at Dijon and the royal palace at Westminster. The Palais de l'Ombrière was demolished in 1800 to enable the present rue de Palais to be constructed.

Notes

1. See Chap. 5 note 2. Despite their allegiance, Gascons were never considered to be French in an ethno-linguistic sense but as a distinct people like the Welsh or the Scots with the English. In local documents and even in Limousin, Auvergne and Languedoc, the term 'French' referred only to the lands south of the Loire and not to the kingdom and rarely to the Île de France.
2. M. Vale, *The War in Aquitaine in Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years' War*, ed. A. Curry and M. Hughes (1994) 72–73, 74.
3. Professor Gardelles has estimated that the duchy and its frontiers were studded with about 1,000 forts, *Les Châteaux du Moyen Âge dans la France du Sud-Ouest: Les Gascogne anglaise de 1216 à 1327* (1972), 44–45. For the strategic value of some of the key sites, see Vale, note 2 above.

4. The nickname is first recorded during the sixteenth century on the basis that he is thought to have worn black armour. There is no evidence that he did so. His rule was as king's lieutenant in Aquitaine (1355–57), as prince of Aquitaine (1362–72) and was continuously present in the territory between 1363 and early 1371.
5. Probably the consequence of dysentery, R. Barber (1978), 214.
6. Y. Renouard *et al.*, *Histoire de Bordeaux*, III (1965), 224–25. Architecturally, Aquitaine was mainly influenced by French rather than English forms, P. Binski, *Gothic Wonder* (2014) 246.
7. R. Barber, *Life and Campaigns of the Black Prince* (1989), 105.
8. M.W. Labarge, *Gascony, England's First Colony* (1980), 80.

THE COUNTY OF FOIX

GASTON, COUNT OF FOIX

Gaston III Fébus, count of Foix and lord of Béarn (1343–91), was not a typical ruler of some lesser fiefdoms in France. By astute diplomacy, he not only managed to keep his territories clear of the armed conflicts that beset his neighbours during the second half of the fourteenth century but he was able to establish an almost independent state in the foothills of the Pyrenees. Furthermore, the fortresses he built were sufficiently numerous to warrant separate consideration, particularly in contrast with the non-building programme of his neighbour at this time, the duke of Aquitaine.

Gaston governed the two principal fiefs on the north side of the mountain range separating France from the Iberian peninsula. This dual lordship was made up of the Viscounty of Béarn towards the west and the County of Foix towards the east. They were separated by the two counties of Comminges and Bigorre which Gaston constantly sought to control against the claims of his immediate neighbour, the count of Armagnac. Although hemmed in by the conflicting royal representatives of French Languedoc, English Aquitaine, and the Iberian kingdoms of Aragon and Navarre, Gaston Fébus (as he usually signed himself throughout his career) steered a skilful path through the power politics of nearby lands and their military holders. He was also courted in turn by the rulers of France and England in their wider conflict affecting Aquitaine, but his practice of armed neutrality kept their representatives at bay. He became extremely wealthy from the ransoms of the battle of Launac (1362), developed an economically stable domain, and by skilful diplomacy – varying between a lifetime's practice of shifting allegiances and sudden displays of strength – he spared his patrimony from the devastation of warfare that affected the lands of his contemporaries.

Gaston Fébus was anything but a minor nobleman. His family ties included the royal houses of Valois, Navarre, and Aragon with more localised ties extending well beyond the bounds of his dual patrimony.¹ He entertained the duke of Berry (1381) and the young Charles VI (1389). Béarn was Gaston's principal base as it had been of his forebears since the late thirteenth century for whereas the count owed his allegiance for Foix to the king of France, as viscount of Béarn he considered he was free of any such obligations. Béarn was also more economically attractive than Foix though Gaston spent most of his later years encouraging the prosperity of both fiefs to further his primary aim of maintaining patrimonial independence.

Like many contemporary rulers, Gaston had no single seat or capital but moved between several favoured residences with a strong preference for Castle Moncade in Orthez and the castle at Mazères in

the county of Foix. In any case, all his residences were fortresses rather than non-defensive sites. Because Gaston was essentially neutral in the conflicts around him, his court was a centre for political rumour and gossip. It may have been modest in scale but it was an important sounding-post that prompted a visit from Froissart late in 1388. Arriving at Orthez, 'I could find no better place in the world where I would be truly informed of all news, for a great many foreign knights and squires abide there and gladly return for the sake of the welcome' from my lord Gaston.² The court may have been a provincial one compared with those of Charles V or the duke of Berry but it was extremely lively and artistically rich. Froissart describes it during his three months stay there as a welcomed guest of the count who among many listed attributes favoured midnight rather than midday dining.

In a murky episode in 1380, Gaston put his only legitimate son to death after an abortive coup against his father. Any strategic plans that Gaston may have had to create a loose confederation of Pyrenean states under his leadership were abandoned. Gaston had hoped that his estates would pass to his two favoured bastard sons but in 1389 he negotiated a surprising treaty with the king of France that all his estates would pass to the French crown. By this contradictory act, Fébus gave up the independence of his estates for which he had been striving throughout his life. It is possible that this was to spite the secondary branch of the family and sole legitimate heir to whom Gaston had been bitterly opposed throughout his life. But in the event, after nearly fifty years of autocratic rule, legitimacy prevailed and the royal treaty was tactfully renounced by Charles VI. Seven years later, Gaston's cousin died and the entire Foix-Béarn inheritance passed to his sister and her husband³ whose successors became kings of Navarre until that region was annexed by France in the early seventeenth century.

GASTON'S BUILDING PROGRAMME

The English expansion of Gascony to become a greater Aquitaine in the years immediately following the treaty of Brétigny (1360) meant that Gaston needed to upgrade his territorial defences. This was particularly necessary against the predatory royal representatives of England and France – initially the Black Prince and then the duke of Lancaster, and by Charles V's brother the duke of Anjou who had been appointed lieutenant of Languedoc in 1365. The flux of hostilities arising from English gains and subsequent losses over the next twenty years meant that Gaston needed all his skills to resist the demands of both neighbours to keep his territories free from their forces on the one hand and from persistent marauding freebooters on the other.

In achieving this and in funding his extensive building activities, Gaston's resources were immeasurably bolstered by the battery of ransoms he extracted after defeating his arch-enemy, the count of Armagnac and his forces at the battle of Launac near Toulouse in 1362. The consequence was that Fébus 'embarked on the most ambitious programme of military construction undertaken by a vassal of Charles V'.⁴ Furthermore, Fébus moved a step closer to maintaining a standing army by developing a substantial armed force that could be swiftly mobilised. This was demonstrated in periodic musters such as those in 1372 and 1376 which effectively deterred any invasion of his fiefs. During the later fourteenth century, Fébus' force was second only to the armies available to the rulers of France and England.⁵

Fébus embarked on his major construction programme to protect his geographically modest but strategically important territorial complex. To achieve this, he employed a 'commissaire aux fortifications'. Sicard de Lordat. Often considered to be the originator of Fébus' building programme, he organised

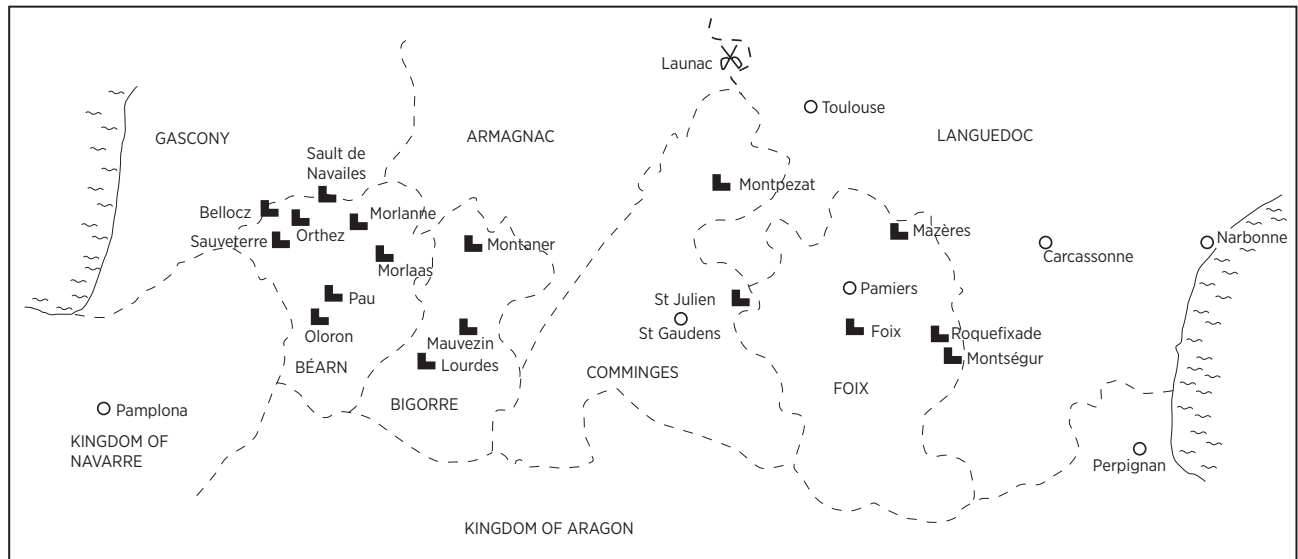


Fig. 20 Territories and strongholds of Gaston Fébus

and administered this particularly extensive and expensive building campaign.⁶ The castles of Gaston's predecessors had been well-sited but were relatively small scale. Gaston's aim was to bring their defences up-to-date or build entirely new structures that helped to link his scattered territories. Béarn was better protected towards Gascony than Armagnac. Foix benefitted from the long established castle at Foix and a number of Cathar strongholds, whereas the separating counties of Bigorre and Comminges were less well defended. In a programme which can be compared in scale with that of Edward I in North Wales, Gaston's activities encompassed the construction of at least four new castles, the upgrading of eight existing fortresses, and the improvement of the town walls enclosing at least four settlements.

COUNTY OF BIGORRE

The most important castle in his large-scale defensive programme was Montaner, a totally new structure guarding the approach to Béarn from Armagnac. Built in brick between 1374 and 1380, Montaner has a polygonal shaped courtyard with its circuit interrupted by a dominating square tower. The buttressed outer curtain wall survives but only the foundations of the two storeyed internal ranges built against it. The barbican-protected entry divided the hall and kitchens on the west side from the line of chambers on the east side. Both ranges were corridor linked towards the courtyard at both levels, but they were separated by the dominating residential tower. 40 metres high, this still stands to roof height. The ground floor holds a subsidiary entrance to the main gate on the north side of the castle. The five floors above are surmounted by a machicolated terrace. Montaner is strikingly similar in layout and form to Bellver Castle in Majorca (1309–14) and like that residence, was more of a palace than a barracks which it subsequently became and suffered in the mid-seventeenth century.⁷

Marriage brought the castle at Mauvezin into Gaston Fébus' orbit after it had passed through English and Armagnac hands. Though built to a square plan, Mauvezin was of the same form as Montaner. It was similarly dominated by a machicolated square tower built by Gaston during the last third of the fourteenth century.⁸

VISCOUNT OF BÉARN

Castle Moncade at Orthez was Fébus' favourite residence. It surmounted a steep hill overlooking the road to Compostela and the trade routes from Toulouse to Bayonne and from Bordeaux to Pamplona. The castle was initially developed by the viscount of Béarn in the years following 1242. It include a motte with a striking stone-faced counter escarpment which was possibly a fourteenth century addition. Between 1376 and 1379, Gaston Fébus improved the residential accommodation by redeveloping the *logis* abutting an earlier pentagonal tower at its upper end. The *logis* was described by Froissart who frequently visited the castle during his three month stay in the town in 1388, but only the foundations survive of this two storeyed hall and services. The pentagonal tower, like the prow of a ship, was built in two stages. The two lower floors with narrow slit windows are mid-thirteenth century but the tower was heightened and better fenestrated by Fébus to provide more private apartments for himself. The tower was surmounted by a machicolated roof, restored in 1820.⁹ The contemporary fortified bridge protecting the approach to the town across the river Gave de Pau, is a smaller version of that at Cahors.

Orthez was the first of a line of castles protecting Béarn's vulnerable east frontier with Gascony.

Morlanne was an entirely new build after 1370 in brick for Arnaud-Guilhem of Morlanne, Gaston's half-brother, to protect the approach to Orthez from the north. It was in the form of a polygonal enclosure with a rectangular tower. Today, it reflects the extensive restoration by Raymond Ritter during the twentieth century based on the model of Montaner.¹⁰

Pau was the primary defence of the less vulnerable east border of Béarn. Fébus remodelled the earlier fortress by adding several towers in 1375–78 including a square tower-house. This was a brick built, five storeyed tower with its machicolated head restored in 1846. The ground floor held the entry to the castle but the residential floors above were well lit and with fireplaces. In 1450, Pau became the capital of Béarn so that the castle was gradually transformed over the next hundred years into a Renaissance palace, particularly by Francois I's sister who married the king of Navarre and lord of Béarn in 1527. The castle was heavily restored and furnished from 1830 onwards as a memorial to Henry of Navarre, king Henry IV of France (1589–1610).

Both Pau and Montaner have heraldic stones bearing the inscription *Febus me fe* (Fébus made me). Furthermore, much of Sicard's work was carried out in brick rather than stone (Montaner, Morlanne, Pau) for this not only accelerated construction but it was more cost effective. At the same time, town walls were upgraded at Morlaas,¹¹ Oloron, Pau, and Sauveterre at Gaston's expense.



Pl. 31 Orthez Castle: Fébus' Tower

COUNTY OF FOIX

This fief had long been protected by the castle at Foix. Crowning a rocky crag above the town at the confluence of the Arget and Ariège rivers, the three tall independent towers which make this such a distinctive site were developed in the twelfth and early fourteenth centuries respectively (both square) with the circular tower added in the early fifteenth century. They formerly dominated a double ring of curtain walling. This castle proved particularly useful to Gaston as a military base immediately before the battle of Launac in 1362 but it was not particularly favoured by him after that. In any case, the county was protected by several former Cathar strongholds such as Montségur and Roquefixade guarding the routes to Andorra and Catalonia.

Pamiers and Mazères were bastides but Gaston developed a castle at Mazères which became his principal and favoured residence whenever he visited this region. The castle had six strong towers and was still unfinished in 1381 when Jean, duke of Berry stayed there. A single tower survives.¹²

Notes

1. R. Vernier, *Lord of the Pyrenes: Gaston Fébus, Count of Foix* (2008), 25–27.
2. *Chronicles*, ed. K. de Lettenhove (1867–77), vol. XI, 3.
3. The long-standing hostility between the houses of Foix and Armagnac was just as bitter even after Charles VII had awarded the county of Bigorre to the count of Foix in 1425. P. Tucóo-Chala, *Gaston Fébus, prince des Pyrénées (1343–1391)* (1991).
4. Vernier, 95.
5. *Ibid.*, 98.
6. P. Aragüas, À propos des constructions militaires de Gaston Fébus: Sicard de Lordat, in *Revue de Pau et du Béarn*, 13 (1986), 5–30. Also R. Ritter, *Les Constructions militaires de Gaston Fébus en Béarn* (1923).
7. P. Tucóo-Chala, *Montaner et son château* (1984) and *Les Forteresses pyrénéennes de Gaston Fébus* (1997).
8. The contemporary square residential tower at Lourdes in the same county is attributed to Gaston.
9. T. Issartel, *Le Château Moncade à Orthez* (1991).
10. Fébus persuaded his half-brother to upgrade the castle at Oloron (destroyed in 1644) and the town walls (1359–66). As Sauveterre-de-Béarn guarded the border with Navarre with its unpredictable ruler, Charles II, Gaston took the precaution early in his rule of extending the stone defences of this thirteenth-century castle. He died here in 1391.
11. Thirteen town houses and their gardens were destroyed by Fébus so that he could enlarge the old castle at Morlaas, seven miles north-east of Pau. It no longer survives. Vernier (2008), 95.
12. Holding the castles at Montpezat and St Julien (both destroyed) and the fortified town of St Gaudens gave Gaston control of the County of Comminges and therefore the upper Garonne valley.

THE DUCHY OF BURGUNDY

THE GROWTH OF BURGUNDY

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the duchy of Burgundy was still held by a younger branch of the royal house of Capet. In 1361, Philip de Rouvres, the young Capetian duke of Burgundy died without heirs so that this agriculturally rich duchy was quickly taken by the French king, John II. His youngest son, the 16-year-old Philip of Valois had stood by his father's side throughout the battle of Poitiers and had been captured with him. Upon their release from England in 1360, the grateful father had granted Philip the duchy of Touraine. Three years later, Touraine was exchanged for the larger and more wealthy duchy of Burgundy. It was under the governance of Philip and his three Valois successors that the duchy attained the position of an almost independent state. Their rule not only ensured that it became one of the political dynamics of Europe between about 1360 and 1480, but that it vied with Italy as the leading cultural engine of change from the medieval world to that of the Renaissance.

During its early stages, the Hundred Years War did not affect Burgundy. It avoided invasion from Edward III's overwhelming army in 1360 by paying him a substantial bribe to leave. The respite was short-lived for the first wave of mercenaries swarmed across the duchy in 1362 and these bandit companies continued to do so until 1368. To deal with them, King John II decided to bring more immediate authority than was possible with a governor by resuming the duchy's long-standing practice of rule by a younger member of the royal family.

The award to Philip in September 1363 completed John II's policy of providing for his offspring. Louis had received Anjou in 1356, John had been established in Berry in 1360, and now with Burgundy in Valois hands, a southern bulwark had been created protecting the royal lands centred on Paris that would be inherited by his eldest son, Charles. Yet this policy also proved to be the cause of a fundamental liability for the crown for the next hundred years and a drain on its financial, political, and social structures. In the case of the duchy of Burgundy, this problem was compounded by Philip's marriage to Margaret of Flanders, the richest heiress in Europe who would inherit the counties of Artois and Burgundy (later known as Franche-Comté) from her grandmother, and the counties of Flanders, Nevers, and Rethel from her father. Yet any consequence of this marriage seemed to lie far in the future for Philip's father-in-law, Louis of Mâle, count of Flanders, was only 39, no more than ten years older than Philip.

From 1369 to 1379, Philip supported his brothers in their campaigns against the English and the many negotiations with them. But when the burghers of Ghent took up arms against their lord in

1379, Philip sharply turned his attention to supporting his father-in-law. The latter's death in 1384 transformed Philip's position. He was now the powerful ruler of a substantial block of territories that included the combined duchy and adjacent county of Burgundy and the turbulent county of Flanders which he quickly calmed by militant diplomacy.

Within two years, the duke had re-organised his disparate territories into two groups. A single council and financial office was established at Dijon for the government of the southern territories, and a similar institution was set up at Lille for Flanders and the northern territories. Though the Burgundian state was established out of an amalgam of the lands held by Philip and his wife, neither Philip nor his successors ever contemplated their separation – only their expansion. In seeking to achieve this aim, Philip not only negotiated a number of marriage alliances which strengthened his frontiers, but he exploited the weakness of the French monarchy during the last two decades of the fourteenth century which was mirrored by those in England and the Holy Roman Empire as well as by the conflicting holders of the papal throne.

The accession of the twelve-year-old Charles VI in 1380 as king of France had meant a trial of strength during his minority. Anjou claimed to be regent until he left to conquer Naples in 1382, leaving Philip as the principal ruler in France. Berry usually deferred to him while the constable, Oliver de Clisson and other household members on behalf of the king, were unable to challenge him effectively. Despite his fine words, Philip's actions were primarily determined by his own territorial interest before those of the French crown.

In 1388, Charles VI was declared of age and he took over the reins of government, but his subsequent responsible years were short-lived. The king's madness in 1392 once more brought the dukes of Berry and Burgundy to power, now in competition with the king's thrusting brother, Louis duke of Orléans. Berry was pushed aside so that government was essentially controlled by Burgundy and Orléans with both fostering their own interest by imposing heavy demands on the royal coffers. They never came into open conflict but while Philip favoured peace with England which benefitted the commercial needs of his Flemish subjects, Louis was anxious for war. The more aged but experienced Burgundy sought to bring the papal schism to an end while the young Orléans was a staunch supporter of the Avignon pope. Philip's political ability enabled him to maintain his leading position in France, supported by the queen, but Louis had more personal influence over his brother than his uncle during Charles VI's lucid periods. By the first years of the fifteenth century, Philip was virtually in charge of French policy, anxious to serve France's best interests but equally those of his own territories. He kept semi-royal state and had created *de facto* a new kingdom that could vie with the crown of France or England and even with the Holy Roman Empire in its separated holdings. Philip died in April 1404 and this gave Charles VI's brother the long-awaited opportunity to seize the reins of power. But the destabilisation of the French throne came to a dramatic climax three years later with the assassination of Louis on the orders of the new duke of Burgundy, John the Fearless.

THE ARTISTIC PATRONAGE OF PHILIP, DUKE OF BURGUNDY

Philip the Bold's rule divides into two almost equal segments, marked by his acquisition of the wealthy if turbulent Flemish fief in 1384. Philip was extremely capable, full of drive, and particularly fond of display which he used as a diplomatic tool. He was a negotiator rather than a soldier, though he could

be militant when his territorial interests were threatened. Philip spent vast sums on ceremonies and festivities, gifts, embassies, and building projects but though Dijon and then Lille became important administrative and judicial centres, Philip and his court spent much of their time after 1384 in Paris.

Richard Vaughan has calculated that Philip initially spent an average of seven months each year close to the royal court in Paris before the practice was considerably reduced in 1369 in favour of his own holdings in Burgundy. However, it increased to at least half of each year from 1380 onwards and rose to nearly eight months a year between 1394 and 1404.¹ During his later years, Philip and his court were essentially the heart of French government, centred on a strong personality who was a hands-on administrator and organiser, lavish in hospitality and extravagant in display. Not surprisingly, Paris became the centre for artistic activity with dealers serving not one but several branches of the Valois dynasty.

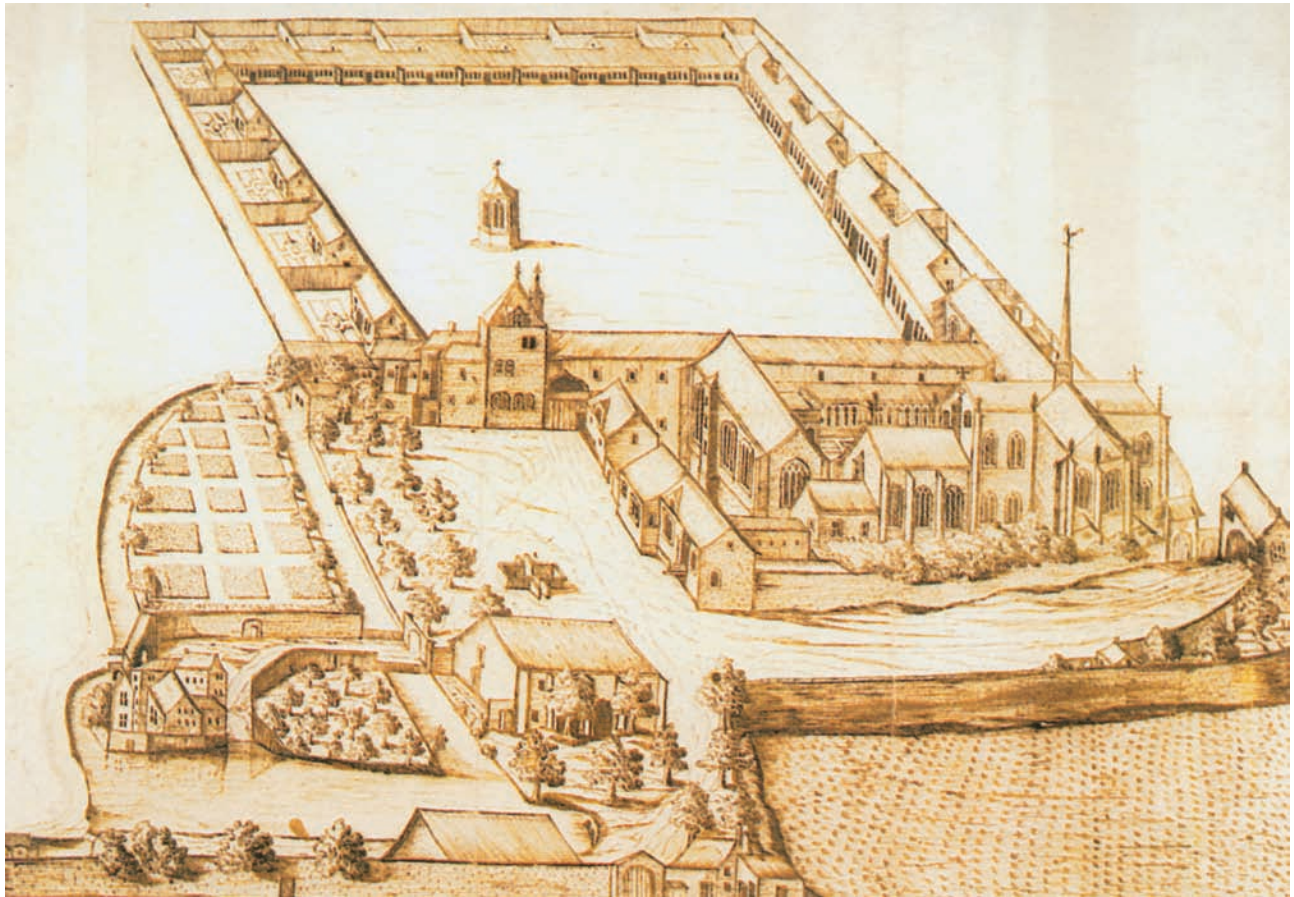
Any estimate of Philip's income must be tentative but Vaughan has suggested that it was possibly about 360,000 francs per annum in 1384–86, rising to 400,000–450,000 francs in about 1394–96 and about 540,000 francs in 1400–03. This may be compared with Charles VI's income of about one and a half million francs shortly after his first bout of illness. Burgundy was roughly one third as wealthy as the crown of France but it is clear that nearly half of Philip's income came from his financial exploitation of the French crown.²

At first, Philip was unable to undertake any major building projects but his financial and political standing was transformed after becoming the count of Flanders in 1384. As Burgundy lacked any outstanding craftsmen, Philip sought his architects from Paris and northern France, and his sculptors and artists from the Low Countries. The sculptor Jean de Marville (1372–89) was succeeded by Claus Sluter from Haarlem and his nephew Claus de Werve (1406–39). Altar pieces were carved by Jacques de Baerze of Flanders and painted by Melchior Broederlam of Ypres. Jean de Beaumetz and his assistants painted twenty four panels for the monks cells at Champol (two survive) while Henri Bellechose was responsible for the Altarpiece of Saint Denis (by 1416). The Limbourg brothers, manuscript artists from Limbricht in Guelders, were employed by Philip from 1400 to 1403 before they moved into the service of the duke of Berry. The Burgundian archives show that ducal patronage not only encompassed the work of artists within his provinces but also pictures and manuscripts by artists from Spain and northern Italy.

Major architectural enterprises cannot ignore the contemporary artistic atmosphere that is frequently associated with it and this is particularly true of the duchy of Burgundy. Philip's aim was to make Dijon as splendid as Bourges which had been transformed by his brother John, duke of Berry. In 1393, he sent Claus Sluter to see Berry's recently completed and elaborately decorated château at Mehun-sur-Yèvre and similarly sent his master mason and master carpenter working at Hesdin castle in Artois to the same model site. But though Philip was as artistically minded as his brother, his activity was intended to serve his public position and political standing rather than his own personal interests as a private collector.

Philip's patronage in Burgundy was essentially centred on three projects – extending the ducal palace in Dijon, developing his charterhouse at Champmol on the outskirts of Dijon, and improving the residential accommodation at some of the many castles in the duchy. In Flanders, Philip was much more concerned with strengthening the county's defences against possible external attacks.

At the time of his accession, the ducal possessions included the residence in the centre of his capital of Dijon and over forty châteaux spread across the duchy which were financial centres as well as seats of seigniorial authority. Whereas these were held by overseers who were responsible for the ducal lands



Pl. 32 Chartreuse de Champmol: perspective view by Aimé Piron, 1686

and their administration, the Dijon property became Philip's prime residence.³ He began modifying it shortly after becoming duke in 1363 when he added a new tower and an enceinte wall on the east side of the site. Some of the earlier ducal châteaux were also updated with improved residential apartments including work at Argilly (destroyed 1590), Montbard (particularly a suite for the duchess) and Rouvres (destroyed in 1630 except for one tower).⁴ Others such as Villanines-en-Duesmois (thirteenth-century quadrangular ruin of four towers) were maintained as hunting lodges or were little more than defensible agricultural units. As Philip was in Paris or Flanders rather than Burgundy later in life, construction work during those years became less extensive but the ducal residence and his charterhouse ensured that Dijon continued to be Philip's artistic centre.

Philip's Carthusian foundation at Champmol outside the west gate of the Dijon was his dominant artistic enterprise for it was where he intended to be buried.⁵ Plans were under discussion in 1377, the site was purchased in 1378, and the duchess laid the foundation stone in 1383. The church was consecrated in 1388. The famous Well of Moses in the centre of the cloister was executed between 1396 and 1405 with the conventual buildings completed by about 1410 when the tomb of Philip the Bold was installed in the chancel. The architect was Drouet de Dammartin of Paris who had worked with Raymond du Temple on the Louvre for Charles V and was the brother of Guy de Dammartin, the duke of Berry's architect. Drouet subsequently designed Sluis Castle in Flanders for Philip.

John the Fearless and Philip the Good, together with their wives, were also buried at Champmol in 1419 and 1474 respectively so that the monastery became the mausoleum and dynastic church of the Valois dukes of Burgundy. It was also one of the primary centres of western art between 1380 and 1410 and continued to be enriched by further works of art until the 1470s.⁶ Unfortunately, the French Revolution led to the dispersal of the monastery's contents and the destruction of its buildings in 1792, leaving only the church porch, the Well of Moses, and the chapel stair turret as visible evidence of its former wealth within the grounds of a still-used hospital of the 1830s. The dukes' tombs and some of the altarpieces are in Dijon's Musée des Beaux-Arts and the bust of Christ from the Well is in the city's archaeological museum.⁷

As the monastery at Champmol was the heart of Philip's artistic activity, it was to this end that he assembled the finest workmen and artists of the time – gardeners, hydraulic engineers, and tile makers as well as painters, sculptors, and master-masons. Yet they were used in many of his other projects including the chateaux at Argilly, Rouvres, and Germolles where recovered work has demonstrated their quality.⁸ This particularly applies at Germolles Manor even though much of the residence has been rebuilt. In fact, the surviving architectural and artistic output of Philip the Bold has particularly suffered from destruction or degradation with the limited survivals highlighting a major cultural loss.

Notes

1. R. Vaughan, *Philip the Bold* (1962), 15, 39.
2. *Ibid.*, 227–29.
3. During his earlier years he also frequented the chateau of Conflans near Albertville in Savoie.
4. The chateau of Jaucourt was acquired by Philip in 1367. This thirteenth-century quadrangular enclosure with circular corner and mid towers was subject to extensive ducal work between 1370 and 1392. Other activity included repairing the damage caused by the great companies at Druyer-les-Belles-Fontaine, the former home of the count of Nevers. Philip was responsible for the machicolated entrance tower (1378–88).
5. His wife, as heiress of Flanders, had already chosen to be buried at St Pierre, Lille.
6. S. Jugie, *The Mourners: Tomb Sculptures from the Court of Burgundy* (2010).
7. C. Monget, *La Chartreuse de Dijon*, d'après les documents des archives de Bourgogne, 3 vols. (1868–1905); K. Morand, *Claus Sluter* (1991); S. Jugie *et al.*, *The Chartreuse of Champmol* (2004).
8. 'The Ducal Residences' in *Art from the Court of Burgundy*, Exhibition Catalogue (2004), 137–63.

DIJON, THE DUCAL PALACE

Since the twelfth century Dijon has been the largest city in Burgundy rising from 10,000 inhabitants in 1390 to 13,000 in 1474 and 250,000 today. The earliest structure on the site of the ducal palace was a third century rampart, subsequently replaced by a castle that was gradually encircled by the town of Dijon. The palace was initiated by Philip the Bold, the first of the Valois dukes, in 1365 and it was extended by Philip the Good in the mid-fifteenth century.¹ Although some elements of this residence still survive, we know little about the form and layout of this extensive complex.

All four dukes of Burgundy were constantly travelling and rarely resided for any length of time in Dijon. Philip the Bold was here for about forty days a year during the 1360s while Charles the Bold only visited Dijon twice – in 1461 and 1474.² Even so, they always considered Dijon to be their capital. Both the aforementioned dukes were born in the palace, while the family mausoleum lay just outside

the town. Nor was the palace simply their residence but the headquarters for the administration of their lands, their accounting centre, and their mint. Even though the dukes were usually absent, the magnates, officials, household staff, and artists indicated that the centre of Burgundian power lay here. Today, the post-medieval buildings have almost swamped the palace's late-medieval core.

After Louis XI had claimed back the duchy of Burgundy following the death of the last Valois duke in 1477, he and his successors appointed a sequence of governors to oversee Burgundy and they were housed in some of the former ducal apartments renamed the King's House (*Logis du Roi*). By the second half of the seventeenth century, Burgundy's regional assembly of States-General (nobility, clergy, and third estate) had grown in standing to the extent that it felt it should be housed in buildings that proclaimed its regional importance. The States-General had originally met in different Burgundian cities but from the early seventeenth century, they had settled in Dijon. In 1688, the States-General obtained Louis XIV's permission to install themselves in a replacement building 'on the land around his *Logis* in Dijon'.

Jules Hardouin-Mansart, Louis XIV's first architect, was asked to design the new Palais des États with the first phase built between 1686 and 1701 by Jules' brother-in-law. It was constructed on the west side of the old ducal residence but partly overlapped it, replacing the *Logis du Roi* with the principal classical façade of the Court of Honour. Mansart also designed the semi-circular Place Royal (now Place de la Libération) in front of the palace but the westward development (Cour de Flore) was not completed until 1786. The east range of the Cour de Bar was built in the mid-nineteenth century to house the Musée des Beaux-Arts, established in 1799 and now one of the pre-eminent art museums in France.

The ducal palace has not been subject to a recent architectural analysis and there has been little archaeological examination of the site. However, the documentary record is extensive identifying construction and restoration phases as well as details of the luxurious lifestyle practiced by the Valois dukes. The principal elements that make up the site were developed piecemeal for it combined the

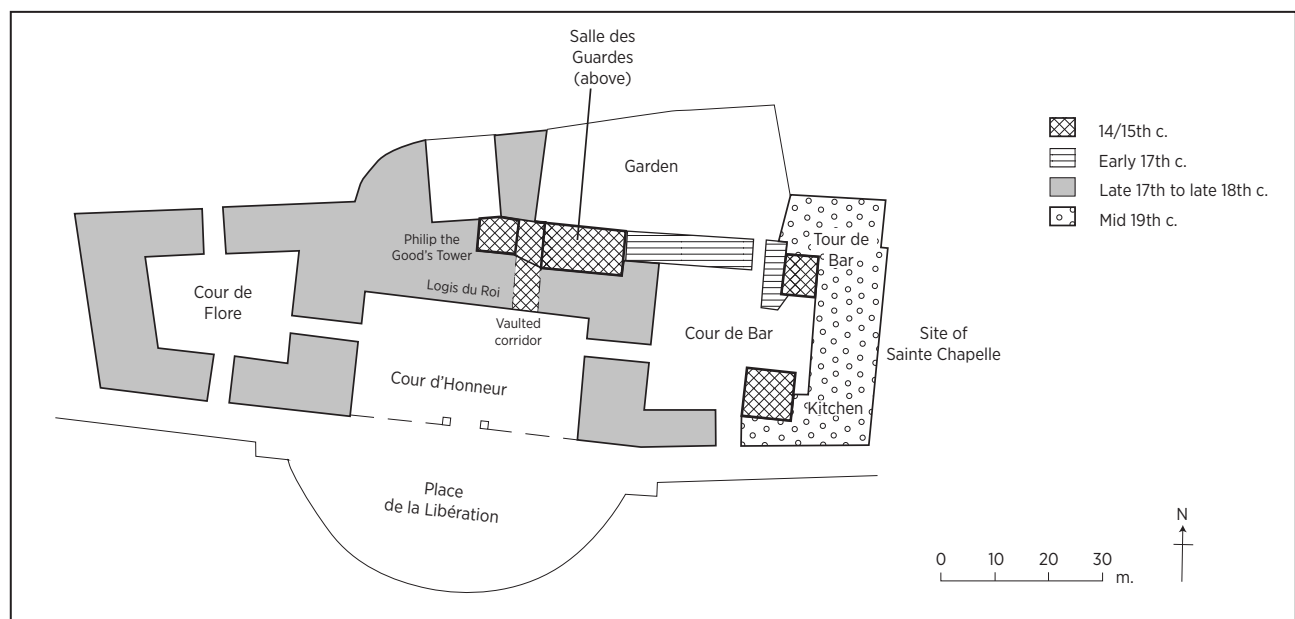


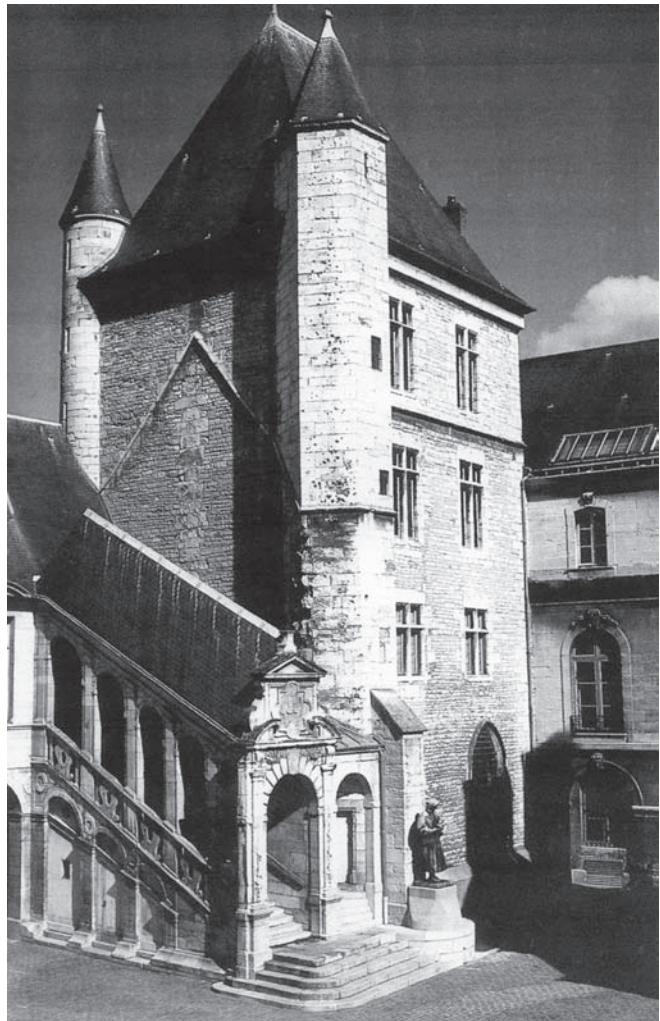
Fig. 21 Dijon, the Ducal Palace: site plan

ducal residence with service areas and administrative offices. It was enclosed by a turreted wall with the buildings round cobbled yards, roofed with tiles and lava-stone, and interspersed with flower gardens and a meadow. By the later fourteenth century, the principal apartments had whitewashed walls, glazed windows, fireplaces and floors of terracotta tiles. The duke's oratory was panelled and the chapel was decorated with paintings by Jean de Beaumetz in 1375–76.³ The ground floor of the ducal palace was primarily devoted to services with the Tour de Bar and the vaulted kitchen as obvious survivals. The present Prince's Staircase (completed in 1782) is on the site of the original stair to the first floor ducal apartments of which the Salle des Guardes and Philip the Good's Tower are the primary evidence. Thus, four disparate structures remain of the ducal palace, incorporated into the later States-General Building (now the Town Hall) and the Musée des Beaux-Arts.

1. Tour de Bar. This four-storeyed tower, resembling a small *donjon*, was built for Philip the Bold by Belin de Comblanchien in 1365–66. It is the oldest structure to have survived, named after an illustrious prisoner, René of Anjou, duke of Bar and Lorraine, who was kept here by Philip the Good between 1431 and 1437.

The ground floor was originally the Treasury but it was subsequently used as the chapter-house of the Sainte Chapelle, the fourteenth century ducal chapel pulled down in 1802.⁴ The vaulted ground floor now displays ecclesiastical sculpture with the three upper floors with their replacement windows used for museum displays. The floors are served by spiral stairs in the angle turrets, although the stair wrapped across the west face of the tower is seventeenth century.

2. Ducal kitchen. This was built in 1433 for Philip the Good. It is 40 feet square externally but octagonal internally. It holds six huge hearths, some of them spanning the corners, revealing the scale of the ducal feasts. The vaulting is supported by eight diagonal ribs rising to a central boss which conceals the ventilation duct. The well is close to the courtyard entrance. Immediately north of the kitchen was a pastry kitchen and a number of associated offices.
3. Residential Range. This was developed for Philip the Good by Jean Poncelet of Lyon in 1450–55. The ground floor has ribbed vaulting, possibly of an earlier phase, that extends to the palace's lower hall (used for



Pl. 33 Dijon, Ducal Palace: Tour de Bar

civil weddings) and the low corridor linking the Cour d'Honneur with the Place des Ducs (now a garden). The first floor was divided longitudinally into the private apartments on two floors to the south and the principal reception hall rising through two levels to the north. The third floor at roof level is marked externally by a commanding line of tall, boldly moulded attic windows with pinnacle gable heads. They are among the earliest examples of this distinctive feature of fifteenth century secular architecture.

With the cessation of ducal occupation, the private apartments were taken over by the royal appointed Governor. This Logis du Roi was replaced by the present sequence of rooms of the same name facing the Court of Honour at the close of the seventeenth century. They are now used for municipal business with the fine first floor apartments serving the mayor's office and committee meetings. It is unclear to what extent any medieval work survives within this later structure.

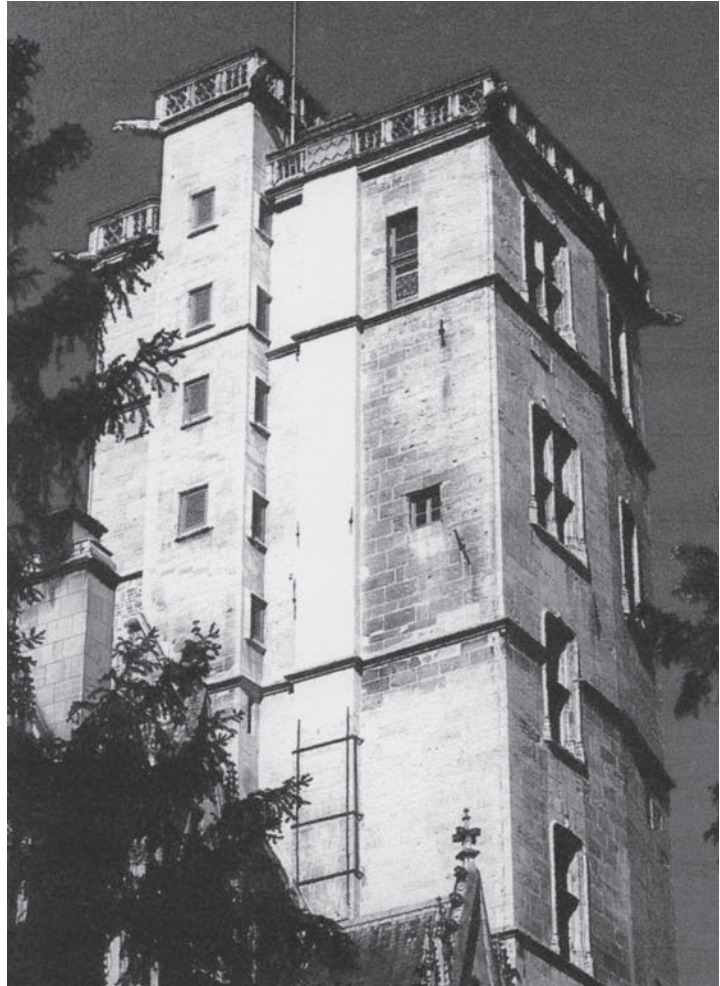
The expansive north-facing reception hall is the famous Salle des Guardes. Initially called Salle des Festins, it was a hall for ducal receptions and feasts.⁵ 59 feet by 29½ feet and 29½ feet high, it was subject to a fire in 1503 but was restored in the following year when the monumental wall chimney piece was inserted. Above the lintel is a flamboyant display of blind tracery, rising to the restored beamed ceiling. With end canopied niches, the structure is too top-heavy for the supporting fireplace. The apartment became the guards' room in the seventeenth century and has served the museum since 1799. It holds the magnificent tombs of Philip the Bold (d.1407) and John the Fearless (d.1419)



Pl. 34 Dijon, Ducal Palace: Salle des Guardes with tombs and chimney lintel (right)

moved from the Charterhouse of Champmol to Saint-Bénigne until their transference to the museum in 1927. As a repository for two of the finest monuments of Burgundian sculpture, they have found a worthy setting for their display.⁶ In addition, there are two celebrated altar pieces painted by Melchior Broederlam as well as a number of other important items associated with the Valois court including tapestries, sculpture, tiles, carved stall seats, and the Master of Flémalle's Nativity.

4. La Tour de la Terrasse or Philip the Good's Tower. This was built at the same time as the adjacent residential range with completion in 1458. Towering 152 feet high, it stands in the same relation to the hall as did those at the ducal palaces at Bruges and Ghent and similarly asserted seigneurial authority. This seven storeyed tower held further private apartments of the duke and his family.⁷ It was marked externally by horizontal lines of moulding and crowned by a viewing terrace with a decorative pierced parapet rather than a steep-pitched roof. Internally, the spiral stair linking all the floors terminates in an elegant vault with the corbel supported ribs conjoining on a central column. The vault is decorated with symbols of Philip the Good.



Pl. 35 Dijon, Ducal Palace: Philip the Good's Tower

These four elements barely convey the structural magnificence of the Valois court. The best comparative building to the palace is the Cloth Hall at Ypres because it shows that secular building on a large scale was practiced at an early date. The frontage there extends for 434 feet, is highly decorative, and serves a similar multi-purpose function to that of the ducal palace. The kitchen at Dijon is the most complete structure to have survived comparable to those at Avignon and Montreuil-Bellay in France and Glastonbury Abbey in England. Philip the Good's Tower continues to assert the Valois domination of the town, but the interiors above ground level are now devoid of early features. Apart from the assertive fireplace, the Salle des Guardes is essentially an envelope for the museum displays. They give a far better indication of the artistic standards of the ducal court than any of the existing buildings, even though the latter make up the most substantial ducal residence to have survived.

Notes

1. John the Fearless made no additions but his wife built an 'allées rouges' in 1414–15. This was possibly the gallery replaced in the early seventeenth century by that between the residential range and the Tour de Bar which left an earlier roof pitch exposed on the tower's west face.
2. S. Jugie, *The Mourners* (2010), 20.
3. Exposition Catalogue, *Art from the Court of Burgundy* (2004), 142.
4. The Sainte Chapelle was of cruciform plan with the entry flanked by square towers. It became the home of the Order of the Golden Fleece, founded in 1433. A nineteenth-century theatre stands on part of the site today.
5. The most famous banquet given here was by the egocentric Charles the Bold in 1474. Another outstanding fifteenth century apartment survives nearly thirty miles south at Beaune. The Hôtel Dieu or Hospital was founded by Nicolas Rolin, chancellor to John the Fearless and Philip the Good until his retirement in 1459 (d.1462). Built between 1443 and 1451, the hall stands little altered with a chapel at its east end. 239 feet long by 46 feet and 66 feet high, the boxed cubicles are late nineteenth-century replacements of the dormitory type beds.
6. The present effigy of Philip the Bold is a nineteenth-century copy replacing the original destroyed during the Revolution in 1793. It lies on a black marble sarcophagus, guarded by two winged angels and surrounded by 41 differentiated mourners in alabaster. It was the work of Jean de Marville (from 1384 to 1389), Claus Sluter (until 1406) and Claus de Werve (completed by 1410). The polychrome work and gilding was by Jean Malouel. Though it took twenty-six years to complete, the expressive quality of the effigy, the cloister-like arcade, and the cortege of hooded monks in procession is of a phenomenal standard. The tomb of John the Fearless and Margaret of Bavaria, similar in design to that of John's father, was begun by the Aragonese sculptor Jean de la Huerta between 1443 and 1456 and was completed by the Avignon sculptor Antoine Le Moiturier between 1466 and 1470. The arcading is more complex than the earlier tomb which otherwise closely copies it with a similar procession of hooded monks in permanent mourning. The emotional resonance of these tombs is deeply affecting. Two celebrated altarpieces from the Charterhouse are nearby. The altarpiece of the Crucifixion and that of Saints and Martyrs were carved by Jaques de Baerze at Termonde between 1390 and 1393 and then painted and gilded in Ypres by Melchior Broederlam between 1393 and 1399. These altarpieces combining refined painting with brilliant colours when closed, and gilded sculptures when open, are the earliest examples of a late medieval Flemish speciality.
7. It replaced an eleventh/twelfth-century tower in the same position called Brancion.

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GERMOLLES MANOR

Though it has been drastically altered and partially destroyed, the 'château' of Germolles is particularly valuable when so many of the fifty or more residences available to the Valois dukes of Burgundy have been destroyed. Much of the present residence dates from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with evidence of additions for Margaret of Flanders, duchess of Burgundy, and rare survivals of decoration for her.

Germolles lies fifteen miles south of Beaune and five miles north-west of Chalon-sur-Saône. Philip the Bold acquired the property in 1380 and immediately transferred it to his wife who was attracted

to the site and decided to convert it into a home for herself and her family. Germolles was specifically marked out as the country residence of the duchess and she controlled and paid for its development between 1382 and 1400.

At the time of its purchase, the site was occupied by a fortified house. It was a moated quadrangular structure of which the fourteenth-century defensive approach is the principal survival. Set back but flanking it are two thirteenth-century structures, an upper and lower chapel block to the left and the 'cellier' to the right. The chapels were originally linked to the existing residence, while the vaulted undercroft is now single storeyed but originally supported a 'grande salle' at first floor level. Apart from the twin towered gateway, the other fourteenth-century structure is the three storeyed 'logis' or residence with its south-east angle rebuilt by Margaret of Flanders who also added a newel stair to the grande salle and an oratory to the upper chapel. The gateway was preceded by a base court holding a group of agricultural and service buildings which were protected after 1399 by a statue of the Virgin Mary made in Claus Sluter's studio. The earlier gateway was retained by the duchess to give 'presence' to the principal residence, though no other defensive elements of the earlier house have survived.

For her residence, Margaret employed the leading craftsmen involved with the ducal monastic foundation at Champmol outside Dijon. The master mason was Drouet de Dammartin, the sculptors were Claus Sluter and Jean de Marville, and the paintings were by Jean de Beaumetz and Arnoul Picornet. Work began in 1382 and reached a peak in 1390 when the principal range was completed and the property had been visited by Charles VI of France.¹ The internal decoration was begun in 1385 and continued until 1400. By 1396, at least 25,000 francs had been incurred on this project.²

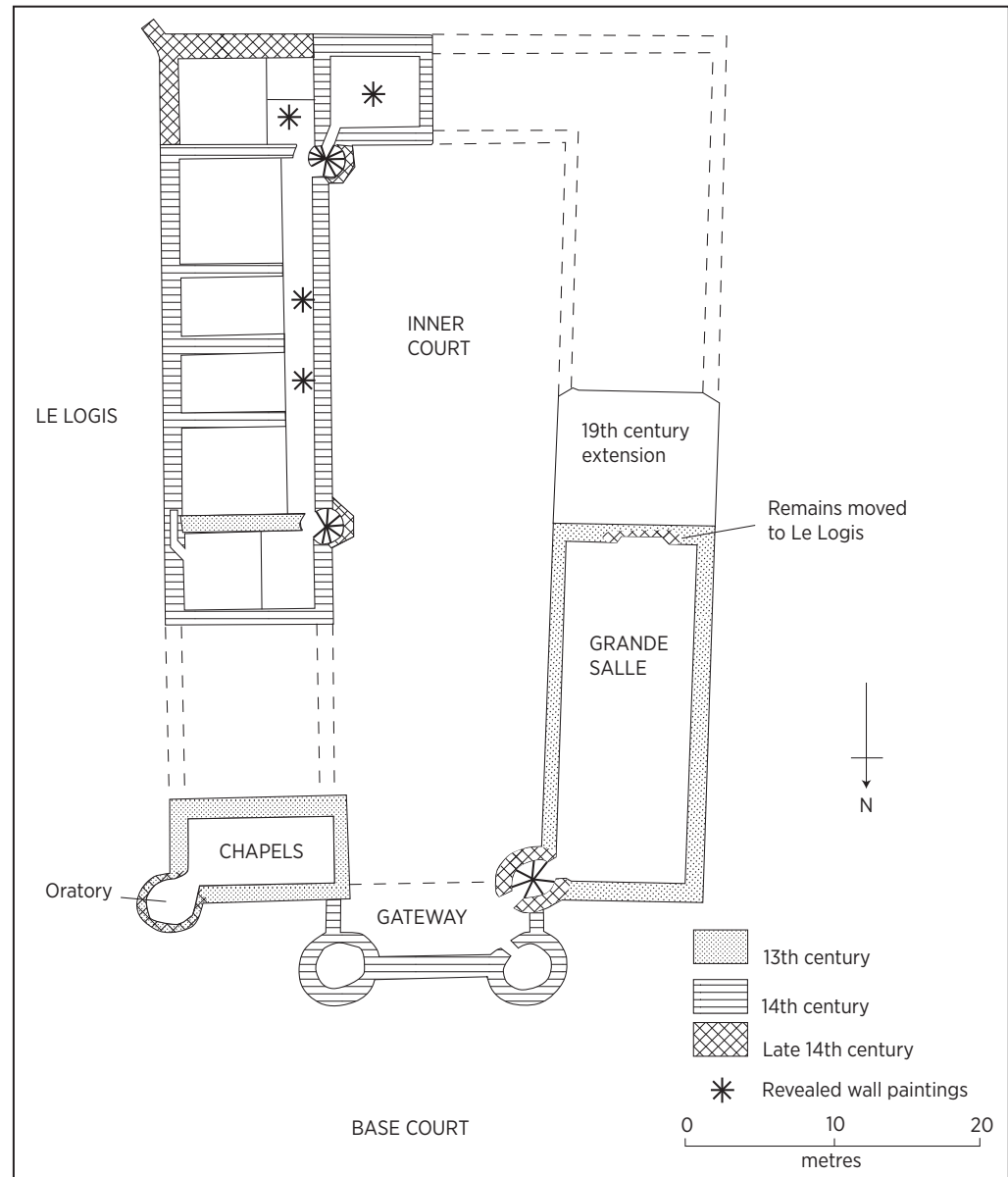
The present L-shaped residence is not the full extent of the original structure for it has been truncated at both ends. It formerly extended northwards to the chapel block and was linked to the grande salle by a substantial lost range at the south-west angle. Internally, the principal apartments were at first floor level, taller than those below, linked by two stone newels in projecting turrets. The low second floor housed the duchess' staff and also the ducal retinue during Philip's visits. Much of the original structure survives including the roof, most of the internal partitions, and some of the windows and fireplaces. However, post-medieval changes, inserted corridor partitions, fires in 1873 and 1887, and continuing occupation mean that the interior is only a shadow of its former splendour. Even so, dendrochronology has established that part of the timber framework dates from 1384–85 and that some of the panelling was installed between 1385 and 1405.³

The principal reception room was the all-but-lost grande salle above the undercroft. The remains of its end-wall fireplace were moved into the principal residence before the present nineteenth century roof was added over the undercroft and the vestigial walling of the room above.

The duchess' accommodation was made up of a sequence of relatively intimate rooms in line, served by the two newel stairs. Six chambers survive at both levels of four larger and two slightly smaller rooms. One further chamber survives of the foreshortened south range. Most of the internal partitions are original but later alterations, corridor partitions, and site truncation make any attempt to identify Valois room usage is speculative.

A considerable amount of high quality painted decoration survives, the work of Arnoul Picornet.⁴ Despite being covered by paint, wallpapers, and partitions, considerable areas of this decoration of 1389–90 have been recently revealed in the south room, an adjacent chamber, and in two corridor areas at first floor level. The design includes the initials M and P (for Margaret and Philip) in a repeat pattern against a light green background with Margaret's badge of a daisy.⁵ Other painted motifs included plants (thistles, roses, marguerites) while records show that sheep and heraldic texts were included. Other

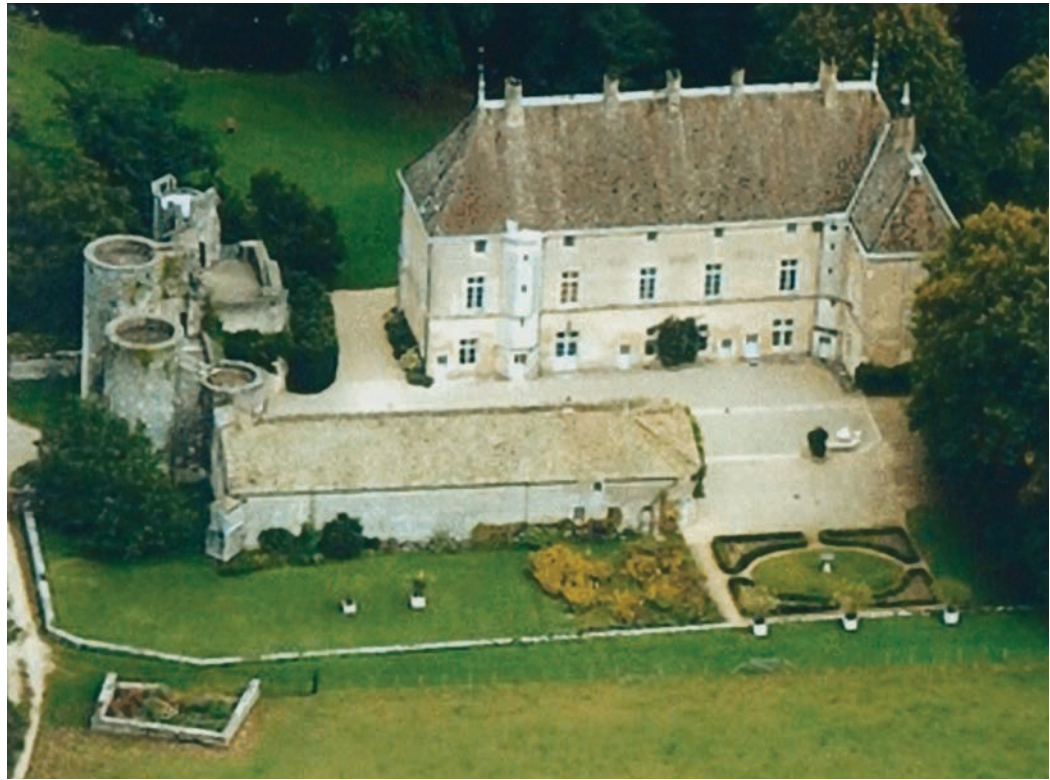
Fig. 22 Germolles
Manor: first floor plan



recent discoveries include an extensive number of contemporary two-coloured glazed tiles, some with heraldic motifs and others with flowers, animals and sheep lying under a tree. Though they were not found in their original position, there was clearly a decorative correlation between the wall paintings and the floor covering.⁶

The third artistic survivals are several fragmentary sculptural elements. The carved jambs of the end wall fireplace from the grande salle, contemporary with the triple chimney in the great hall of the ducal palace at Poitiers, were moved in the nineteenth century to a ground floor room in the *logis*. The deep cut vegetation and angle figures show the influence of Claus Sluter's workshop. Less complete evidence survives of the tympanum to the stair entry to the grande salle and the oratory added to the earlier first floor chapel by Margaret of Flanders (with contemporary stained glass). In 1393, Claus Sluter had made a pastoral scene inside the house depicting the duke and duchess under a tree surrounded by sheep which symbolised Flemish wealth, but neither this nor the extensive arbours and gardens have survived.

Pl. 36 Germolles
Manor



Germolles was not meant to be an ostentatious statement but a quieter reflection of the duchess' taste. Margaret was particularly focused on her children, for motherhood rather than politics was the centre of her interests. After the death of Philip the Bold in 1404, the duchess returned to Flanders, taking all the furnishings from the house except the weapons and military items. Fundamental alterations mean that Germolles is not a major residence but it is a particularly interesting one of a far more domestic character than the majority of contemporary power-houses. Comfortable and lavishly decorated, it still retains significant evidence of the quality wall painting, flooring, and sculpture that decorated a late fourteenth century country residence. It marks a stage in the development of the house from its defensive form to the open frontages of the early Renaissance. Yet it retains an element of defensive protection, for it was still possible that the mercenaries of the 1360s might return to ravage the nearby countryside.

Notes

1. P. Beck (ed.) 10, 20–22.
2. *Art from the Court of Burgundy* (2004) 138.
3. *Ibid.*, 139.
4. P. Beck (ed.) 77–78.
5. *Art from the Court of Burgundy*, 140–42; P. Beck, 73–81.
6. *Art from the Court of Burgundy*, 148–50; P. Beck, 120–23.

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SCOTLAND

A PERSISTENT WAR

England had been at war with Scotland for over forty years before the opening campaign of the war with France. Previously, two centuries of Scottish disunity and attempts to expand southwards had given way to a more settled kingdom with an ill-defined border with England. But for geographical and economic reasons, Scotland was a minor country in the panorama of medieval Europe and also a remote one. In contrast with its far more important southern neighbour, Scotland's administrative, financial, and legal institutions were relatively undeveloped, while its trading activity was modest in comparison with that of England. The country was dominated throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by the twin consequences of repelling English armies and raids at the same time that it was fighting an equally bitter internal war. Though this civil war was all-consuming for most of the fifteenth century, so far as Europe was concerned Scotland's principal role during the later middle ages was to draw English fire when necessary in the interests of France.

At the opening of the fourteenth century, Scotland had a population of about one million, mainly concentrated in the central and southern part of the country, but this was reduced by the plague to about a half by the close of the century.¹ The kingdom was made up of a network of earldoms and lordships interspersed with smaller baronies, all holding an overriding allegiance to the king. It was the extinction of the direct royal line in 1290 that prompted Edward I of England to become embroiled in the disputed succession and thereby initiated the wars of independence. His heavy-handed actions also encouraged Scotland to seek support from France, now Edward's enemy. This not only led to an alliance that lasted until 1560 but it also broke up the friendly relations that had existed between Scotland and England for the previous hundred years. Scotland became a long-standing enemy whose bitterness did not ameliorate until the mid-sixteenth century.

The wars of independence dominated Scottish political history throughout the fourteenth century with the earlier phases throughout Edward II's reign (1307–27) proving far more successful for Scotland than for England. Both countries experienced defeat and success during the early years of Edward III's rule (1327–77), but they proved particularly valuable for the English in honing their tactical skills in battle. In 1346, French pleas for help after the battle of Crécy encouraged a full-scale Scottish raid into northern England but the invaders were trounced at the battle of Neville's Cross outside Durham when the Scottish king, David II, was captured. Kept out of harm's way in France since 1333, he had inadvisedly returned in 1341. He was released eleven years later in 1357 upon a ransom of 100,000

marks, payable in ten annual instalments, and after the establishment of an English buffer zone of Scottish territory along the common border.

Unlike England, Scotland was a highly decentralised kingdom throughout the later middle ages. The king had delegated a great deal of royal authority to leading members of the nobility who held paramount authority within their estates that made up the realm. Though the principle of succession by primogeniture had long been accepted, there was no authority for determining who would settle a succession dispute, or rule during a minority or in the absence of an obvious heir. The consequence was that fourteenth-century Scotland was bedevilled by a sporadic but searing civil war for political power between the king and his immediate family and the nobility. Consequently, the years from 1292 to 1371 witnessed the crown passing in turn between three leading families – Balliol, Bruce and Stewart. For the following hundred years, the kingdom continued to be riven by political feuds between the Stewart kings and most of the leading magnates seeking to wrest the informal network of royal power into their own hands. A readiness to arm to defend their excessive power combined with a greed for more land usually wrecked any possibility for calmness or for peace.

The Stewart dynasty originated as west coast magnates who came to dominate the sparsely populated, truculent northern Scotland by the early 1380s. Though the first two Stewart kings were lacklustre, the first brought a measure of stability, heightened by the English losing their grip on the buffer zone in 1384–88 as a consequence of the French forces that strengthened those of Scotland against the English army. Nominally led by the eighteen-year-old Richard II, the English reached Edinburgh unmolested but turned back because Richard was concerned for the welfare of his troops.

The second Stewart, Robert III, was little more than a political observer to his far more masterful brother, the duke of Albany, regent and uncrowned ruler of Scotland for virtually thirty years. But as with France, there was a mood of weariness through fighting the English forces while waging a vicious internal war. The century therefore closed with truces and relative peace, though the earl of Douglas' success at Otterburn (1388) was offset by the huge losses suffered at the hands of the English at Humbleton Hill (1402). Anglo-Scottish attitudes had also changed for England was no longer intent on Scottish conquest, while Scotland's royal court was no longer the political centre of the kingdom. That had moved to Albany's seat at Doune Castle.

Notes

1. A. Grant in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, VI ed. M. Jones (2000), 347.

HIGH AND ROYAL STATUS RESIDENCES: 1350–1420

Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the population of the Scottish kingdom was limited to the lowland area and until the wars of independence against England erupted in 1290, much of its architecture was influenced by developments south of the border. This changed during the later middle ages as a consequence of the tense political situation so that a more distinctive character arising from continental influences slowly becomes apparent. To some extent this came from France but the commercial links with the Low Countries were important, particularly after the establishment of the Scottish staple at Bruges in the early fourteenth century.

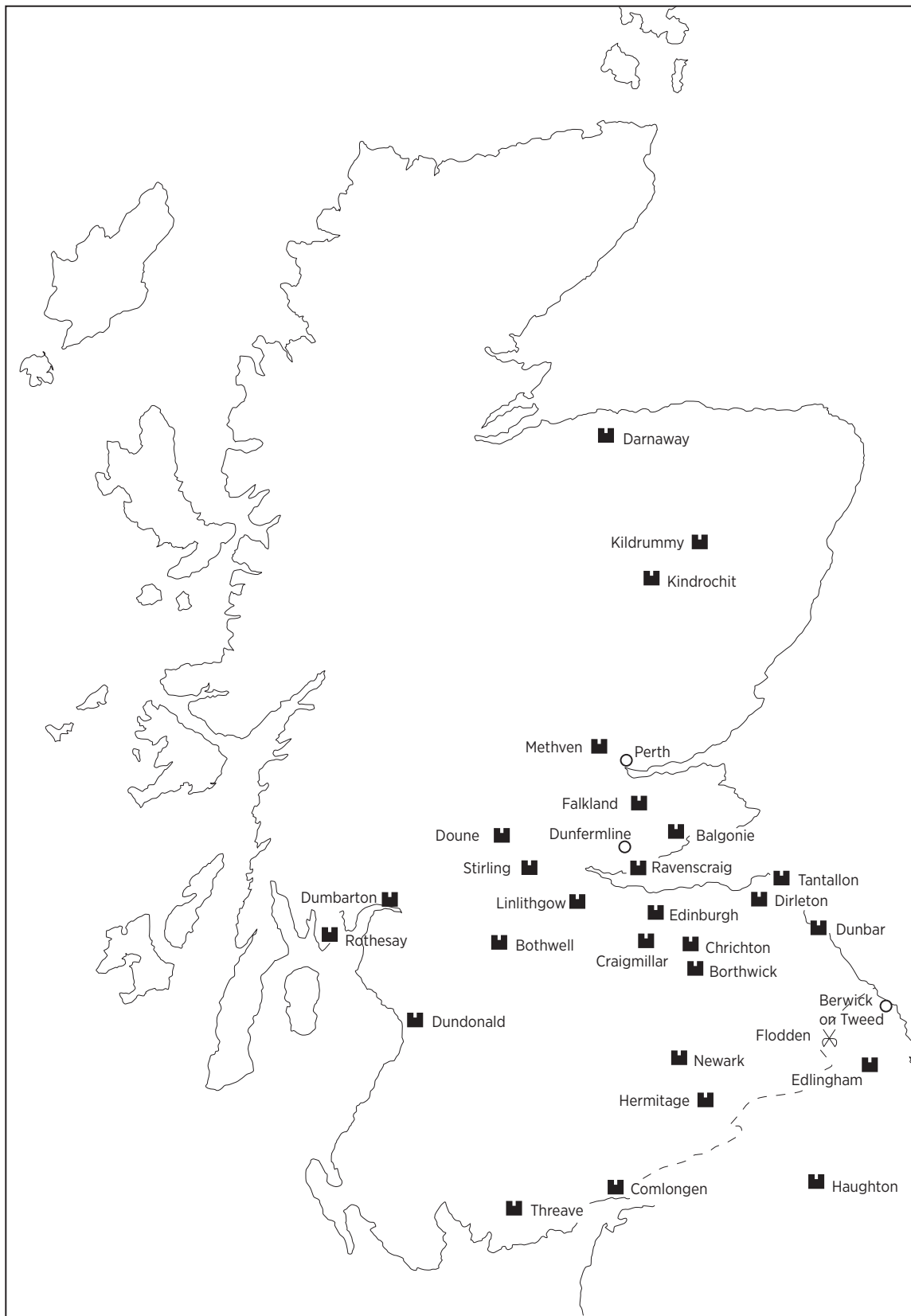


Fig. 23 Scottish castles mentioned in the text

The bitter struggle with England abruptly limited building activity in Scotland during the first half of the fourteenth century. The defences of most of the royal and baronial castles were found wanting so that any construction was restricted to repairing their capability to withstand sieges or to rebuilding temporary accommodation. The return of David II from captivity in England in 1357 effectively ended the bloody war with England and ushered in an extended period of secular building. As in England this was sustained throughout the last third of the fourteenth century but unlike England, this activity continued in Scotland throughout the greater part of the fifteenth century. It was maintained until a slowing down towards the close of that century in contrast with the acceleration in England, though both countries at this point enjoyed an abundance of royal activity.¹

Late medieval aristocratic residences in Scotland and northern England were primarily courtyard castles of quadrangular plan or tower-houses of considerable elaboration. Both forms were practised by the Scottish royal and baronial families during the course of the fifteenth century. And as in northern England, stone was the dominant building material, the mark of social and tenurial rank. There was no tolerance for timber-framing or the increasingly fashionable use of brick adopted by the crown and higher society in central and south-east England.

Initially the weakness of the crown and the aristocratic winners in the long struggle with England meant that building activity in Scotland from about 1350 was centred on the dominant ruling families and particularly on the houses of Stewart and Douglas. Anxious to consolidate their leadership and standing, Robert Stewart, duke of Albany, built Doune Castle near Stirling from c.1386 onwards. As uncrowned king of Scotland, Abbot Bower of Inchcole Abbey recorded in his obituary that Albany was 'a man of great expenditure and generous to strangers'. More than any royal residence of this period, Albany's quadrangular castle survives in good state combining immense solidity with a lack of aggression. This semi-royal castle was never completed as first intended but the dominating residential range was finished within a single building programme.

Meanwhile, the members of the extensive Douglas family built the cliff-top curtain-walled castle at Tantallon (1350s), remodelled Bothwell Castle (1360s and again in c.1410) developed the island tower-house at Threave (c.1375) which contrasts with the stark tower at Hermitage (c.1400) and that at Newark (1420). These and other great residences of the years between 1350 and 1420 were constructed by the leading barons of the kingdom. They were copied on a smaller scale by those of lesser rank who continued to build defensively during the remainder of the fifteenth century, though now under the eye of a more assertive and formidable monarchy.

The Scottish crown had held Edinburgh Castle since the close of the eleventh century and Stirling Castle from early in the following century. Both fortresses crowned volcanic rocks giving them a rugged security appropriate to their strategic positions with Stirling protecting the passage to the north of Scotland.² The royal residence at Linlithgow, first recorded in 1143 under David I seems to have been a fortified manor house rather than a castle. During the fourteenth century, the royal families also made use of the castles on their own estates. Robert II, the first Stewart monarch, built a grandiose tower-house at Dundonald Castle in about 1370 for he preferred his Ayrshire estates to political rule and kingship from the central bastions of power. Though badly ruined, the Dundonald tower-house was originally an imposing one with royal and family coat of arms on the walls, a first floor hall, and a private hall on the uppermost floor. This last was rib-vaulted, a significant development in Scottish domestic architecture. It was at this castle that Robert died in 1390.³ Robert II also made use of Kindrochit Castle, essentially a hall house like Edlingham and Haughton castles in Northumbria, and used by the king as a hunting lodge throughout the 1370s and 1380s. Rothsay Castle on the Isle of Bute was also held by the crown

from 1371, though the large gatehouse with its royal lodging above was added a century and a half later when the castle regained its prominence as a royal residence and stronghold.

The medieval work at Edinburgh Castle is architecturally disappointing. Because of Robert Bruce's policy in 1314 of making fortresses untenable for English reoccupation, the so-called chapel of St Margaret is the sole survivor of the mid-twelfth-century royal fortress. Immediately after his return from captivity, David II ordered the castle to be repaired but the only surviving remnant is David's Tower, originally 60 feet high but now enveloped by the Half Moon Battery after the destruction of the earlier work through bombardment in 1573. The remains suggest it was a tower-house like Dundonald or Threave (c.1370) but with the addition of a wing. It seems to be the earliest purpose-built royal lodging to survive and was the precursor of a form that became widely practised for nearly three centuries.⁴ The house of Stewart made extensive use of Edinburgh Castle, particularly during the frequent minorities when it was part residence, part prison. The great hall with its utilitarian hammer-beam roof was built for James IV in 1509–10⁵ but the design and character of the associated royal apartments is not known.⁶ Before long, this 'wyndy and richt unpleasand castell and royk of Edinburgh' had been supplanted as a royal residence by the more attractively sited and comfortable guest house at Holyrood Abbey just over a mile away.

Notes

1. G. Stell in *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. J.M. Brown (1977) 153. C. Tabraham, *Scotland's Castles* (1997), 56–65.
2. For royal and high status residences before the fourteenth century, R.D. Oram, *Royal and Lordly Residences in Scotland c.1050 to c.1250*, *Antiquaries Jnl.* 88 (2008), 165–89.
3. W. Douglas Simpson, *Ayrshire Arch. & Nat. Hist. Soc. Coll. I* (1947–49), 3–15. The excavated evidence of a late thirteenth century twin towered gatehouse and lozenge-shaped courtyard at Dundonald suggests the influence of Edward I's castle at Rhuddlan in North Wales, just as the ruined gatehouse at Kildrummy is similar to that at Harlech Castle in Wales.
4. Fawcett (1994) 19–24, 235–84. Robert II added a gatehouse at Edinburgh Castle in 1375–79. Known as the Constable's Tower, it no longer stands.
5. A. Crone and D. Gallagher, *Med. Arch.* 52 (2008), 231–58. The hall was heavily restored from barrack and military hospital use in 1887–92. The entrance dates from that time. This late medieval roof and that at Darnaway Castle are the only high status secular roofs of the middle ages to survive in Scotland.
6. James I built a great chamber in about 1434, presumably on the site of the later palace block. Fawcett (1994) 301.

DOUNE CASTLE

The significance of Doune Castle lies in at least three factors. It was built by the duke of Albany, the virtual ruler of Scotland between the 1380s and 1420. As he was the king's brother, it was intended to display his political and social standing and is likely to have reflected current ideas befitting a semi-royal residence. Furthermore, unlike most castles in Scotland, it has been little altered since its construction and exhibits several architectural elements that are a precursor to the form of the royal palace at Linlithgow built only a generation later.

Robert Stewart, 1st duke of Albany, earl of Montith and Fife, was the most powerful figure of the day. He was appointed chamberlain of Scotland in 1382 and governor of Scotland four years later so that he could rule on behalf of his ineffectual father, Robert II and his infirm elder brother, Robert III.

Regent of Scotland and in effect, heir presumptive, his appointment was renewed annually until his death in 1420 at the age of eighty. His son, Murdoch ruled Scotland for a further four years until the return of King James I in 1424. With the re-occupation of the royal properties, Doune was no longer a centre of governance, but it continued to be used as a royal hunting lodge and country retreat by James I and his successors for nearly two hundred years until it fell out of favour.

Until recently, it was thought that Doune Castle was built in a single construction programme during the late fourteenth century. It is first mentioned in a charter of 1381 and it seems to have been habitable by 1401 when Albany wrote letters from it to Henry IV of England. The flow of documents from 1406 onwards shows that it had become the duke's favoured residence. However, there is architectural evidence that the castle was built in a phased programme that had been initiated about a century earlier.¹ Stewart remodelled a building that had been ruined during the Wars of Independence but even so, what stands is one of the best preserved castles in the country.

Architectural Elements and Approach

Doune Castle is essentially made up of four major structures with two immediately apparent from the approach – the entry tower-house and the great hall. The third element, the kitchen tower, is almost at right angles to the frontage and set back from it. The remaining element is the two and a half sides of this near quadrangular site, curtain wall enclosed with a continuous parapet walk but lacking the ranges originally intended to be erected against it. The castle was built of locally quarried sandstone with dressed stone from Stirling. Its position was a relatively strong one on a promontory above the confluence of the river Teith with Ardoch Burn. It sits close to the meeting of two key routes – from Edinburgh to the Highlands, and from Glasgow to Perth. It therefore holds a strategic position similar to the royal castle at Stirling, seven miles to the south-east. This was particularly necessary as Doune Castle not only had to be reasonably central for government but equally capable of defending the extensive estates held by Albany.



Pl. 37 Doune Castle: entry tower-house (centre) and great hall (right)

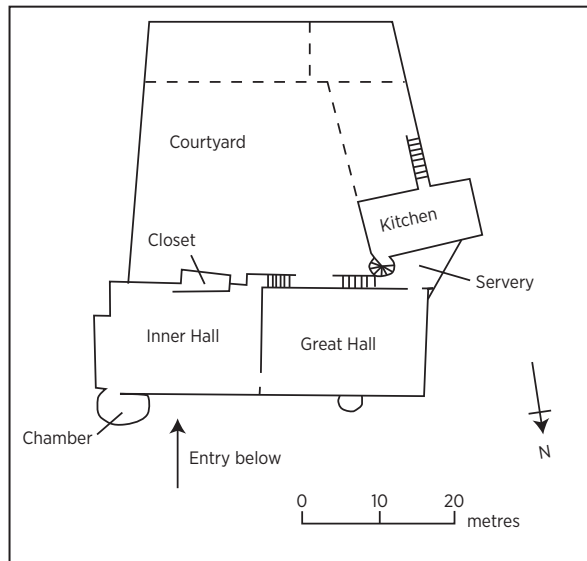


Fig. 24 Doune Castle: first floor plan

The dominating tower-house, 100 feet high, is unusual because the ground floor consists of the entry passage and associated functions while the three upper floors hold the ducal apartments for Albany and his family. There is no above ground evidence of a barbican nor structural evidence of flanking towers defending the entry point. The passage is protected by stout doors, a murder slot, a second pair of doors, and a yett (iron gate) at each end of the stone vaulted passage with the guard room between. There was no portcullis.

Once inside the courtyard, the layout of the kitchen, hall and tower-house is immediately clear with all the principal apartments at first floor level above vaulted undercrofts, most of them used for storage.

Great Hall and Apartments

A rebuilt external stair (lacking protective roof evidence) leads not to the usual screens passage but to the kitchen servery with floor drains. Opposite two dominating serving hatches, an inner doorway opens into the screens, though this is truncated to allow for the buttery to be positioned in the hall corner. This awkward and inconvenient arrangement mixing guests with staff functions may have arisen because of site constrictions and the need to create an adjacent apartment of imposing scale.

The hall, 67 feet by 27 feet, is lit by six windows, all of different size and varying height. The largest lighted the dais. Next to it was a garderobe for the benefit of the dais occupants. The apartment was warmed from a central hearth with a louvre presumably above. The present roof, 36 feet to the apex, was inserted in 1883 as part of an extended restoration programme.² The inconvenient entry, the cramped screen passage, and the differing window forms have no obvious explanation but they may reflect earlier structures or planning changes through Albany's personal involvement.

A door in the corner of the hall dais leads to the family rooms³ which also had an independent courtyard approach. The first floor apartment is a spacious inner hall or withdrawing chamber, 43 feet by 27 feet, above the entry and ground floor services. This barrel-vaulted apartment was 'restored' in 1883–86 with a screen and gallery, tiled floor, chandeliers, and decorative



Pl. 38 Doune Castle: tower-house and great hall from the inner court

stonework. They are misleading and do not reflect the original furnished layout, though the double fireplace at the upper end is an original feature and was the prime focus of the room. The windows are again oddly positioned rather than in line. There was an associated chamber nearby, small but heated and with a garderobe.

The second floor apartment has not been restored and therefore appears larger than that below. The massive end wall fireplace lacks its hood, while the private chapel in the thickness of the east wall is identified by its credence and the piscina. The nearby recess was an ante-chapel with a squint facing the altar and like the chapel would have been screened from the body of the chamber. The associated single chamber has no fireplace and a detached garderobe.

As the floor above has not been re-instated, the second floor chamber is open to the replacement roof. This third floor was probably partitioned into several rooms occupied by staff serving the duke and duchess. It is easy to claim that the first floor was used by the duke and the second floor by the duchess as two separate suites, but we have no firm evidence to support the occupational pattern of this group of chambers at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Kitchen Tower and Courtyard Apartments

The kitchen tower is one of the best appointed in Scotland with the first floor kitchen supporting a quality lodging above. A vast hearth fills one side of the kitchen which retains an external staff stair from the courtyard, two drains, three cupboards, the aforementioned hatches, and a vaulted roof with smoke holes. A newel stair in the server (taking the place of that usually leading off the screens passage) accesses two spacious rooms tiered above the servery and a high quality lodging above the kitchen. This retains a generous fireplace, wall cupboards, and a bedchamber and garderobe at the side of the warming kitchen flue.



Pl. 39 Doune Castle: kitchen tower

Tusking on the wall of the kitchen tower points to the intention of erecting further ranges against the west curtain wall while the footings of later structures survive against the unbroken east wall. The south curtain is punctured by four windows at first floor level though there is no evidence of the structures they would have served. It is possible they were intended to light a replacement suite of apartments for the duke and duchess. Apart from the two withdrawing chambers, their quarters in the tower-house were cramped, while increasing privacy and high quality apartments were becoming increasingly important. Furthermore, there were preferable views for the family overlooking the river than from the tower-house. The two pairs of windows of differing height suggest at least two apartments, possible three. It is significant that they were never developed further, suggesting a construction intention closer to 1420 than 1400.

Overview

Doune Castle reflects a single coherent design of Scottish residential architecture at the close of the fourteenth century. Even so, it is a transitional structure combining forward planning with several old fashioned concepts. Though never fully completed, it is likely that Albany's intention was to develop four ranges of buildings round the central courtyard. The principal ranges formed part of the curtilage as at Bolton Castle in Yorkshire, though the subsidiary ranges at Doune followed the more traditional form of construction against the perimeter wall. The powerful frontal mass of this castle declared its owner's strength and prestige but its defensive capability is less impressive than its residential amenities. For Albany spent almost as much time at the strongly sited Stirling Castle as he did at Doune which was more of a retreat from the pressures of high office.⁴

Positioning the seigneurial accommodation above the entrance had a long pedigree from the Edwardian gatehouses at Harlech and Denbigh to the duke of Brittany's castle at Suscinio. But some elements were more retrograde including the external stair rather than a porch to the great hall, using the entrance lobby to the hall as the servery, and accepting cramped quarters within the tower-house. Even so, the form of a tower-like residence and a horizontal hall range became an enduring theme of Scottish residences for the next two centuries.

Stone decoration at Doune was minimal, particularly when compared with the near contemporary work at the royal palace at Linlithgow. And though Doune displays aspirational development befitting Scotland's 'uncrowned king', Linlithgow marks a more fundamental development in royal planning only a generation later.

Notes

1. Albany's work was built within an earlier enceinte and incorporated elements from an earlier structure marked by fish-tailed arrow slits, changes in building stone, and unexplained planning complexities. R. Oram, in *The Medieval Great House* (2011), 54–57. The solid drum tower projecting midway from the outer face of the great hall serves no obvious purpose to the standing structure, while the kitchen tower shows evidence of earlier foundations and modified construction.
2. This is the first of several impressive halls that survive in Scotland spanning over a century from Doune to Stirling. They include those at the castles at Balgonie, Bothwell, Chrichton, Direlton, and Innis Chonnell, often built by political supporters of the crown and indicative of their standing and authority. The ground floor hall at Darnaway Castle near Elgin, is crowned by an extremely rare survival of 1387 (dendro dated), a six bay roof of hammer-beam and arch-braced construction with massive curved cusps. It is covered with a wealth of carvings – figures, birds, and beasts. It was erected for the earl of Moray, the king's brother-in-law, and prefaces the royal roof at the Palace of Westminster by several years. The only other medieval hall roof to have survived in Scotland is that of 1509–10 at Edinburgh Castle.
3. As this doorway was thought to be a modern insertion, W.D. Simpson used it as the basis for his interpretation of the castle as an architectural expression of 'bastard feudalism', with the seigneurial residence separated from the rest of the castle. This is no longer accepted. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scotland*, 72 (1938), 73–83.
4. J.G. Dunbar, *Scottish Royal Palaces* (1999), 85.

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THE COUNTY OF FLANDERS

A CENTURY OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TURBULENCE

Present day Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg share a tangled history. Sometimes grouped together as the Low Countries, their current borders and identity were only determined in 1831 when Belgian independence was recognised across Europe. Five centuries earlier, a large part of the region was known as Flanders.¹ The relatively flat region that made up the county extended from the mouth of the river Scheldt near Sluys, south-west along the North Sea towards Calais, southwards by the river Authie not far from Abbéville and St Quentin, and northwards towards Antwerp on the Schelde. Though it was an autonomous county, this economic power-house became deeply involved in the opening stages of the war and which subsequently determined its absorption by the duchy of Burgundy in 1369.

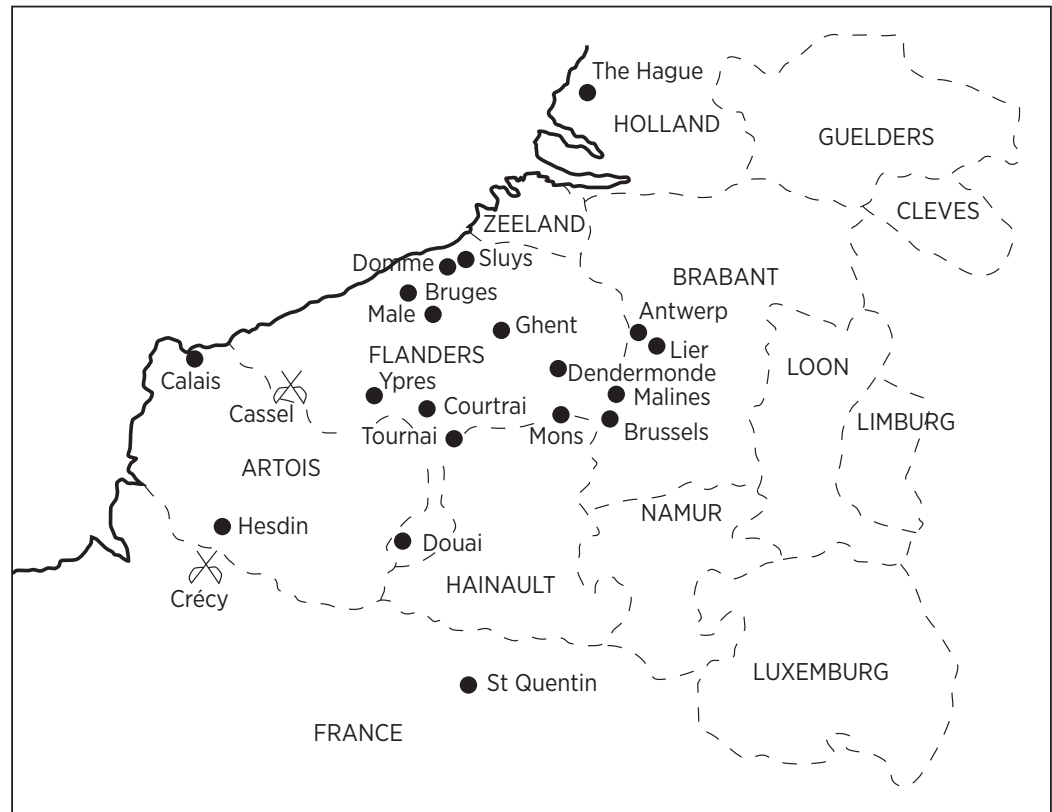
The county of Flanders had been part of the kingdom of Francia since the mid-ninth century and was ruled by a count who had become a vassal of the king of France by the early twelfth century.² The appeal of this region lay in its considerable prosperity through the development of its nascent cloth industry which encouraged the growth of large urban centres such as Bruges, Douai, Ghent, and Ypres. They were spurred to greater commercial expansion during the thirteenth century by developing their trading contacts further afield than northern Europe so that they embraced the known world.

Flanders became a land of wealthy towns and the most densely urbanised region outside northern Italy. As a consequence, the merchants sought to increase their political power while craftsmen sought the protection of guilds to maintain their standards and trade monopoly. As the cloth merchants and weavers relied on quality wool from England for the fame of their products, their aspirations soon clashed with those of their overlord as a vassal of the king of France. Not surprisingly, these conflicting attitudes came to a head during the opening years of the Anglo-French conflict.

The exploitation of the English wool trade had been used as a bargaining tool by Edward I in his quarrel with Philip IV of France at the close of the thirteenth century. The subsequent resistance of the Flemish towns to French influence had come to a head in 1302 when their armed forces defeated the army of the king of France, sent at the behest of Louis I, count of Flanders. Flemish success at the battle of the Spurs near Courtrai (Kortrijk) was short-lived and was effaced at Cassel Hill (1328), but it encouraged their long-running resistance to French authority. These wealthy towns had tasted political as well as commercial power. It was only the long arm of French suzerainty that prevented them from becoming independent city states as in Italy.

The wool trade between England and Flanders again became the centre of political manipulation

Fig. 25 The Low Countries



during the early years of Edward III's quarrel with the French king. The count of Flanders refused to negotiate with Edward against the house of Valois, while Edward was concerned that the Flemish ports could be used as bases for warships against his country. On the other hand, these same ports would be a convenient point for assembling his forces prior to attacking northern France. Much of his time and effort immediately prior to the conflict was therefore spent in building up a group of allies from the Low Countries close to France's north-east border.

The confiscation of Gascony in May 1337 initiated the Hundred Years War but instead of an immediate political conflict, there was over two years of extensive political campaigning with Flanders and nearby regions. Edward III and his family moved to Antwerp but the king found he was ill-served by his political manoeuvrings. His allies had cost him dearly in gifts and bribes while they soon grew restive and back-sliding. The unsuccessful siege of Cambrai was followed by the equally fruitless devastation of the surrounding region. Philip VI gathered his army at St Quentin but wisely avoided battle. Edward had not engaged with the enemy but a more positive situation had developed in Flanders.

By prohibiting the export of wool there, the livelihood of the merchants, weavers, and drapers had been put at risk. Unemployment, starvation, and ruin threatened, all because of an obstinate French-loving count, anxious to repay the debt of French success at Cassel Hill. In desperation, the merchants and weavers of Ghent joined together and found a leader in the wealthy burgher Jacob van Artevelde. He proclaimed himself head of affairs obtained the support of Bruges and Ypres, negotiated an economic agreement between Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault, and persuaded Edward III to restore the wool trade. Edward moved the staple from Antwerp to Bruges,³ the count of Flanders fled to France, and the Flemings promised military support provided that Edward met their legal scruples by claiming his right to the throne of France.

In January 1340, Edward formally assumed that title in Ghent, quartered the arms of France, and thereby brought Flanders into the orbit of English military activity, Edward's self-esteem had been well served, but a more tangible benefit was the near destruction of 200 ships of the French fleet and their Genoese allies at the battle of Sluys at the mouth of the river Zwin that was the lifeline for Bruges. But Edward's rising reputation was dented by the failure of his subsequent campaign to capture Tournai so that the proposal made by the mother of the English queen, the dowager duchess of Hainault, that there should be a truce was agreed by both parties (September 1340). Thus ended the first phase of the war. The expensive alliances and costly campaigns had bankrupted the English treasury and brought Edward little political benefit. Far from home and dependent on unreliable allies, Edward needed a swift victory against an enemy who wisely avoided an open battle. The destruction of the French fleet had given Edward command of the sea, but Philip VI had kept his army intact. A change of strategy was needed.

The following years compounded Edward's problems. The townspeople of Flanders were excommunicated as rebels for not supporting their count, while van Artevelde's arrogance was diminishing his authority. It was to revive this that Edward met van Artevelde at Sluys (July 1345) and though he was murdered shortly afterwards by disaffected weavers, the cloth towns maintained their support for England. Hugh Hastings was put in charge of the Flemish troops while Edward planned to develop a pincer movement by landing in Normandy and marching eastwards. The Flemish force advanced into Artois while Edward successfully crossed the Somme to face the French at Crécy. His achievement there was consolidated by successfully besieging Calais so that it could become a strategic bridgehead for him (August 1347). The count of Flanders had been killed at Crécy but his son, Louis II of Mâle was more mindful of the cloth towns' prosperity and dependence on English wool. He therefore favoured goodwill towards England and opened negotiations for a marriage between his only child Margaret, and Edward III's fourth son, Edmund, earl of Cambridge. Margaret was not only the heiress to Flanders but through her grandmother, she was also heiress to the counties of Artois and Franche Comté. In due course, Charles V of France was determined that this proposed marriage should never take place. He persuaded the pope to refuse a dispensation to the arrangement but to look favourably on one between Margaret and the French king's younger brother, Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy. It looked as though Flanders would eventually fall into French hands through this younger branch of the Valois family. But in the long term, this marriage in 1369 became the cornerstone of a new ruling house – that of Burgundy – and brought as many problems to the French crown as the English arrangement would have done. This all lay in the future but the more immediate consequence was that English influence in Flanders withered.

The slow-burning but vicious antagonism between the rebellious weavers and the count, merchants, and fullers burst forth again in 1382 when the weavers of Ghent rallied behind a new leader, Philip van Artevelde, Jacob's son. The count, encouraged by his increasingly dominant son-in-law and putative heir to Flanders, Philip of Burgundy, persuaded the French to send an army to support their vassal. French victory at Westrozebeke and the death of van Artevelde was followed by the cloth towns suffering from executions and heavy fines.

Ghent still held out but was not helped by the force led by Henry Despenser, bishop of Norwich in 1383 under the guise of a 'crusade' against the French-supported anti-pope Clement VII. The enterprise was an unmitigated failure forcing Ghent to capitulate to the house of Burgundy immediately after the inauguration of its rule of Flanders in 1384. Fortunately, the terms were generous, for Philip the Bold was ever conscious that Flemish prosperity depended on tactful prudence towards the cloth cities, a policy extended by his successors to include Brabant and Holland. But at the same time, all parties had to be mindful of the considerable hostility it raised at the French court.

Notes

1. Today, Flanders is the northern, Dutch-speaking area of Belgium: Wallonia is the southern, French-speaking part of the Belgian state.
2. Between 1191 and 1212, the king of France took the area from Flanders centred on St Omer and Arras and made it the county of Artois. It was held by one of the king's younger sons, the count of Artois, until it was inherited in turn by the countess of Artois (d.1329) and the duchess of Burgundy from whom it passed to her husband.
3. Twenty-three years later, the staple was moved to Calais, now an English port but still capable of serving Bruges.

THE DUCAL RESIDENCES

Hardly any of the residences of the participants of this period have survived in Flanders or in the adjacent Low Countries.¹ The castle at Ghent was initially the residence of the count of Flanders. The present structure was developed in c.1180 by Philip of Alsace (1157–91) on the site of an earlier fortress. The base of the keep was initially the lower part of a stone house of c.1080 not unlike the contemporary structure at Chepstow Castle. It was incorporated a century later into the present three storeyed keep as part of a site development that included a new gateway and the multi-towered enclosing walls. Shortly afterwards, a new residence for the count was added in c.1190–1200 contributing to an early domestic ensemble but with very scraped interiors. Except for feast days, the castle was increasingly little used by the counts during the thirteenth century as they preferred to stay in one of the leading abbeys in



Pl. 40 Hesdin Castle (probably): sixteenth-century copy of lost original of c.1410

Ghent. The castle soon became a symbolic focal point for the citizens' hostility to their ruler while its lack of high status occupation encouraged houses to be built against its walls as early as 1301. The fortress was finally abandoned as a princely residence after being besieged by the towns-people in 1338.²

A more comfortable residence, the Prinsenhof, was built by Louis of Mâle immediately north-west of the castle between 1349 and 1355.³ Meanwhile the castle at Ghent continued to function as the courts of justice and it retained this purpose until 1778. The whole building was subject to a drastic restoration programme between 1888 and 1913 that left it essentially in the condition that visitors see today.

The favoured castle at Hesdin in Artois was built by the youthful Robert of Artois between 1293 and 1302. Substantial alterations were made by Philip the Bold between 1393 and 1396 so that the castle became an extensive complex. It included a chapel, a lodge, a pavilion, and several outbuildings as well as the ducal apartments and a gallery, a forerunner of a key element in Burgundian palace architecture. Accounts show that the castle was sumptuously furnished with tapestries, paintings, and statues and that the court painters often worked here including Melchior Broederlam for three years at the close of the fourteenth century. Hesdin also boasted many examples of the mechanical arts including automata and waterworks.⁴

The grounds enclosed a garden pavilion, a moat-enclosed *château de plaisance* like those at Sheen for Richard II and on the edge of the lake at Kenilworth Castle for Henry V. It is thought to be the residence shown in the backgrounds of a late sixteenth century copy of the paintings known as 'An Outdoor Party of the Burgundian Court'. The costumes suggest that the original work was painted between 1410 and 1420.⁵ Nothing survives of the castle, the pavilion, or the park of just under 5,000 acres close to the modest present-day town of Hesdin.

The first task facing Philip of Burgundy after he inherited Flanders in 1384 was to repair its defences after six years of conflict. The next was to strengthen those that protected the borders of the county and in so doing, consolidate his own authority more forcibly. The principal work was the construction of the castle at Sluys at the mouth of the Zwin which protected the approach to Bruges. Two separate sites were involved on either side of the harbour – Sluys Castle and the Tour de Bourgogne – and they were linked by a chain. Built between 1384 and 1397, the architect was Drouet de Dammartin and cost nearly 100,000 francs between 1389 and 1397.⁶

As nothing survives of the early ducal residences in Flanders, it is necessary to turn to the secular survivals in the leading urban centres to gain some idea of their scale and richness. This grouping of late medieval civic and commercial properties are only matched by the similar cluster in northern Italy. By 1340, Ghent had become the largest city in northern Europe after Paris but in addition to the dominating fourteenth-century belfry, 310 feet high, Bruges retains extensive evidence of its commercial prosperity. The town hall was begun in 1376 and completed early in the following century. Its richly decorated vertical façade with alternate bays of canopied statues and slender windows prefaces the first floor hall with its sumptuous wooden rib vaulted ceiling. The nearby market hall (1240–80) with its soaring belfry was a communal structure accommodating the mercers, spicers, and butchers with an upper floor used for festivities. The cloth hall (destroyed) was a separate thirteenth century building close by as it was at Ghent (1425), but the famous cloth hall at Ypres (1200–1304, rebuilt 1920) combined its guild function with the town hall, law courts, chapel and belfry in a single building. To this extent, its scale and multi-purpose reflects that of the ducal residences. The same multi-function occurred at Malines (1311) while civic belfries still dominate Courtrai (fourteenth century), Lier (1369) and Dendermonde (1376–8). These secular buildings and the fifteenth-century town halls at Brussels,



Pl. 41 Bruges Town Hall

Courtrai, Damme, Louvain, and Mons, all with late Gothic facades, are as monumental as the leading ecclesiastical foundations in those cities. Because of their number, scale and richness, it is this regional group of secular structures rather than the churches that stand as testimony to the late medieval wealth of these Flemish textile cities.

Notes

1. The principal exception is the palace hall of c.1280 at The Hague, Holland, though the roof and part of the side walls are late eighteenth-century reconstructions.
2. G. Van Doorne, *Omtrent het Gravensteen in Gent* (1992); S. Derom, *Gravensteen* (1995); L. De Keyzer, *The Count's Castle, Ghent* (2002).
3. The moated quadrangular castle at Mâle near Bruges had been built by the count of Flanders during the fourteenth century but was burnt down during the Artevelde revolt. It was rebuilt between 1390 and 1396 and again during the sixteenth century, but the present structure is a reconstruction of 1954.
4. F. Duceppe-Lamarre, 'The Ducal Residence at Hesdin and its Place in Courtly Art under Philip the Bold and his Son' in Exhib. Cat., *Art from the Court of Burgundy* (2004) 160–61.
5. W. Prevenier and W. Blockmans, *The Burgundian Netherlands* (1986) 292 where the painting is attributed to c.1430.
6. A. Le Glay (ed.) *Inventaire Sommaire des Archives Départementales du Nord Série B* (1863–1906) 1 (2) 352–3. Other castles rebuilt by Philip include Oudenaarde (1385–95) and Courtrai (1394–99). During the years immediately before her death in 1405, Duchess Margaret of Mâle frequently resided in her hôtel in Arras, the capital of Artois.

THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR: 1365–1390

Between 711 and 720, the Iberian peninsula was all but overwhelmed by Muslims. Their attempt to invade Aquitaine and Francia during the 720s was defeated at Toulouse (721) and then at Poitiers (732) so that Islam never extended further into Europe. The early medieval period up to 1264 is primarily the story of the reconquest by Christian rulers leaving the southern Muslim kingdom of Granada isolated. Late medieval Iberia prior to the establishment of absolute royal authority following the conquest of Granada in 1492 is a less involving era of dynastic crises, civil wars, factional strife, and popular unrest. The struggle for power between the king and nobles of Aragon and those of Castile was compounded during the second half of the fourteenth century by English and French intervention arising from the Hundred Years War.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the peninsula with its population of about five million was divided into four Christian states of contrasting size, economic prosperity, and political stability – Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and Portugal – leaving the Muslim kingdom of Granada unaffected. The kingdom of Castile was the largest, spanning the country from the Bay of Biscay to Gibraltar and the nearby Atlantic coast. The kingdom of Aragon extended from the Pyrenees to the Mediterranean south of Alicante, while the kingdom of Portugal covered almost the same area as today. The kingdom of Navarre was a tiny north Pyrenean enclave that proved a thorn in the side of the French king.¹ There was no natural reason for these divisions though they were essentially maintained for the remainder of the middle ages.

Throughout the fourteenth century, Castile and Aragon were beset by vicious hatred and civil war led by royal kinsmen (and women) and baronial factions. The years between 1350 and 1389 witnessed a protracted struggle for the control of Castile. Initially it was a civil war between the authoritarian King Pedro I (Peter the Cruel) (1350–69) and a group of ambitious nobles led by Pedro's illegitimate half-brother Enrique (Henry), count of Trastámara. At first, Pedro swept all before him in a sequence of successful battles, but when the king of Aragon threw his support behind Enrique, he was able to claim the throne (1363). Both sides looked for outside support so that Spain was inexorably drawn into the conflict between France and England with the former supporting Enrique and his successors, and the latter supporting Pedro and his heirs. The war in Castile promptly concerned all four Christian kingdoms.

The first phase of this involvement was initiated by Enrique's appeal to France and the papacy for

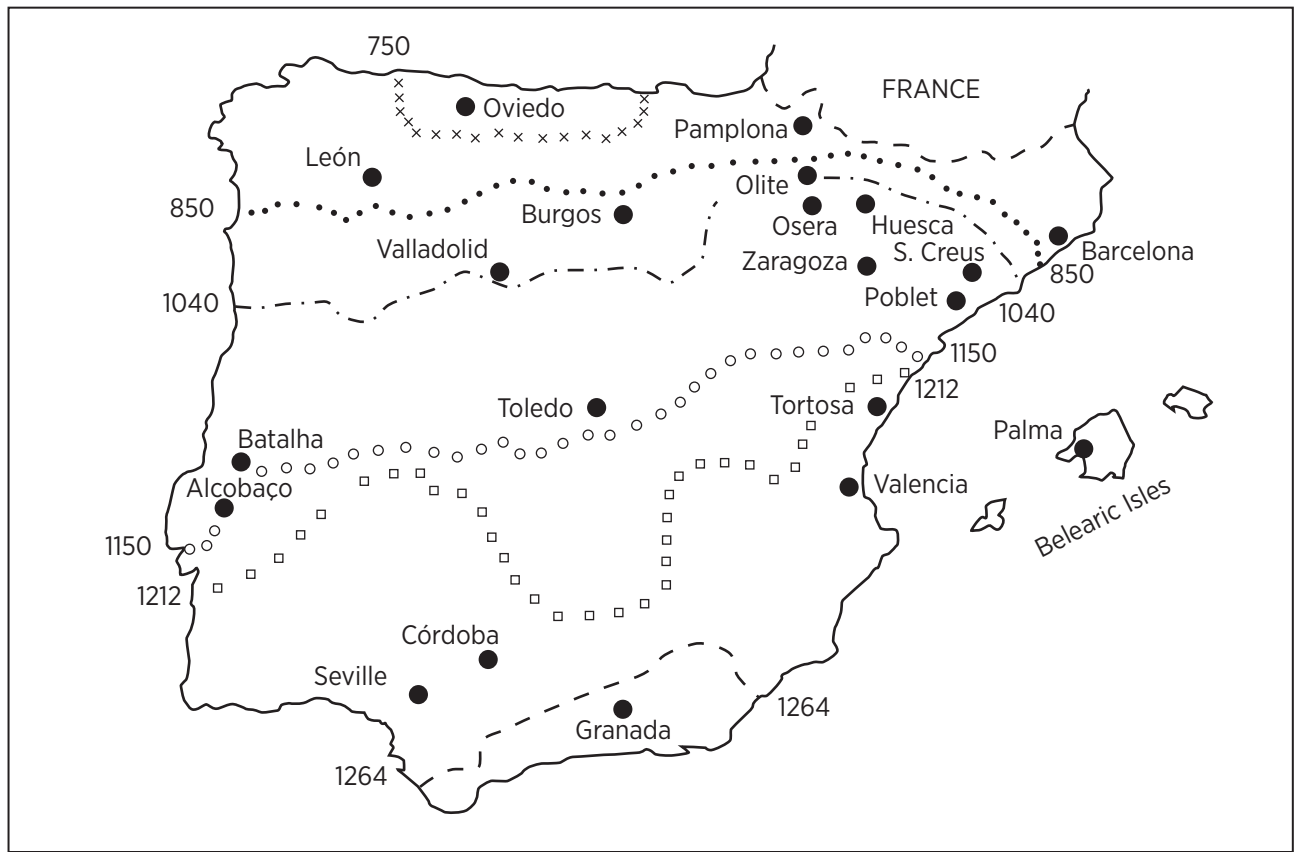


Fig. 26 The Christian reconquest of the Iberian peninsula: 750–1264

support. He received financial assistance from them which paid for one of the ‘great companies’ of French and English mercenaries which had been flourishing in France since 1360. A contingent of about 10,000 men under the command of Bertrand du Guesclin and Hugh Calveley gathered at Zaragoza in 1366 to bring Enrique initial success and declaration as king of Castile. Pedro I fled to Bayonne in Gascony, appealed to the Black Prince for help in return for financial and territorial rewards. The Black Prince, fearful of a French dominated Castile not far from Aquitaine, mounted a counter invasion through Navarre that resulted in victory at Nájera not far from Burgos and the reinstatement of Pedro in Castile (1367).² His vicious slaughter of the many prisoners and his lack of payment led to Pedro’s abandonment by his English protector so that he faced the substantial force dispatched by Charles V of France without support. He was trapped by du Guesclin in his castle at Montiel, was tempted out, and was promptly murdered by his half-brother Enrique (1369).

The first phase of this war had not only resulted in victory for Enrique of Trastámara through French support but it ensured that there was close co-operation between Castile and France for the next forty years. Initially Castile was almost subservient to France, particularly under the newly proclaimed Enrique II (1369–79) and his successor Juan I (d.1390). However, the remainder of Iberia did not stand idly by. In 1371, John of Gaunt married Pedro I’s heiress, Constanza and by this marriage, acquired a claim to the throne of Castile. If this was asserted, it could counterbalance France’s embrace of Castile. The beleaguered Trastámara dynasty called increasingly for help from France who exacted their use of the Castilian fleet against England as the price for their support. In 1372, the Castilian galleys repaid

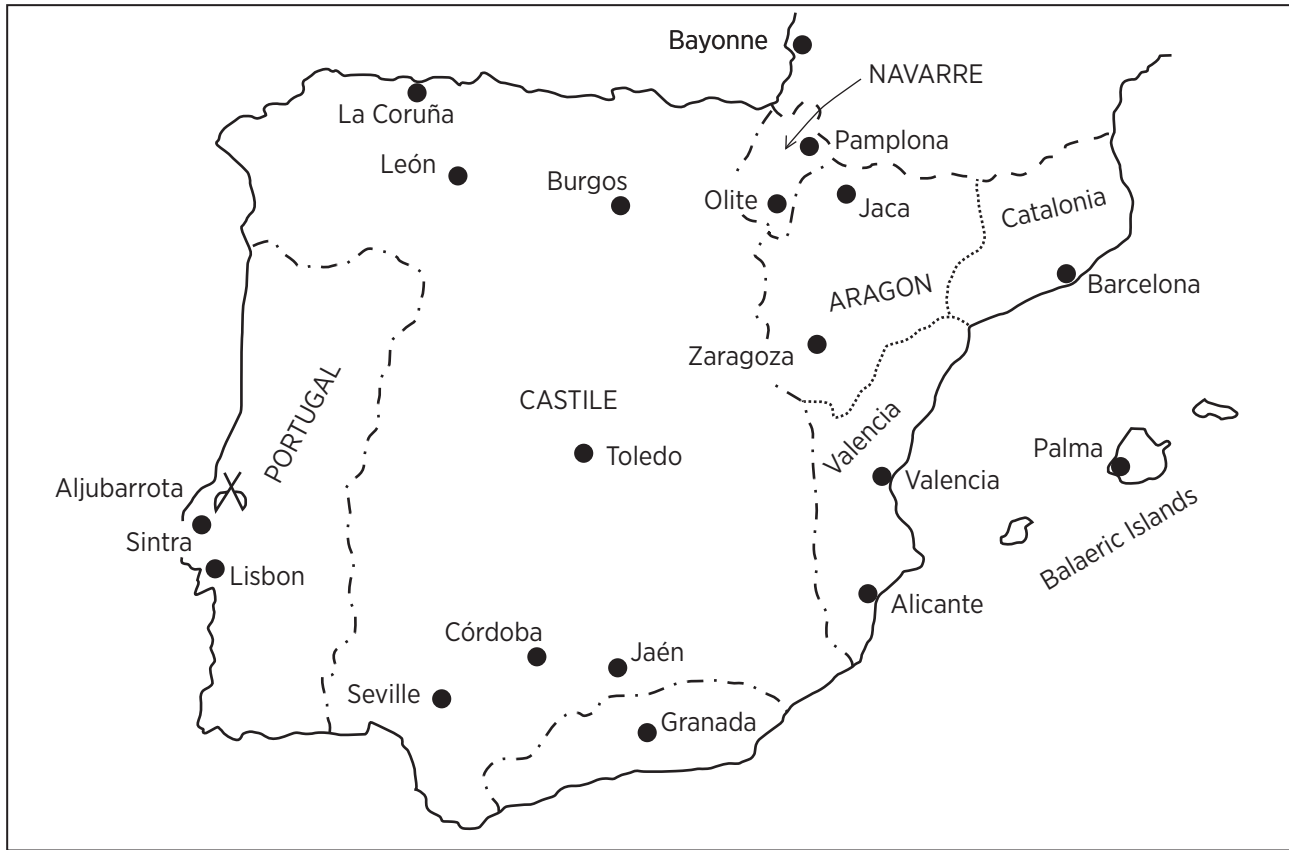


Fig. 27 Fourteenth century Iberian peninsula

Charles V by destroying the English fleet off La Rochelle and recovered the port. This was a precursor to the sequence of attacks on England's channel ports culminating in the threat of a full-scale invasion of England in 1380.

The third phase of the Iberian conflict opened in 1382 when Gaunt's youngest brother, the earl of Cambridge mounted a comic-opera campaign in Portugal in support of his son's apparent betrothal to Beatriz, the heiress to the Portuguese throne. In fact, Beatriz was married to Juan I of Castile in the following year and on the death of Fernando I of Portugal shortly afterwards, Juan claimed the neighbouring kingdom. This was opposed by several royal bastards led by the Master of the Military Order of Avis who secured an alliance with England. In August 1385, he achieved a crushing victory over the numerically superior Castilians with the help of 200 English archers at the battle of Aljubarrota. This battle not only sealed the independence of Portugal as a nation, but it enabled the Master of Avis, now King João I (1383–1433) to initiate a new dynasty. The alliance with England was strengthened by the king's marriage to Philippa, Gaunt's daughter (1387).

The final phase of the Iberian conflict opened with the recent success in Portugal spurring John of Gaunt to lead his own army into Castile. He landed at La Coruña in July 1386 but his forces were outmanoeuvred by the Castilians and were crippled by disease. The invasion proved a fiasco. Gaunt agreed at Bayonne to the marriage of his daughter Catherine to the future Enrique III (d.1406) while his claim to the throne was surrendered to the Castilians in return for the payment of £100,000 and an annual pension of £6,600 (1389). Iberia's direct involvement in the Hundred Years War was over.

Notes

1. Throughout this period, Charles of Navarre (1349–87) was far more of a treacherous problem for Charles V than Edward III. Since the early fourteenth century, this Pyrenean state had been ruled by a cadet branch of the Capetian dynasty and consequently held an important group of lands in Normandy and the Seine. Charles the Bad used them to bolster his claim to the French throne but he was totally unreliable, mischievous and rebellious.
2. Pedro never contributed to the Black Prince's costs necessitating heavy taxes in Aquitaine, but he gave the prince a jewel that is now in the English royal crown.

ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENT DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

Three factors affected the development of royal palaces in the Iberian peninsula and distinguished them from other palaces in Europe. The first was the changing frontiers of the Christian kingdoms as their armies successfully campaigned to reconquer the Muslim state. The second was the influence of Islamic architecture on an increasingly Christian country, while the third was the growth of French political and cultural influence south of the Pyrenees.

The rule of 'Abd al-Rahmán III (916–61) marked the zenith of Moorish occupation which extended to all but the northern and north-eastern mountain range leaving the greater part of the country under the caliphate of Córdoba. The political fragmentation of the caliphate a century later into more than twenty mutually hostile principalities known as *taifas* became the opportunity for the Christian states in the north to extend their territories southwards and reclaim them from the infidel. This not only included a resurgent kingdom of León and an enlarging Navarre, but also a forceful Spanish March under the counts of Barcelona, and the narrow valleys of Aragon in the Pyrenees. The future lay with them rather than the wealthy but wrangling Moors.

The political and military stages taken by the Christian rulers to achieve success (as well as their setbacks) as they extended their authority towards the Mediterranean need not concern us here but by the fourteenth century, Iberia had been divided into four kingdoms. Portugal had been independent since 1179 and had virtually attained its present boundaries by 1267. Castile had absorbed León in 1230 to become a single kingdom of increasing thrust and power. Aragon had embraced the county of Barcelona, the kingdom of Valencia, and the Balearic Islands, while Navarre remained a small-scale kingdom under French influence after 1234. By 1264, Muslim rule was limited to the kingdom of Granada and remained so until 1492.

The reconquest of Moorish occupied territories over such an extended period meant that there was a series of frontiers which varied from one century to the next as marked on fig. 26. They were rarely precisely defined and frequently disputed. Because these frontiers were always on the move as the Christian kingdoms expanded, so were the capitals subject to relocation. Burgos was the capital of Castile from 1037 until 1492 when the capital was moved to Valladolid.¹ The capital of Aragon in the ninth century was Jaca. It was transferred to Huesca in 1096 but only stayed there until 1118 when it was moved to Zaragoza. Many of these capitals were given royal residences, some of them developed from the fortified palace or *alcázar* of the Moorish rulers of each *taifa*. In the mid-twelfth century the fanatical Almohades had transferred the Muslim capital from Córdoba to Seville where they built an *alcázar* to rival that of the caliphate. Both of these residences were taken over in turn and expanded by the Christian rulers as an assertion of their military conquest and Christian superiority. This contributed to the second factor distinguishing Spanish palaces from others in Europe.

Art, architecture, and literature were the glory of Muslim Spain but from the mid-thirteenth century, the Christian states had whole-heartedly embraced the Gothic style from France for their ecclesiastical buildings to which the Spanish gave an individual character as in the cathedrals at Barcelona, Burgos, Palma, Seville, and Tortosa. What gave Spanish secular architecture its unique form was the presence of a pool of highly skilled Moorish craftsmen who were allowed to stay in the reconquered lands until expelled by the bigotry of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492. Between the thirteenth and late fifteenth centuries, the Spanish enjoyed the *Mudéjar* style (from the Arabic word meaning 'taxpayer') which encompassed highly decorative plasterwork reliefs that created sumptuous surface decoration, the infinite repetition of geometric patterns, wooden vaulted ceilings, polychrome tiling and richly painted timberwork. As brick was cheaper than stone, the Spanish also embraced Arab brick technology as in the royal monastic foundation of Las Huelgas. Arab coffered ceilings were particularly appreciated in secular residences, but though the *Mudéjar* style was nearly as popular in Aragon as in Castile, it never took hold in Portugal, Navarre, or Catalonia as those kingdoms were brought back under the Christian banner relatively early compared with the greater part of Iberia.

The embrace of this Islamic cultural heritage by Christian rulers flowed from the survival of a skilled resource of outstanding individuality and the Spanish love of their sumptuous decorative style. It was during the mid-fourteenth century that Pedro I of Castile developed the Alcázar in Seville using craftsmen sent by the ruler of Granada, while the dome of the Sala de los Reyes in the fourteenth century Nasrid Palace of the Alhambra, Granada, depicts scenes painted in c.1400 in the French Gothic style in which Christians and Moorish nobles and their ladies are shown fighting, hunting, and playing chess.² Enrique IV of Castile (1454–74) a moody, ineffective ruler, dressed and entertained like a Moor, surrounded himself with a Moorish guard, and welcomed Moorish craftsmen to his court at Segovia.

The third but initially more restricted influence on the development of Spanish architecture was the proximity of France to north-east Spain. This was first felt in Catalonia, a seafaring nation that was also agriculturally fertile. This combination had brought considerable prosperity to a region that by the late eleventh century was almost a French fief with a language, institutions, and culture that bore a French imprint. This particularly developed under count Ramón Berenguer III (1097–1130) who held land in Languedoc and acquired Provence through marriage. A century later, Jaime I the Conqueror (1213–76) not only expanded his mediterranean sea power by conquering Valencia and the Balearic Isles but freed himself of French suzerainty in return for giving up his lordship of Languedoc (1258).

Just over twenty years earlier, Navarre elected Theobald, count of Champagne as king. He drew the kingdom more closely into the orbit of French affairs for centuries. Throughout this period, Navarre's artistic ties were heavily indebted to France, as seen in Pamplona cathedral and the palaces at Sanguesa and Trafalla. Like his maverick grandfather, Carlos III (1387–1425) spent much of his time in France so that his work at Olite Palace particularly reflected French influence.

The fall of Zaragoza in 1118 not only put an end to Moorish power in northern Spain but it encouraged French practices and influences to fill the vacuum. The royal house of Portugal was founded by a Burgundian, French royal marriages were encouraged, and the Cistercians were welcomed to settle in the former Moslem lands. A number of their foundations are extremely well preserved as in Navarre (Osera), Portugal (Alcobaça), Catalonia (Santes Creus, Poblet) and Castile (Las Huelgas outside Burgos), helping to reclaim lands and to Christianise the primitive regions of Iberia. In the following century, several major cathedrals in Castile rejected the formal Cistercian style of architecture in favour of the more developed Gothic style of northern France as at Burgos (1221), Toledo (1226) and León (1255).

Later influences included Flemish, German and English forms (the last a particular determinant at

Batalha Abbey 1388–1438) leading to a highly elaborate national Gothic style in Spain, and the Manueline style of seafaring forms in Portugal that proclaimed its colonial power and ambitions. However, secular structures preferred the Arab *Mudéjar* tradition rather than the Gothic form. Its elaborate decoration, exquisite workmanship, and greater comfort were enjoyed by most of the late medieval monarchs and where they led, the aristocracy followed creating an architectural dichotomy that was maintained until the expulsion of all Islamic (and Jewish) culture under the bullying, bigoted Catholic monarchs.

Notes

1. Castile had incorporated León in 1230.
2. The world famous Nasrid Palace was built in two phases: the more public areas by Yusuf I (1333–56) and the more private apartments by his son, Muhammad V (1354–91). The Catholic monarchs had no fixed residence so that when Charles I (later emperor Charles V) chose the Alhambra as the site of his permanent residence in 1526, he built the controversially circular palace but linked it to the Nasrid Palace and therefore saved that treasurable building for posterity.

THE ROYAL PALACES OF IBERIA

The division of the Iberian peninsula into five kingdoms has meant that a considerable number of medieval royal palaces survive, far more than in France. Excluding the Muslim kingdom of Granada, there are at least twenty-five medieval standing residences. They range from the ninth century summer palace at Oviedo to the conversion of the Arab fortress at Madrid by Charles V into a severe Renaissance palace. This study is primarily concerned with those occupied or developed by the rulers involved in the Anglo-French war.

Nearly all the royal residences of Iberia throughout the later middle ages had their origin in earlier Muslim residences. Their castles were developed from the Moorish citadel, the *alcazaba* and their palaces from the Moorish fortified palace, the *alcázar*. The fundamental Moorish fortification was the *alcazaba*, a walled and towered precinct which was otherwise empty or with few buildings internally. The strategic location of these citadels was equally valuable to both sides of the conflict. They were also particularly useful bases to the Christian rulers as they travelled round their ever-expanding kingdoms. As the reconquest progressed from north to south, these brick or rubble-built Moorish fortresses were either destroyed and replaced in stone by a Christian-built castle, or the earlier structure was incorporated in an expanded military stronghold, usually with the addition of a keep which symbolised their power and authority over the region.

During the later middle ages, many of these castles were developed with comfortable internal ranges, massive tower-houses of considerable decorative richness, and gardens with water features as well as becoming the focal point for artistic and cultivated courts. This did not imply that there was any reduction in the castle's military capability. The reconquest may have been completed by the close of the thirteenth century except for the Nasrid kingdom of Granada, but the rulers of Aragon, Castile, Navarre, and Portugal all needed protection from the civil conflicts, factional feuds, and bitter family clashes which afflicted their kingdoms. Royal castles developed from Muslim *alcazabas* include Olite and probably the earlier fortified site at Segovia, but the monarchs retained few castles for themselves. After the reconquest, they were bestowed on noble families or on one of the military orders to protect and

defend the neighbourhood from external attack. La Mota near Valladolid was an outstanding exception, a royal castle initially developed from a thirteenth century fortress by Juan II of Castile (1406–54) and finished by Isabella (1474–1504). Between 1440 and 1479, these two monarchs created a brick-built palace-fortress of outstanding strength and defensive purpose.

Though the inner precinct of an *alcázar* was frequently empty, some Moorish rulers developed a residence within them, complete with gardens. This was the origin of the Moorish fortified palace, the *alcázar* and was the origin for several palaces developed by the Christian rulers. The earliest was that at Zaragoza where the eleventh century Banu Hud dynasty developed a series of courtyards and pavilions that were taken over by the kings of Aragon. The Alcázar at Seville was similarly developed during the twelfth century by the Almohads bringing influences from the East. It was so favoured by the Castilian kings that the palace was expanded by them using the *Mudéjar* style.

Castile

Each step of the Castilian conquest southwards from León was secured by building the castles and walled towns which gave Castile its name. But during the early fourteenth century, Castile was in anarchy, fostered by feckless alliances between the leading grandees and the straightened circumstances of the monarchy until the masterful rule of Alfonso XI (1312–50) after attaining his majority in 1325. The introduction of merino sheep from North Africa enabled Castile to become one of the great wool producing and therefore richest countries of Europe. Anarchy and monetary instability proved a setback for much of the fifteenth century though Castile became the dominant partner of the ‘united’ Spain towards the close of that century.

The royal family used the monastery of Les Huelgas near Burgos when they visited their capital but occupied the *alcázar* when they were in Segovia particularly during the later middle ages. Dominating the city from its cliff-top position at the junction of two rivers, the *alcázar* was badly burnt in 1862 after a century’s use as an artillery college. It was reconstructed in neo-Gothic style in 1882–90 with fifteenth century *Mudéjar* ceilings brought from other Castilian towns. The palace at Tordesillas was built by Alfonso XI in about 1350 to commemorate his victory at the battle of Salado. It was converted by his son, Pedro I into the convent of Santa Clara where he installed his mistress. The palace was embellished with *Mudéjar* decoration (façade and patio) though the present coffered ceiling in the chapel survives from its former function crowning Alfonso’s throne room. The defensive wall with square towers and the Plasterwork Court in the royal palace at Seville survive from the twelfth century but the majority of this residence was built by Pedro I, the Cruel in 1364–66, one of the outstanding survivals of *Mudéjar* art. The early palaces at Valladolid, Toledo, and Madrid have been rebuilt, those at Córdoba, Ciudad Rodrigo and Aranjuez remodelled, and that at León totally destroyed.

Aragon

Zaragoza, the capital of Aragon from 1118 until the late fifteenth century holds the Alijaferia, a Moorish palace built under the Banu Hud dynasty during the eleventh century and a magnificent example of Hispano-Muslim architecture. It was subsequently taken over by the Aragonese kings, retains much of its elaborate *Mudéjar* decoration contrasting with the first floor rooms remodelled in the Gothic style for Ferdinand and Isabella in the late fifteenth century. Elsewhere, the residences in Aragon carry a French imprint fostered by the counts of Barcelona. The royal palace at Barcelona is an entirely Gothic structure, remodelled by the kings of Aragon in the fourteenth century. It is also the building that signalled the move from ecclesiastical to increasing secular development in the region for the area within the city walls

was crammed with major residences, aristocratic and episcopal as well as government buildings within the *barrio gotico*. Elsewhere in Aragon there were several royal apartments maintained in defensible monasteries, a palace at Huesca (now a local museum) and one at Tarazona now used by its bishop.

In 1272, Jaime I (1213–76) divided his kingdom between his two sons with the kingdom of Majorca separately held by his younger son as a practical way of governing two expanding kingdoms differing in their backgrounds, laws, and customs. The ensuing prosperity of Majorca was responsible for a number of Gothic buildings under Jaime II (1276–1311) and his nephew including Palma Cathedral, Bellver Castle and the Almudaina palace at Palma as well as the castle-palace at Perpignan abutting the French kingdom. However, Pedro IV (1336–87) reversed the separation of the Balearic kingdom in 1343 and reunited it with the crown of Aragon six years later.

Navarre

The three palaces of the kings of Navarre are relatively close to each other. Estella is a rare example of late twelfth-century Romanesque civil architecture, while the embattled façade of Sanguesa with its two dominating towers was the work of Carlos, Prince of Viana (1421–61). During the later middle ages, the kings of Navarre were usually in northern France, preferring to rule their Spanish kingdom through governors. Olite was the preferred palace when they visited Navarre, with its development by Carlos II and Carlos III during the second half of the fourteenth century reflecting French influence.

Portugal

Not surprisingly, Portugal is a land of castles rather than medieval palaces. Nearly a hundred stone examples survive with the *Mudéjar* style playing little part in their development. King Dinis (1279–1325) was responsible for the conversion of the Moorish residence within St George's Castle at Lisbon into a palace – the first such conversion in the country. Estremoz and Leiria castles were similarly developed during the fourteenth century. João I (1385–1433) was responsible for the small but well windowed range of apartments within Guimaraes Castle, while his development of Sintra was without any keep, towers, or curtain walls.

The several residences considered in more detail are the best surviving representatives of the royal houses of the four kingdoms during the years that they were involved in the Anglo-French conflict. They are described in the same regional order as above, i.e. Castile (Seville, Monastic Palaces), Aragon (Zaragoza, Barcelona, Palma, Perpignan, Collioure), Navarre (Olite) and Portugal (Sintra).

SEVILLE, THE ALCÁZAR

The royal palace of the kings of Castile is unlike most others in this study through incorporating and developing a comprehensive Arabic character. Furthermore, the Alcázar is still held in royal hands, longer than any other royal residence in Europe apart from Windsor Castle, though the Alcázar had its origins in a small fort for the Moorish governors of Córdoba state dating from 913. Like Windsor, the Alcázar was originally developed as a fortress, became more residential under the Almohad government during the first half of the thirteenth century, and a palace during the fourteenth century. Like Windsor, it still presents a military front to the public until entry reveals on-going domestic occupation. In addition,

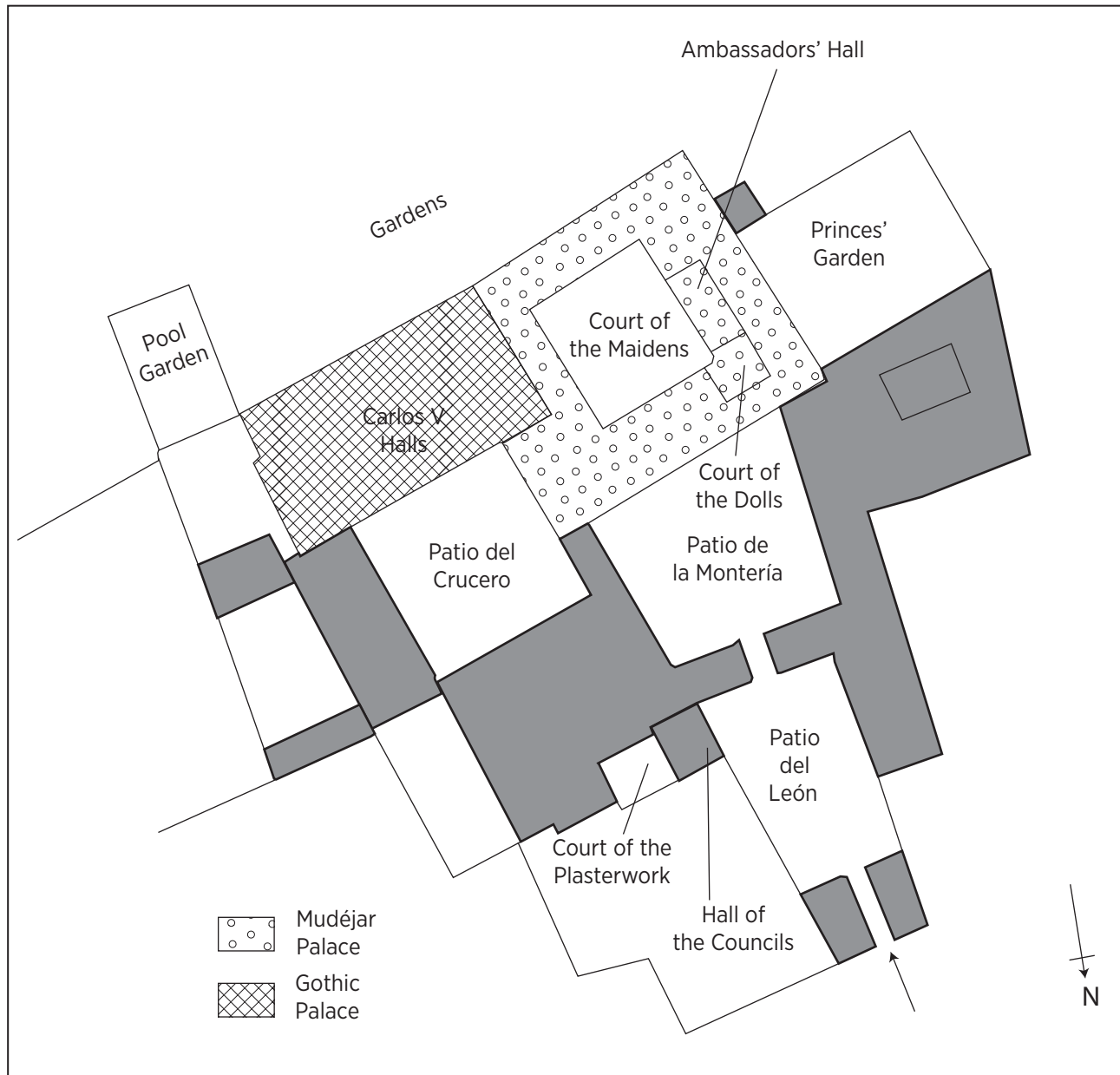


Fig. 28 Seville, the Alcázar: site plan

the Alcázar similarly encompasses several self-contained residential complexes including a Gothic Palace and a *Mudéjar* Palace.

Development

In 1248, Ferdinand III of Castile captured the Arab stronghold of Seville, the centre of the Muslim state of Andalucía for the previous century. Only the Patio del Yeso (Court of Plasterwork) with its series of horseshoe shaped arches survives from this earlier Almohad phase, for Alfonso X (1252–84) replaced much of the Arab palace with a French-influenced Gothic one more suited to serving the needs of his court. One hall remains consisting of eleven sections with intersecting rib vaults and two side galleries



Pl. 42 Seville: gothic cathedral and classical courtyard of the Alcázar

with barrel vaults. It was partially remodelled in the early sixteenth century to become the Carlos V halls and the Patio del Crucero.

In the mid-fourteenth century, Alfonso XI (1312–50) ordered the Hall of the Councils (Sala de los Consejos) to be built combining Christian elements with Islamic designs culminating in a magnificent wooden coffered ceiling. His son, Pedro I of Castile (1350–69) chose Seville as the capital of his kingdom and in so doing, combined the two approaches in the construction, aesthetics, and function of his new palace. It mirrors the enormous attraction that Islamic culture held for this Castilian monarch. Begun in 1364 (inscribed above the entry), his palace was completed within two years (date inscribed on the doors of the summer throne room). This landmark example of civil *Mudéjar* art and architecture was initiated at the same time that the Iberian peninsula stepped into the arena of the Anglo-French conflict.

Pedro's palace was built at the side of the earlier Gothic palace but still within the initial defensible curtilage. His residence was two storeyed, arranged round two courts. The larger, the Court of the Maidens, was built round halls for state occasions including the famous Ambassadors' Hall. The smaller and more refined court, the Court of the Dolls, was the heart of Pedro's private and personal apartments. His work in both areas was developed and decorated in a style according to Islamic taste. He achieved this with Muslim workmen and artists from Seville and Córdoba, supplemented by specialists sent by Muhammad V from the Nasrid kingdom of Granada. The latter had become the centre of diminishing Muslim power in Spain after the fall of Seville and as Pedro believed in maintaining friendly relations with the emir Muhammad V (1354–59, 1362–91), the latter sent his best artisans to work on Pedro's new residence. It is one of the peaks of *Mudéjar* art in Spain and represents a fascinating cul-de-sac of Spanish history when the assimilation of an entirely different culture was practised before religious bigotry triumphed under Ferdinand and Isabella and their successors early in the sixteenth century.

Description

Standing immediately south of Seville cathedral, the fortress-like entry of eleventh century origin opens into two courts in line to face the frontage of Pedro I's sumptuous Palacio Mudéjar on the site of an eleventh-century residence.¹ Surmounted by carved pinewood eaves, the relatively austere arched façade includes grape vines on the entry lintel (by Toledo artists), bosses (Córdoba art) with Kufic lettering above the first floor window (Granada work). The two statements here of Arabic and Christian sentiment quietly reveals the meshing of conflicting views.²

The ground floor with its greater and smaller courts of multiple arches and sequence of open halls is regularly accessible to the public. The upper floor has restricted access for it is still used by the Spanish royal family during their visits to the region and is therefore kept in a state of readiness for them. The ground floor rooms are empty while the first floor apartments have tapestries and furnishings of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. At both levels, the lower walling in each chamber is decoratively tiled with the upper half enhanced with intricately sculptured stucco work. Some of the upper rooms retain their relatively plain but original floor tiles. Both floors have been subject to later alterations, particularly the upper floor by the Catholic Monarchs to enable it to be used as a winter palace, with the cooler lower rooms maintained for summer occupation. Further alterations were made by Charles V (mid-sixteenth century) and Isabella II (1854–57) but Pedro's residence continues to be the heart of the Alcázar, a synthesis of Spain's Muslim heritage developed for a Christian monarch.

The ground floor is built round the Court of the Maidens with the subsidiary court, the Court of the Dolls, opening off it. The former, approached from a corridor to prevent any direct view of the interior, accesses the area that was the centre of official and diplomatic life at the Castilian court. An open arcaded corridor round the principal court leads to the Ambassadors' Hall with its spectacular wooden dome of 1427 with its frieze of castles and lions, the symbols of Castile and León, and Arabic-style scallop shells.

The upper floor was substantially extended by the Catholic Monarchs at the beginning of the sixteenth century. They were responsible for the first floor balustrade galleries in early Renaissance style, had the elaborately coffered ceilings restored, and retained the plaster decorated walls and friezes to reflect the earlier Moorish character while affirming the reality of the new.³ However, their rooms were developed from the four earlier apartments overlooking the entry Patio de la Montería. Built by Pedro I, these retain their lower wall tiles, upper epigraphic plaster decoration and intricate



Pl. 43 Seville, the Alcázar: Court of the Maidens

honeycomb vaulted ceiling, both polychromed and gilded. The most lavish of these rooms is the winter audience chamber in the centre of the façade with three mirador windows overlooking the entry court.

In design and elegant decoration, Pedro I's palace rivals contemporary parts of the more famous Nasrid Palace within the Alhambra at Granada. As many of the craftsmen were loaned by Muhammad V, it is not surprising that the Court of the Dolls is reminiscent of the Court of the Lions at the Alhambra or that of the Ambassadors' Hall with its mirrored ceiling recalls its prototype at Granada. Yet whereas the decoration of the Alhambra is restricted to the interior, the façade at Seville is decorated with glazed tiles and stuccowork.

Assessment

Just as Charles V's choice of the Alhambra as the site of his new residence unwittingly saved the earlier Arabic palaces of Granada, so Ferdinand and Isabella's choice of the Alcázar at Seville saved Pedro's palace for posterity. Yet unlike Windsor Castle or the Louvre, an Arab palace functioned differently from a medieval European palace. The Alcázar lacked an imposing entry frontage. Pedro's residence was not stone built to endure but was more insubstantial in accordance with Muslim beliefs in the transitory nature of things. Even today, slender marble columns, windows with coloured panes, stucco wall decoration, and honeycomb ceilings seem to be weightless so that the rooms dissolve into arcaded spaces of shimmering light. Nor is there any architectural progression from room to room leading to the king's most private apartments. Instead, the rooms are grouped round courts with water channels and fountains as a constant presence, while gatekeepers still control access to the (current) royal apartments.



Pl. 44 Seville, the Alcázar: brick and stucco arcading

Notes

1. Some arches of this date survive in the summer throne room.
2. The Arabic device of the Nasrids 'There is no conqueror but Allah' conflicts with Pedro's Christian beliefs carved above the entry 'The very high, noble, powerful and conquering Don Pedro by the grace of God, King of Castile and León'.
3. Their first floor oratory of 1504 with its traceried arches, vaulted ceiling, and richly coloured ceramic reredos and altar by Nicola Pisano is a particularly beguiling Gothic jewel.

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MONASTIC PALACES OF CASTILE AND ARAGON

The kings of the Iberian Peninsula were the champions of the *reconquista*. The defeat of Islam not only emphasised their military prowess but also their Christian credentials. As soon as the boundaries of Islam had been pushed back, monasteries were established in the conquered areas which were as much centres of security as spiritual foundations. Though church and state were a close partnership throughout the middle ages, ecclesiastical authority was more subservient to royal power in Iberia than in other European countries. Some of these monasteries therefore became royal fortresses and palaces, underlining the church's dependence on the monarchy.¹

The palaces in these monasteries were not large. One of the earliest was at Oviedo, the first capital of the Asturias where King Alfonso (791–812) established a religious-political centre made up of cathedral, royal residence, royal mausoleum, and nunnery, all enclosed within a walled circuit. By the later middle ages, there had been a role reversal with the king adding a royal residence to a long established monastery. This can be strikingly seen at the two Aragonese abbeys of Santes Creus and Poblet and the Castilian foundation of Las Huelgas near Burgos. All three were Cistercian foundations, though Las Huelgas was (and continues to be) a nunnery. As the rulers had initially sponsored them and they were now under royal protection, they also became a source for royal administrators and servants. The culmination of this process was the union of the vast barrack-like palace and monastery at the Escorial for Philip II constructed between 1563 and 1584.

Santes Creus was a late twelfth-century foundation to which a royal residence was added, initially by Pere III (1276–85), followed by Jaime III in the early fourteenth century and then by Pere IV. Each development overlaid the earlier work but while the first two monarchs regarded the abbey as a prime seat and are buried there, Pere IV preferred Poblet. The chapter at Santes Creus therefore gradually took over the royal buildings and modified them for their own purpose. The royal eastern court became a cloister but the independent royal dormitory-like building still survives.

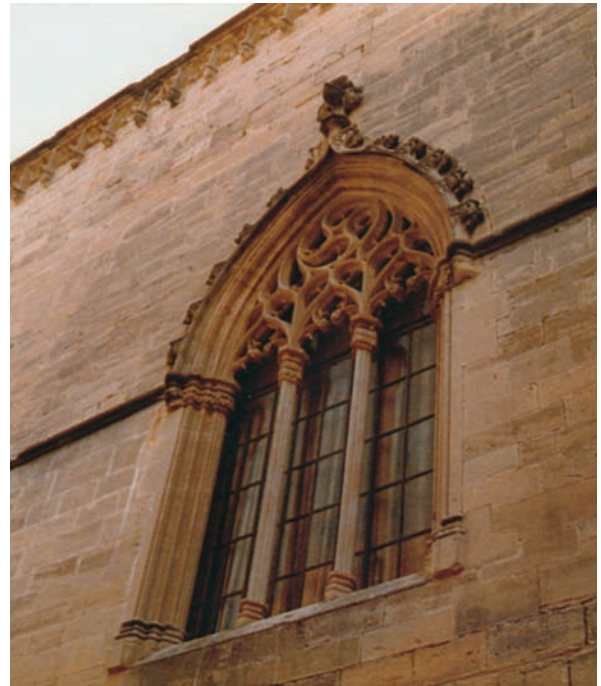
The nearby contemporary foundation at Poblet begun in 1166 was enclosed by a formidable walled circuit with towers and machicolated gateway under Pere IV (1336–87). The royal palace, Romanesque church and claustral buildings were fully protected but the domestic offices and administrative buildings lay outside this enclosure. Poblet was the mausoleum for Jaime I and Pere IV, though Pere's palace was replaced by that of Martí I between 1397 and 1406. He developed his residence above the lay brothers accommodation on the west side of the cloister.



Pl. 45 Poblet Abbey: defensive circuit

Now used as a museum, Martí's line of rooms is notable for their splendid traceried windows.² As Martí (1396–1410) had no direct descendants, this royal accommodation was not developed further for royal interest passed elsewhere. Yet in its combination of royal and ecclesiastical power, the architectural consequence of fulfilling military and domestic needs bears comparison with the near contemporary palace at Avignon, though the monastic function at Poblet was taken over by fulfilling papal administrative functions.

Las Huelgas was founded by Alfonso VIII (d.1214) and Queen Eleanor of England (d.1214) in 1187 with the towers and battlemented wall enclosing it attributed to the fourteenth century. The monastery was Castile's coronation church and royal pantheon. It has a *Mudéjar* decorated cloister and a chapel in Almohad style. The convent also holds an outstanding collection of medieval court dress and fabrics, some of them from the royal tombs. The royal residence was modest and is limited to the tower rooms over the inner entrance to the convent. Pedro I, the Cruel was born here in 1334.



Pl. 46 Poblet Abbey: window of the royal palace

Notes

1. The situation was different in Portugal. Since 1143, the king had been a papal vassal and therefore benefited from the practical as well as the spiritual support of the church in its programme of *reconquista*. The consequence was that bishops and monasteries were well rewarded with land, the military orders were welcomed, and the church became an over-mighty subject in the kingdom. Its greed and immunity were unchecked until the reign of King Dinis (1279–1323) who left a prosperous kingdom to his successors.
2. For English influence at Poblet and Santes Creus abbeys, P. Binski, *Gothic Wonder* (2014) 266–74.

ZARAGOZA, LA ALJAFERIA

If the kings of Castile could occupy the *Mudéjar* palace at Seville and convert it to their own use, so could the kings of Aragon at Zaragoza. Its *alcázar* is the oldest of the three major Moorish palaces in Iberia although those at Granada and Seville are architecturally more valuable. The Aljaferia was founded by Abu-Jafar Moctádir (1049–81) close to the river Ebro and about a mile from the Roman walled town of Zaragoza. He built a square enclosure defended by sixteen circular towers and dominated by a five storey rectangular tower built into the north wall overlooking the river.¹ Several courtyards were developed within this towered curtilage including a marble hall and a highly decorated mosque that survives, characterised by intersecting horseshoe arches and carved alabaster capitals of the finest quality.

After the reconquest of Zaragoza and the surrounding region by Alfonso I in 1118, the *alcázar*



Pl. 47 Zaragoza, La Aljaferia: entry approach

became a residence of the kings of Aragon. Following Innocent III's authority at the close of the twelfth century for Pere II and his successors to be crowned at Zaragoza, the Moorish Patio de Santa Isabel was chosen as the location for this ceremony. The relatively modest pillars and capitals are surmounted by a riotously decorated arcade of interlacing arches and elaborate Moorish decoration. The mosque though, was swiftly replaced by a Christian church to St Martin, rebuilt in brick in the fourteenth century by Pere IV (1336–87). The west doorway exhibits patterned brickwork in the Aragonese *Mudéjar* style with the nave and aisles covered by brick ribbed vaults.

The most extensive medieval development occurred during the 1490s under Ferdinand and Isabella who destroyed part of the *alcázar* to construct their own palace in an elaborate late Gothic style. By the close of the sixteenth century, the palace was used by the Inquisition and subsequently became a prison, then an army barracks. It was not until the mid-twentieth century that the palace was freed from degrading use. The architect Francisco Iniguez stripped the outer walls of abutting buildings, rebuilt the towers, restored the mosque and the arcaded courtyard. Unfortunately the doorways, capitals, and friezes removed during the nineteenth century prior to barrack use and held in museums in Madrid and Zaragoza were not returned. The Aljaferia is now used as the parliament building of the semi-autonomous region of Aragon. This use, combined with the necessary but extensive rebuilding programme means that the architectural and aesthetic value of the palace is limited outside the throne room of 1492.

Notes

1. This tower, completely devoid of ornament, is popularly known as the Troubadour's Prison (Prision del Travador) as it is claimed to be the prison of Manrique, the fifteenth-century hero of Verdi's opera *Il Travatore*.

BARCELONA, ROYAL PALACE

The palace of the kings of Aragon in Barcelona is sited between the Gothic cathedral and the Roman city wall which it abuts. The Carrer Veguer opens into the outer court or Plaça del Rei with the royal palace fillings its north and east sides. The residence of the Lieutenant Governor, built in 1550, takes up the west side and currently houses the archives of the counts of Barcelona and the kings of Aragon. The fourth side is closed by the Museum of History, a fifteenth century residence moved from the Ribera district of Barcelona in the mid-twentieth century. It now provides access to the extensive archaeological recovery of Roman Barcelona below the Plaça de Rei.

The palace site was occupied by Visigoth counts from the sixth century onwards with the buildings altered and extended by the tenth century as the counts of Barcelona became more autonomous. The marriage of count Ramón Berenguer IV to Petronilla of Aragon in 1137 united Catalonia with the kingdom of Aragon to form what was later known as the Crown of Aragon. The earliest part of the present L-shaped building is attributable to the mid-twelfth century and became one of the prime residences of the new kingdom. By this time, it was roughly quadrilateral in shape with the royal quarters and stables overlooking the inner court and the great hall facing the outer court lined with workshops.

Only five palace structures survive but fortunately they include the most important – the hall and chapel. A flight of fan-shaped steps in a corner of the outer court give access to the first floor ante-chamber between the great hall in one arm and the more slender royal chapel and detached octagonal turret filling the other. Externally, the buttressed elevation looks three storeyed with remodelled lights to the ground floor but the two rows of upper windows light the key first floor apartments. The dominating tower with its five lines of open windows astride the upper end of the hall, erroneously attributed to Martí I (1396–1410), was built in the later sixteenth century as part of the adjacent Governor's residence.

The royal palace has undergone numerous changes since its initial construction in the twelfth century, though evidence of this first phase can be seen in the great or Tinell Hall and the two parallel vaulted chambers below. Today, the hall and chapel are essentially fourteenth-century structures as is the featureless withdrawing chamber between them. Of course, the palace was originally more extensive. Structures have been pulled down that were built against the hall's face to the outer court,¹ while Martí I constructed a council chamber over the Tinell Hall in 1404.² The private apartments of the royal family were built against the Roman city wall lining one side of the inner court north of the hall. None of these rooms survive while the court, converted into a garden by Martí I, is now the yard of the Museu Frederic Mare.

The Tinell Hall was reconstructed between 1359 and 1362 as an audience hall for Pere IV (1336–87) by Guillem Carbonell. It was the enlargement of the count's hall with the three triple light windows in the south wall as evidence of the previous Romanesque structure. Similar windows also survive in the original wall opposite which was replaced by the present north wall built inside it in 1359. Extended by 15 feet, Pere IV's seven bay hall is 115 feet long, 59 feet wide, and 56 feet high. It is dominated by the six massive transverse stone arches of half octagonal form rising from low-set pillars. Their two lines of leaf carving are the only decoration in the hall. The lateral thrust is absorbed by heavy buttresses built against the outer walls. The arches support a low-pitched beamed roof lit by high positioned circular windows with quatrefoil lights. The fifth bay towards the upper end has a plain mural fireplace, while the double corridor on the same side of the hall is an early fifteenth-century addition by Martí I (twentieth-century rebuild).

The hall can be compared with that reconstructed for Richard II at Westminster thirty years later,

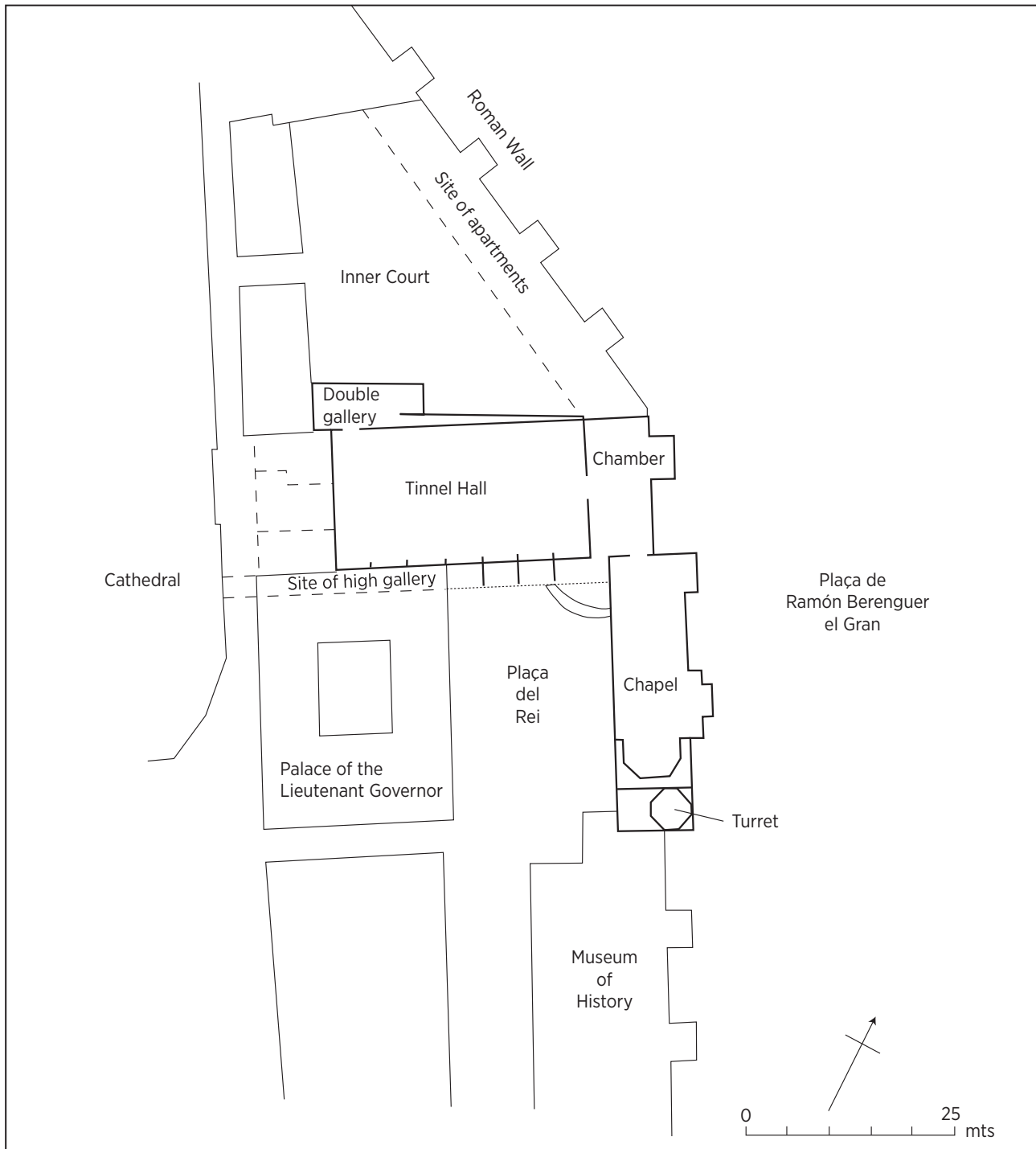


Fig. 29 Barcelona, Royal Palace: site plan

similarly determined by the previous Romanesque structure. Furthermore, the inward curvature of the late eleventh-century side walls at Westminster is paralleled with the 10 feet widening towards the west end of the near contemporary hall at Barcelona. Evidence of the early windows can be traced in both buildings, but the depressed four-centred stone arches supporting the low-pitched roof create a heavy structure compared with the Westminster hammer beam roof.



Pl. 48 Barcelona, Royal Palace: hall entry



Pl. 49 Barcelona, Royal Palace: chapel

The chapel of St Agatha, built by Jaime II (1291–1327) at the beginning of the fourteenth century, replaced a smaller Romanesque chapel on the same site. 69 feet by 33 feet, the chapel is an unaisled body of four bays built on the footings of the Roman city wall (visible from the Plaça de Ramón Berenguer el Gran). It is approached through a vaulted entry arch and terminates in a vaulted apse. The buttress-separated windows are of two lights with a quatrefoil shaped head. Slender columns rising to two-centred arches support the beamed roof with modern painted decoration. The mural pulpit is original but the upper side chapel (overhanging externally) was added by Pere IV and the baptistery at the lower end by Martí I. The balcony retains evidence of Arab influenced wall paintings but like all the other later medieval structures in the region of Catalonia, the royal palace is an entirely Gothic building with no structural evidence of Arab influence.

Notes

1. They include a high gallery built by Martí I early in the fifteenth century across the external face of the hall at the level of the circular windows and over the adjacent street to link the royal chapel with the cathedral. The door to the latter survives below two more contemporary circular windows.
2. A.A.A. Tasis, *El Palau Reial Major De Barcelona* (1979) 50–66.

PALMA, ALMUDAINA PALACE AND BELLVER CASTLE

After conquering Majorca in 1279, Jaime II of Aragon modified the earlier alcázar fortress at Palma (curtain wall with square towers) with a line of south-facing apartments overlooking the sea, separately divided into those for the king and queen. More important than the changes to the Almudaina Palace was Jaime's speedy development of Bellver Castle (1309–14), made up of a circular structure, courtyard-lined with spacious galleries opening into the royal apartments and an independent four-storied machicolated keep.

Less than three miles apart, Almudaina and Bellver form an instructive contrast between two contemporary royal structures. They reflect two primary faces of fourteenth century secular architecture. Bellver displays a forceful military capability commanding the town and port of Palma. In addition, it is of a unified and aesthetically pleasing design – one of the most satisfactory in medieval military architecture. A building of cylindrical symmetry, even to the radially shaped royal apartments, the advancement of this form within a generation can be seen by comparing Bellver with the less sophisticated towered court and independent keep at the slightly earlier castle built for Edward I at Flint in North Wales (1277–86).¹ But Bellver also vies with the hill-top residence of c.1240 for Frederick II at Castel del Monte, Italy, in hiding an internal elegance behind a formidable exterior. There the dominating character is octagonal rather than circular but the internal decoration is particularly elegant and expensive, while the sanitary arrangements are luxurious. All three castles also share the benefit of being built within a relatively short time and therefore display a united and single phase plan.

The Majorcan branch of the Aragonese family enjoyed a reputation for stylish living and chivalrous attainments and these are reflected in the design of Bellver. It is also possible that the form and plan of Jaime's castle influenced that of Queenborough Castle built for Edward III between 1361 and c.1372 overlooking the Thames estuary to help prevent an anticipated French invasion. It similarly combined military



Pl. 50 Bellver Castle

Pl. 51 Almudaina
Palace

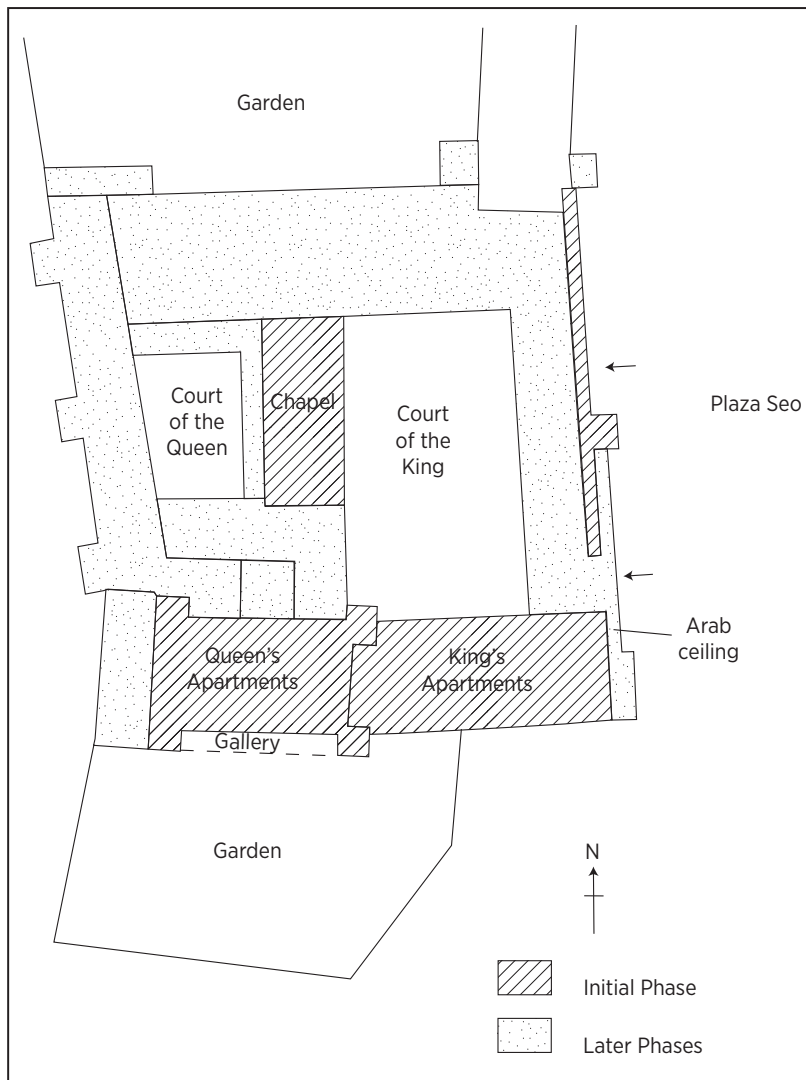


Fig. 30 Almodaina Palace: site plan

and residential requirements in a cylindrical ensemble and proved popular with Edward III during the final years of his reign.

Though the position of the Almodaina Palace was determined by the earlier alcázar, the large windows and open galleries projecting from its outer face proclaim a far greater openness than at Bellver. The palace's earlier towered form cannot be ignored and it was heightened by the machicolated parapet over the royal apartments, but the residence displayed a far more domestic character than the castle. It was developed round two courts, separated by the chapel. The royal apartments were on the sea-facing side of one room thickness. Five vaulted rooms made up the line of 'King's' apartments – two rooms on either side of the entry hall. On one side is a kitchen and entertaining room and on the other is a throne room and retiring room. They were all refurnished for General Franco in 1967–69. Above are a similar line of apartments. However, apart from the core of the 'Queen's' apartments and the

chapel, the remainder of the palace is the work of later periods in a building still in multi-purpose use.

In addition to the Palace, Jaime initiated the construction of the cathedral next door to his residence to emphasise a duality that had long co-existed at Barcelona. The proximity of these two buildings underlined the closeness of ecclesiastical power and patronage to the socio-political authority of the crown in Jaime's new kingdom of Majorca.

Notes

1. The ground floor doorways at Bellver have shouldered lintels as in several of Edward I's near contemporary castles in North Wales.

PERPIGNAN PALACE

The short-lived kingdom of Majorca was established in 1276, three years after Jaime I (1213–76) had announced that he was going to partition his kingdom of Aragon so that his two sons could hold their own domain. Pedro II inherited Catalonia, Valencia, and Aragon, whilst his younger brother Jaime II acquired Roussillon, the Cerdagne or Pyrenean region, the lordship of Montpellier, and the Balearic Islands. Jaime II chose Perpignan as the capital of his new kingdom which only lasted for seventy-three years, though leaving substantial evidence of its prosperity during the kingdom's existence. Work on the new palace overlooking Perpignan was initiated by Jaime in 1276 with some of the buildings capable of occupation within seven years. However, his early years were fraught with difficulty owing to the antagonism between the two brothers after Jaime had sought assistance from the king of France.

Under Jaime II (1276–1311) and then Sancho (1311–24), the town of Perpignan prospered and doubled its population of 12,000 inhabitants. It also became a valuable port so that the kingdom proved a wealthy one under the regency of Felipe of Majorca (1324–29) and Jaime III (1329–49). Jaime died in battle in 1349 as a consequence of his long-running dispute with Pedro IV of Aragon (1336–87). Except for Montpellier which was immediately sold to the king of France for 120,000 ecus, the two kingdoms were reunited into the principedom of Catalonia, a federation under the king of Aragon. The crown continued to occupy the palace at Perpignan and occasionally stayed there as it continued to be the centre of government, secondary only to Barcelona.

Louis XI of France seized Roussillon and Perpignan in 1462 and held the latter until 1493 when the last royal visit took place prior to the return of the region to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. Roussillon and the Cerdagne were united under the French crown in 1659.

Construction

This palace of the kings of Majorca was more a prime royal residence than a seat of government. Its layout is relatively simple. A square entry tower rises above a stark frontage that opens into the central quadrangular court with two storeyed ranges round all four sides. The principal apartments were at first floor level above ground floor staff and service rooms. Two halls filled the side ranges, with the apartments used by the king and queen opposite the entrance, separated by an all-dominating two storeyed chapel reflecting the form of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris.

The palace was developed in three phases. The basic rectangular plan was laid out during the first phase from 1276 to 1285 with only the entrance tower projecting from the enclosing walls. The entry range, the audience hall and the opposite north range followed until work ceased with Jaime's defeat by his brother who did not restore the estates to him until 1295. The second phase encompassed the royal suites and the two chapels with their consecration in 1309 followed by site completion two years later. The third phase was undertaken by Pedro IV of Aragon during the third quarter of the fourteenth century. He added the angle turrets and those in the middle of the north and south sides. He was also responsible for remodelling the circulation galleries with gothic arcading at both levels, initially on the chapel side (1356) and subsequently above the entry (1368).¹

The palace was constructed of rubble walling of river stones set in horizontal lines, and was formerly lime coated. Internally, dressed stone was used, enhanced with red, blue, and white veined marble. While the walls are covered with masons' marks, the principal master masons were Ramón of Pau and his successor Pons Descoyl who were kept busy in Perpignan town as well as in the Balearic Islands.

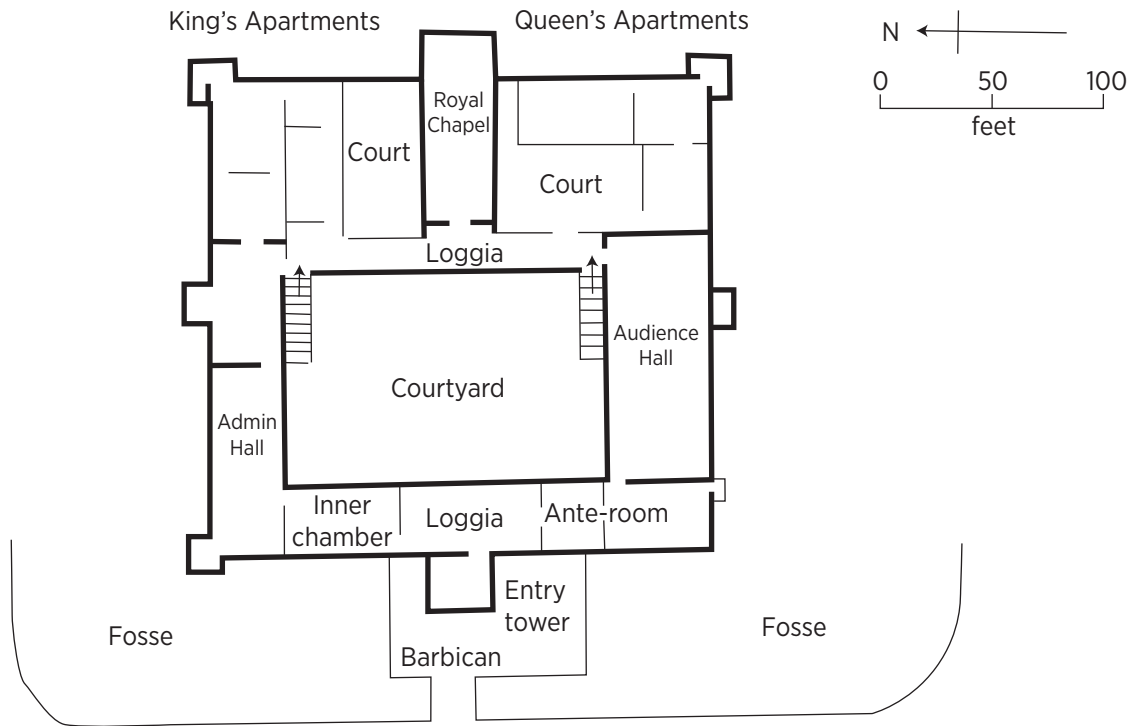


Fig. 31 Perpignan Palace: first floor plan

Description

The four-storey *Entry Tower* is built of dressed stone to contrast with the flanking rubble-built walls. It is a commanding but plain structure, now lacking any embattled parapet or machicolations. The approach was subsequently defended by a brick barbican with a crenellated head.

In contrast with many palaces, the ground floor apartments round the *Central Courtyard* were nearly as tall as the royal apartments above them. The entry and opposing ranges were prefaced by open arcaded walks at both levels. The ground floor arcade is divided by square chamfered columns supporting semi-circular heads while the upper arcade is separated by multi-moulded pillars and capitals supporting two-centred heads emphasising the gothic character of the palace. This fusion of styles is repeated elsewhere making it a dominating characteristic of the palace. The royal loggia has recently been restored with its painted joists of birds, flowers, and fantastic animals. The roof line throughout the palace has lost its embattled parapet which makes it look less aggressive while the pitched roofs of the ranges were never replaced with artillery platforms.

An extended open stair (rebuilt) on the south side of the courtyard was the approach to the *Audience Hall* with an entry door that retains its original multiple head. 105 feet by 40 feet and 45 feet high, this apartment is by far the most imposing in the palace. It is surprisingly well lit considering it has only four windows, two in each side with broad two-centred heads. All windows retain their stone seats but the window tracery has been replaced by modern frames. The end wall is filled with triple fireplaces next to the stair leading to the ground floor kitchen below.² The roof is divided into five bays spanned by stone arches. This hall was used for audiences, banquets, and royal councils with the walls hung with tapestries.



Pl. 52 Perpignan Palace: entry approach



Pl. 53 Perpignan Palace: audience hall



Pl. 54 Perpignan Palace: chapel loggia and entry

A door at the side of the fireplace opened into a suite of greater privacy lining the entry side. The two rooms are separated by an arcaded loggia giving access to the entry tower.³ The ante-room immediately to the rear of the hall dais has been badly treated so that its plaster-stripped wall reveals several building phases. In contrast, the inner chamber (the so-called 'dining room') is the best preserved in the palace. The several two light windows with semi-circular heads have retained their inner mouldings with leaf-carved bases under a four-centred inner arch. The room also retains evidence of late medieval plaster painted walls.

A simple entry from the chapel loggia opens into a small court that gave privacy to the *Queen's Apartments*. This suite of three rooms lines two sides of the court with staff rooms below. Prefaced by a loggia of four arcaded bays with original beamed ceiling, the much-abused outer and both inner rooms retain few early features except for two light windows with semi-circular heads, separated by columns with carved capitals.

An internal court separates the *King's Apartments* from the chapels. They are more extensive than those of the queen. The approach is by a semi-circular headed doorway enhanced by three slender columns of contrasting marble opening from the loggia. It contrasts with the gothic style entry to the audience hall. Damage by Louis XI's troops when they attacked the palace and continuous military use thereafter have not only meant that this suite of rooms are now characterless, but inserted partition walls and forced openings have completely destroyed

the original plan. Two or three windows retain their early fourteenth century form but otherwise, the rooms are best used for exhibitions.

The two storeyed *Chapels* that dominate the palace were clearly its key structure with the upper chapel used by the royal family. It has a façade of white and red marble embellished with a semi-circular portal of Moorish character with a lesser outer and three inner columns with animal capitals.⁴ It is surmounted by a tower with a bellcote emphasising its power and significance. The chapel consists of two vaulted bays and a vaulted apse that is a rectangular projection externally. Each bay is windowed but the central one of the apse is only illuminated by an elongated slit for security reasons and flanked by windows of blind tracery. The plasterwork between the vault ribs is painted with saints and angels. A frieze inspired by Arab calligraphy runs above the false painted tapestries. The lower chapel repeats the two bay nave and apse but with a far more modest entry (remade). Nevertheless, with its rib vaulting, decorative corbels, extensive fenestration, and Greek key patterned frieze, the lower chapel is far less damaged than might be expected.

Assessment

This Aragonese palace was built on a rocky promontory overlooking the town of Perpignan but its defences were limited. It was enclosed by a dry moat and the entry was drawbridge and portcullis protected. The walls have lost their embattled parapets and most of their loopholes⁵ but the added corner and mid-towers were modest projections – turrets rather than towers. But though the residence was appropriately protected, it was principally a sumptuous palace for the newly ennobled royal family, surrounded by gardens and meadows with woods more distant suitable for hunting.

Five hundred years of military occupation have inevitably scarred the building, but its overall plan is clear even if it has lost most of its detailing except in the chapels. The palace was not a complex residence. It displayed a simple plan with all the essentials for royal occupation. The ground floor rooms were for staff and services. The rooms above included separate suites for the king and queen and the royal chapel in a symmetrical layout emphasised by the twin flights of courtyard stairs. The elegant circulation galleries added to the palace's sunny character as did the inclusion of veined marble decoration. The palace at Perpignan is a residence that anticipated untroubled times. It stands as an outlier of Catalan civilisation in southern France.

The palace was a harmonious mixture of styles. Catalan Gothic was in the ascendant, though it was subject to Moorish touches. The line of two-centred stone arches supporting the hall roof reflects the same form as in the royal chapel at Barcelona. The arcaded galleries recall the similar feature at Bellver Castle and the Almudaina Palace in Majorca as do the twin round-headed windows. On the other hand, the traceried heads of the chapel windows are almost identical with those of c.1270 in the cathedral apse at Carcassonne. Apart from the audience hall, all rooms in the palace have beamed ceilings and none of them have fireplaces, though the triple survival in the audience hall is an extremely early example of a form popular in residences of the highest social status during the later fourteenth century.

Notes

1. In 1475, Louis XI initiated the artillery defences abutting the circuit of the medieval walls. They were extended by Philip II of Spain in 1550–77 followed by a second ring of fortifications by Vauban for Louis XIV. The barrack blocks were added to the citadel during the eighteenth century and dominated the medieval palace until it was vacated militarily in 1958.
2. The kitchen was part of the pillared hall for services that filled the length of this range.

3. It is considered that these rooms were initially occupied by the crown before the construction of the separate royal suites.
4. A similar entry was made in the chapel of the Almudaina Palace in Palma.
5. They survive for instance, in the lower chapel vestry, the entry tower, and the king's apartments.

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COLLIOURE CASTLE

During the short-lived rule of the kings of Majorca, the castle at Collioure was developed as their summer retreat, twenty miles south-east of Perpignan. It was a modest residence, subsequently swamped by artillery defences added in the early sixteenth century and extended further in the eighteenth century. In this respect, it mirrored similar work at Perpignan Palace.

This Aragonese Castle was developed on a rocky coastal promontory separating the two small bays that are at the heart of the picturesque fishing village of Collioure, formerly the leading trading port for medieval Roussillon. The keep stands at the head of the promontory overlooking a small courtyard with its sides flanked by the residential range with end tower and chapel respectively. The courtyard is now enclosed with a plain replacement wall. The post-medieval expansion increased the size of the site nearly tenfold obliterating any outer courtyard while military occupation only ceased in the mid-twentieth century.

The medieval castle fills little more than the north-east angle of the sixteenth-century parade ground. The small rectangular *keep* is rubble-built with dressed quoins. Standing five storeys high, it consists of a single room on each floor, 22 feet by 16 feet internally. The basement and ground floor are crudely vaulted, lit by window slits. The three upper floors were residential with two or three twin lights with semi-circular heads, column-separated

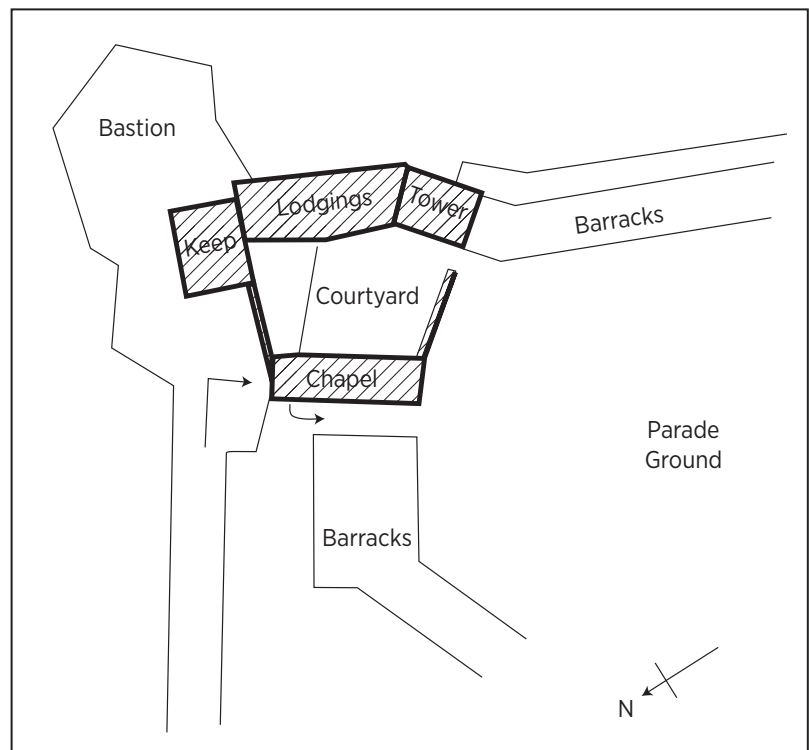


Fig. 32 Collioure Castle: site plan



Pl. 55 Collioure Castle

with decorative capitals. The rooms had joisted ceilings and plastered walls but no fireplaces. The head of the keep now lacks its embattled parapet.

The east range holds the *principal apartments*, now two but formerly three storeyed, terminating in the second tower at right angles to the range. The larger ground floor was the kitchen (well and drain) with adjacent services. The vaulted single room above, 60 feet by 20 feet, is the only quality room in the castle. It was divided into three quadripartite bays with the ribs supported on moulded corbels. The courtyard-facing windows have been heavily altered but the three more original sea-facing windows were seat provided. There was a similar sized chamber above but it has been pulled down and replaced by a terrace. The two rooms in the end tower may have served as ante-chambers to the two principal royal apartments.

The *chapel* retains three tall single lights but is otherwise characterless, externally and internally, making it suitable for exhibitions. The site was initially developed by Alfonso II of Aragon in 1172 with the kings of Majorca losing it to Pere IV of Aragon in 1344. The keep has been attributed to the thirteenth century and though the principal residential chamber was mentioned in 1207, the present room was vaulted by Pere IV in about 1350. There is nothing particularly 'royal' about this castle. It is a modest residence chosen for its location and could only have supported a relatively small household of attendants. It helps to redress the view that all monarchs continuously lived in imposing castles and palaces. Apart from its twin-light windows, the castle is also less obviously of Catalan origin than Perpignan Palace.

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OLITE CASTLE

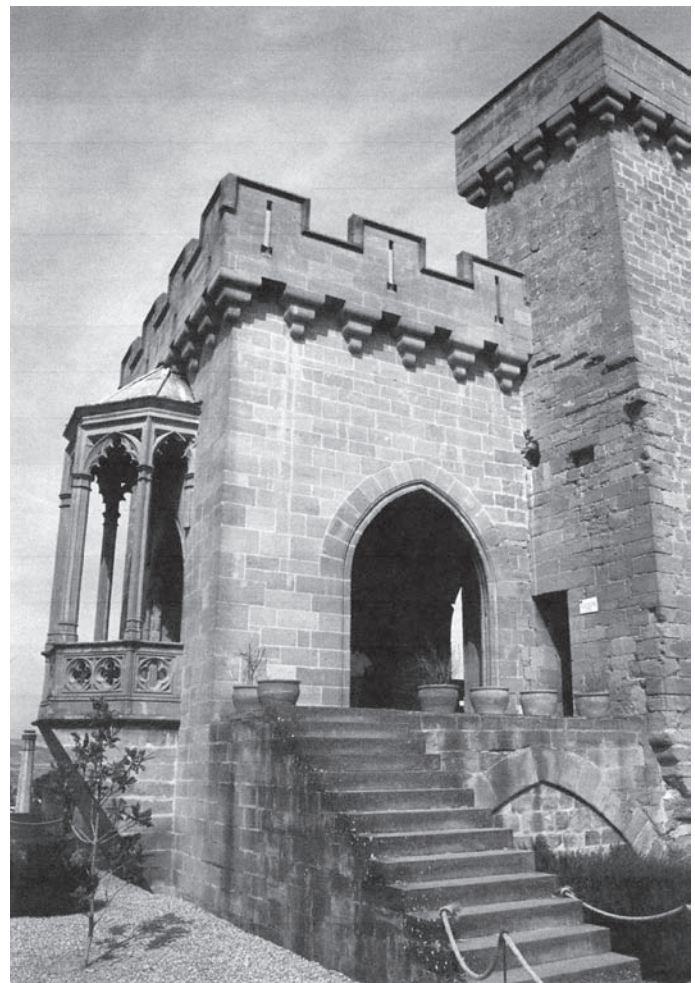
Olite Castle was the finest residence of the kings of Navarre and acquired a reputation for opulence. A fifteenth century German traveller wrote 'No one could either describe or even imagine how magnificent and sumptuous this palace is'.¹ It is equally striking today with an almost too-good-to-be-true appearance which proves particularly apposite.

The French influence that began in Navarre in 1234 continued with the house of Evreux through the marriage of Philip of Evreux to Juana II of Navarre (1328–49). He was succeeded by Carlos II (1349–87, Charles the Bad) and his grandson Carlos III (1387–1425) on whose death, the line ceased. It was this dynasty that was responsible for the castle at Olite, destroying any earlier evidence on the site. The present structure is divided into two parts – the Old Castle and the New Castle – though there was only a generation between them.

Carlos II was responsible for the 'Old' Castle, the rectangular courtyard block at the western end of the site. This has been drastically altered internally and has been used since 1961 as a *parador* (palace-hotel).

Carlos III was responsible for the major development of the site between 1399 and 1422. The accounts for this project survive and show that it cost over 70,000 *libras* and was carried out by over 100 stonemasons, 150 carpenters and 50 painters.² Carlos' development did not follow an orthodox plan but developed into a quirky residence that followed the shape of the elongated site, punctuated by towers of considerable decorative fancy. His work was developed round two orthodox structures – the keep and the royal chapel.

The keep is a miniature version of that of the Alcázar at Segovia with the embattled parapet interrupted by bartisans at the corners. The royal chapel of Santa Maria del Real is prefaced by an attractive cloister round three sides of the garth with the fourth side filled by the chapel's entry façade. This is of marked French influence with a spectacularly decorated doorway with the seven columns on either side supporting bands illustrating the life of the Virgin. It is flanked by an elevated line of sculpture-filled niches depicting the apostles. Among the sculptors was the Frenchman Janin Lome de Tournai who was also responsible for the sumptuous tomb of Carlos III and his queen in Pamplona cathedral.



Pl. 56 Olite Castle

The castle stands on flat ground but it is extremely irregular in plan and in elevation. It was developed into several landscaped terraces over vaulted undercrofts, surmounted by rooms or galleries with traceried windows. Many of the fifteen or so towers were of capricious form, crowned by machicolated and embattled parapets. The Tower of the Four Winds (Torre de los Cuatro Vientos) is embellished with a projecting oriel in each face. The Tower of the Three Crowns (Torre de las Tres Coronas) is surmounted by three stages of diminishing scale, crowned by a French style slate-covered conical roof.

The architecture of Olite Castle reflects Carlos' French origins while the interior reflected the more localised *Mudéjar* influence of Moorish craftsmen from Tudela. The walls were covered with tiles and stucco work and the ceilings were either coffered or decorated with carved gilt and polychromed wood. The aforementioned German traveller noted that he had never seen 'a palace with so many golden rooms' i.e. gilt-coffered ceilings. The architectural individuality and internal decoration of Olite reflected the lavishness of Carlos' court as well as the eclecticism of its monarch.

Carlos III was a genial and hard-working ruler. He frequently travelled to France, hoping to see Charles VI during one of his lucid periods to negotiate the return of the lands confiscated from his father which he achieved in 1404. Carlos was committed to Navarre so that his court at Olite compared with those of the French royal families at Paris, Bourges, and Dijon. However, after Carlos' death, Olite declined in standing. It became the prison of Juan II's son, the prince of Viana, who suffered persecution at the hands of his father. After Navarre's unification with Castile, there was little use for the castle which suffered from neglect, pillage, and fire. It was blown up during the War in Independence (1808–14) to prevent French occupation so that the castle was little more than a ruin for well over a century.

Like the contemporary style of International Gothic, the development of Olite Castle is a reflection of the eclecticism that marks the years round 1400. Carlos employed French, Spanish, and *Mudéjar* craftsmen though apart from the church, this can only be hinted at in its present incarnation. Like Pierrefonds, Olite Castle was similarly varied in plan and elevation with an element of the picturesque that also marks Saumur and other contemporary French castles. But Olite is also like Pierrefonds in respect of its radical rebuilding, this time from the 1920s rather than the late 1850s. What the visitor sees today is a similarly free interpretation by José Yáñez Larrosa rather than a close restoration of a residence that was externally formidable but internally lavish – architecturally idiosyncratic but magnificently furnished.

Notes

1. L.M. y Tejada (1999) 232.
2. Ibid., 240.

Bibliography

L.M. y Tejada, *Medieval Castles of Spain* (1999) 232–47

SINTRA PALACE

The irregular plan of the royal palace of Sintra in Portugal is a reflection of the work of many periods but it was primarily developed by two monarchs during the late fourteenth and early sixteenth century respectively. It began as Moorish alcázar that was enlarged by João I (1385–1433) who received an embassy from Burgundy at this palace in 1429 successfully seeking the hand of Isabella as the third wife of Philip the Good. Jan van Eyck was among the courtiers so that he could paint a portrait of the prospective bride. Manuel I (1495–1521) substantially extended the palace and added considerable internal decoration including several coffered ceilings. Further work by their successors has tended to subsume the earlier layout and character under their alterations and additions. Consequently, Sintra Palace lacks the clarity and vigour of contemporary Spanish palaces of similar Moorish character.

The heart of João's work is a group of apartments that display a rare example of *Mudéjar* style in Portugal. Entry is through a two storeyed block marked by four ground floor ogival arches with five two-light windows above in Gothic-Moorish style. These light the first floor Room of the Swans, the largest apartment in the palace and much altered by Manuel I. Passing through the central terrace, the Room of the Arabs forms the core of the palace with fifteenth century documentation showing that it was already in existence by the time of João I. He inserted the five ogival doorways, the green, blue, and white tiles, and possibly the marble fountain, though this and the polychrome paving is more usually attributed to Manuel I at the time that he inserted the elegant window. The ceramic frieze of flowers and wheat ears is also sixteenth century.

The royal chapel with its coffered ceiling is floored with the original geometric designed Arab tiles in several colours. The walls were frescoed in the fifteenth century with a repeat motif of birds. They were heavily restored in 1939. The final key apartment of João's palace is the kitchen. Lined with plain tiles, it is notable for its two conical chimneys thrusting so high above the roofs that they dominate the palace skyline from every viewpoint.

Architectural interest at Sintra is stimulated by contemporary developments at Batalha Abbey. Conceived as a symbol of national independence after victory over Castile at the battle of Aljubarrota nearby, its architecture deliberately eschewed Spanish influence. A modest grandeur was chosen by the Portuguese master Afonso Domingues in 1388 following the precedent of the Cistercian abbey at Alcobaça. Domingues laid down the plan and form of the choir, nave, royal cloister and its associated dependencies. Domingues was also responsible for building much of the abbey church but after his death in 1402, a new master Huguete or Ouguete (1402–38), a foreigner was responsible for a more decorative spirit that owed a great deal to the English Perpendicular style. This was quite probably a consequence of João's marriage. English support and success on the battlefield in 1385 had been cemented by the alliance with England (Treaty of Windsor) and the associated marriage in 1386 between João and Philippa of Lancaster, the eldest daughter of John of Gaunt. This probable English master mason or at least one with close English connections not only heightened Domingues' church to complete its vault but was responsible for the blind arcading of the west front, the sculptured entry door, the pierced balustrades, the vaults of the royal cloister,¹ and the elaborate stellar vault of the chapter house. Huguete's most important and striking work was the founders' chapel in the form of an octagon within a square² with the tomb of João and his wife under a fine stellar vault. Brilliantly lit, this work was executed with the utmost delicacy. During the short reign of King Duarte (1433–38), Huguete also initiated the massive octagonal rotunda of still incomplete chapels beyond the choir. Intended as a

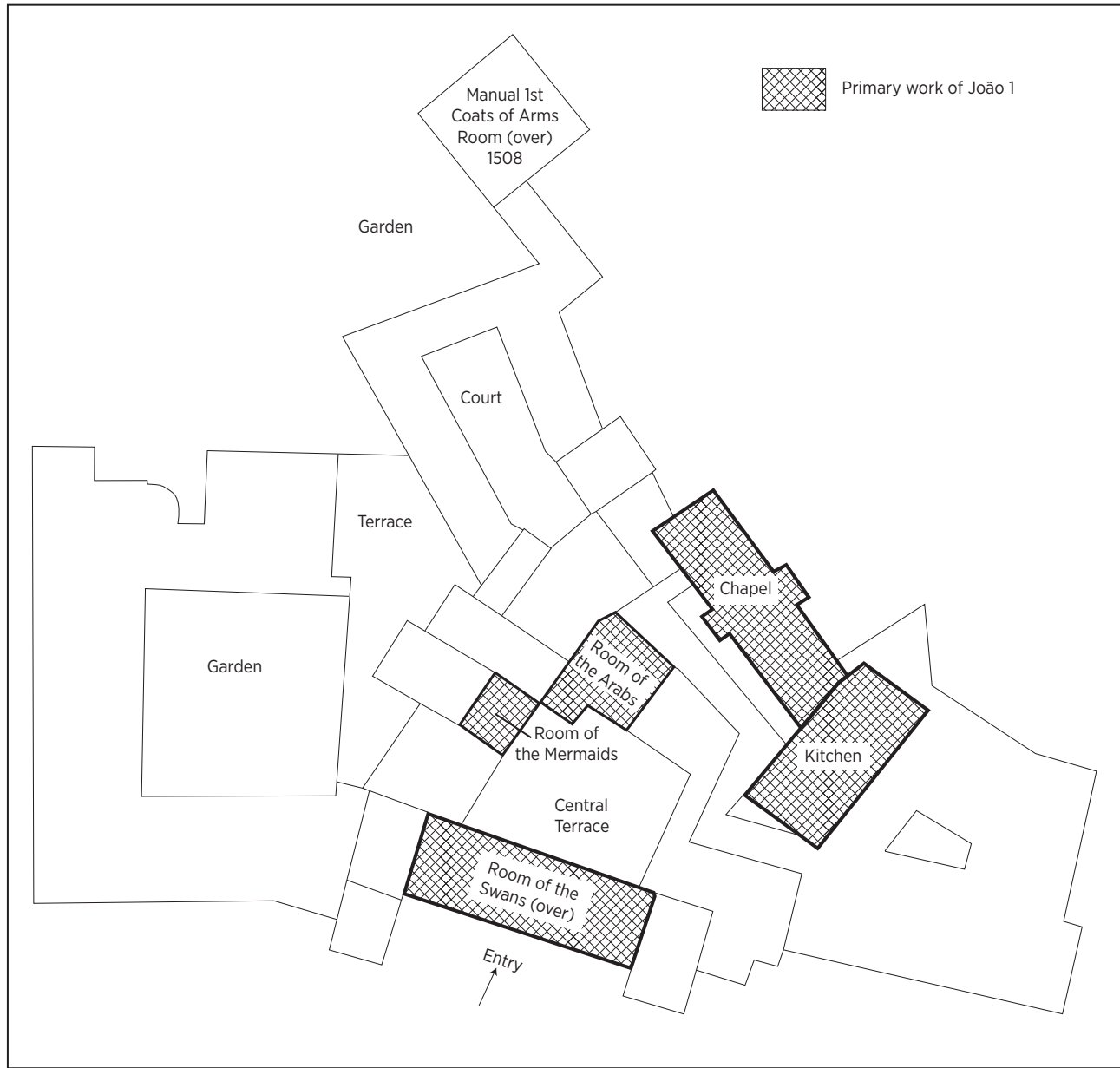


Fig. 33 Sintra Palace: site plan

mausoleum for Duarte I and his family, most of the existing work was undertaken about fifty years later in the complex Manueline style until it was abandoned in 1533.

The work of these two masters at Batalha reflected the simplicity of the early Gothic style and its more exuberant development of English character. The latter was far more in tune with contemporary work in France as well as England, but only the former extended as far as Sintra Palace. The combination of the modest Gothic form with Moorish culture created a far less decorative style than practised at Zaragoza, or Seville.

New wings were added to Sintra Palace in 1508–19 by Manuel I in the highly exotic Portuguese style associated with his name. Much of his work remains, particularly the west wing with its generously

windowed Room of Coats of Arms. Three drawings of the palace by Duarte d'Armas in his *Book of the Fortresses* (1507) show the palace's irregular and multi-roofed form at that time. The palace was used by later monarchs as a summer residence throughout the seventeenth and to a lesser extent during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries until royal vacation in 1910. Their additions and furnishings have added to this residence's eclectic character.

Notes

1. The complex window tracery of the royal cloister was an insertion by the Frenchman, Diogo Boytac, in c.1500.
2. The octagonal chapter house within a square cloister at Old St Paul's, London may have been a precedent for this striking chapel. J. Harvey, *The Gothic World* (1950). The foundations at Old St Paul's were marked out in 2008.

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL CONSEQUENCES

By the fourteenth century, the Holy Roman Empire was a loosely bound federation of political units that extended from the North and Baltic Seas to Italy and the Adriatic Sea, bounded to the west by France and to the east by Poland and Hungary. They owed their allegiance to a line of weak rulers, sometimes given the title of Emperor. The units ranged in size from a substantial kingdom such as Bohemia, to duchies, counties, and marquisates. It included many 'imperial' cities, archbishoprics, and federations including the Hanseatic League and the Swiss Confederation. The Empire not only lacked a unified identity but any source of revenue. It therefore lacked power and meaningful authority. The rulers were so weak that each territorial unit essentially followed its own preferences. However, the 'Empire' extended across much of Europe and though it had become an anachronism, its rulers still held a position of standing and authority.

The involvement of the Empire and its rulers in the Hundred Years War was essentially limited to its opening stages. Louis of Bavaria (1314–47) had spent most of his life asserting his imperial rights over the papacy in which he had been successful. In 1337, he had made an alliance with Edward III to strengthen his hand against the pro-French pope, with Edward promising to pay him seven years of subsidies. This agreement was confirmed by Edward's visit to Koblenz. Louis subsequently wavered in his support when the money failed to be delivered, but his son stood with Edward in his invasion of northern France in 1339. After the battle of Sluys, the emperor transferred his support to France, called off his alliance with England but lost prestige as a consequence.

Louis was succeeded by a member of the house of Luxembourg which had grown during the fourteenth century from a minor family on the German-French border to a powerful dynasty capable of ruling this extensive disparate group of states. The blind John of Luxembourg, also king of Bohemia, was killed at Crécy and succeeded by his son, Charles who had also been wounded on the battlefield. Charles succeeded Louis of Bavaria as imperial ruler in the following year. Charles IV of Bohemia (1346–78) had benefitted from a rich education in France and diplomatic experience in administering his father's estates in northern Italy before taking control of Bohemia in 1333 on behalf of his father. King John was essentially an absent monarch who had used Bohemia as a source for financing his wars mainly within the Empire. In contrast, Charles who had been born in Prague, was markedly patriotic and keen to develop the economy and political significance of Bohemia. The Holy Roman Empire had no permanent capital for its principal residence and administrative centre for it changed with each new

dynasty. Charles was therefore determined that Prague should fulfil his vision as the new heart of his empire, capable of rivalling Paris and Rome.

The development of Prague was initiated in the 1330s with the restoration of the ruined castle, followed by the foundation of the cathedral (1344). But Charles' vision also encompassed a setting that befitted the city's new role. To this end, he established a university modelled on those at Paris and Bologna (1348), initiated an ambitious town planning project, the walled New Town of Prague (1348), and linked the old and new towns with the ceremonial Charles Bridge across the river Vltava (1357–1400). When Charles took up the imperial crown in 1347, Bohemia became the most important of the territories held by the emperor, confirmed by his crowning at Aachen in 1349, and consolidated by Charles' coronation in Rome in 1355. At the same time, Prague had become the political centre of the empire with the Gothic style used in a succession of building programmes as an affirmation that the Luxembourg dynasty was leading an innovative cultural movement within the empire.

As an active participant in European politics, Charles preferred to use spiritual persuasion and diplomatic skills rather than military force. Much of his reign was therefore spent in extended journeys to the many parts of his transalpine empire, purposefully consolidating his supreme position, politically and economically, though he was ever the political pragmatist. Charles was far more successful than any other emperor of the later middle ages but the authority he built was swiftly dissipated by his hedonistic son, Wenceslas IV.

Charles' plans for developing Prague as the heart of imperial government and the seat of his dynasty were focused on St Vitus cathedral and the castles at Prague and Karlstein. The many buildings that constitute Prague Castle make it comparable to the contemporary palace at Avignon with the cathedral within the castle site influenced by the French *rayonnant* style. Karlstein Castle was the well-protected shrine that held the imperial regalia and religious relics that were the symbols of Charles' divine legitimacy. These are only three highlights of that fertile explosion of concepts and forms between 1360 and 1420 that put Bohemia on the European cultural stage. Nourished by local traditional practices, now revitalised and stimulated by contact with other cultural centres in Europe, Bohemia experienced a golden age in art and architecture that spread beyond the boundaries of the country.

Initially, the emperor was Francophile in outlook but this changed during the 1370s with the Papal Great Schism.¹ After an abortive imperial state visit to Paris in 1374, a marriage alliance was proposed between the emperor's daughter Anne and the young Richard II with the English hoping to secure a powerful ally against the French, together with a substantial dowry. The marriage brought neither but it proved a quietly happy one for nearly thirteen years until Anne's death in 1394. It is possible that Richard II was influenced by the court of his father-in-law at Prague. During Richard's reign, there is a greater emphasis than previously on courtly manners, ceremony, and the patronage of the arts, particularly in painting. This has been attributed to Charles IV's court.² However, it is arguable that the royal court of Paris was of more immediate influence than the distant one of Bohemia.³

Wenceslas IV (1378–1419) was temperamental and an alcoholic. He was never crowned Holy Roman Emperor, avoided Prague and Karlstein castles⁴ and was unable to control the political and religious unrest that marked his reign. Not surprisingly, Prague fell away as the political centre of the empire with its authority too weak to prevent the feuds of rival states. As with Richard II a few months earlier, the grievances against Wenceslas led to his deposition (though not his death) in 1400 and the election of an anti-king. Wenceslas' rule witnessed the continuation of the country's artistic output until the accession of Sigismund (1419–37), the last Luxembourg emperor following Wenceslas' death in 1419. Two years previously, Sigismund, in effect already Holy Roman Emperor, was sufficiently a papal reformer to

force the hands of the respective supporters of the tripartite papal schism to consider a single pontiff. In 1416, Sigismund visited Paris where he was coolly received and then London where the warmth towards him was far greater. Sigismund promised to support Henry V who in turn, helped to facilitate the election in 1417 that brought unity to the church under a single head.⁵ However, Henry derived no military benefit from this alliance so that the Empire was of little consequence in the problems of his successors.⁶

Notes

1. The contemporary wall paintings in the Holy Cross Chapel of Karlstein Castle include King Arthur and other English rulers.
2. B. Matthews, *The Court of Richard II* (1968).
3. N. Saul, *Richard II* (1997) 345–58. B.D. Boehm and J. Fajt, *Prague, The Crown of Bohemia: 1347–1437* (2005), 93, are less certain of Bohemian influence at the English Court.
4. He preferred Točnik Castle where he rebuilt the great hall. It was the largest in a royal castle and was painted with images of his ancestors. Wenceslas also rebuilt Křivoklát and Kunratices castles, both not far from Prague.
5. C. Allmand, *Henry V* (1992), 252–53.
6. Little interested in either Bohemian politics or culture, Sigismund's imperial rule – often from Buda in Hungary and Krakow in Poland – did nothing to quell the many religious and political conflicts that beset his troubled eighteen-year-rule to 1437. His attempt to involve himself in French and Burgundian affairs only encouraged Philip the Good of Burgundy to annex some of the imperial fiefs adjoining Flanders including Holland (1425–28), Brabant (1430), Hainault (1433) and Luxembourg (1443).

PRAGUE CASTLE

Prague Castle, bestriding the hilltop west of the river Vltava, dominates the city. The site has been continuously occupied since the ninth century and was given towered stone fortifications in the mid-twelfth century. The castle fell into decay during the first third of the fourteenth century to the extent that in his autobiography, Charles IV tells that when he arrived in Prague in 1333, he found the castle totally dilapidated. He rebuilt the royal residence before initiating the building of the Gothic cathedral opposite as a dynastic mausoleum.

Under Wenceslas (1378–1419) work continued on the cathedral and palace but at a slower pace which ceased with the king's death and the outbreak of the Hussite Wars (1420–34). For fifty years, the court preferred to stay in Prague's Old Town but King Vladislav II Jagiello (1471–1516) resumed residence in the castle for security reasons.

Since its inception, Prague Castle has been the national centre for both church and state for it not only holds the royal cathedral and palace but has expanded to become a miniature town rising above the city below. Today, most of the secular buildings are of sixteenth to eighteenth century Habsburg character, ranging in use from government offices to museums and picture galleries, flanked on three sides by terraced gardens. Nevertheless, this castle still holds the country's political and cultural heart, spanning catastrophe and triumph throughout its history that extends to the present day.



Pl. 57 Prague Castle and Cathedral

St Vitus' Cathedral

The foundation stone of the cathedral was laid in 1344, initiated by the heir to the throne two years before he became Charles IV. He commissioned the Frenchman Matthias of Arras to undertake the work which was possibly influenced by Narbonne Cathedral¹ as Matthias had come to Prague from the papal court at Avignon in 1342. The cathedral expressed Charles' preference for the art of western Europe as an aesthetic standard but only the eight polygonal radiating chapels and the lower part of the ambulatory had been completed before Matthias' death in 1352. The 23-year-old mason, Peter Parler from Gmünd in Swabia (south-west Germany) was summoned to continue the structure. In contrast to Matthias' austere restraint, Parler's work was in a much more dynamic and inventive style influenced by Rhenish rayonnant architecture in his development of the south transept and frontage (1371), the adjacent St Wenceslas Chapel (1367), and the body of the choir with its unifying net vault (1385). Parler (d.1399) was in charge of the lodge at Prague Castle for nearly fifty years and it was under his creative personality that the richly decorative Gothic form encompassing tracery, vaulting and sculpture spread far beyond Prague and the borders of Bohemia. But apart from the Bell Tower (1406), the cathedral remained half-built until the mid-nineteenth century. It took a further century to complete.

The chapel of St Wenceslas by the south door warrants close attention, particularly if public access to the Holy Rood Chapel at Karlstein Castle has proved difficult. St Wenceslas' chapel was built by Parler between 1358 and 1367 on top of the grave of the country's patron saint 'King' Wenceslas (d.929 or 935). Charles IV planned that the coronation insignia, housed at Karlstein Castle should be brought as close as possible to the bones of the nation's patron saint. As at Karlstein the gilded walls of this Gothic casket were lined with 1,345 precious stones enclosing paintings of the Passion and members of the royal family. This work of 1372–78 is supplemented by a gilded tower-like tabernacle of the same period.² The chamber above (permanently closed) holds the Bohemian crown jewels including the gold and bejewelled crown of St Wenceslas made for Charles IV in 1346.

The Royal Palace

The Royal Palace lies immediately south of the cathedral, a tiered range of medieval apartments that now stand empty so that interest essentially lies in the development of their Gothic vaulted ceilings. The Romanesque palace of Sobeslav (1125–40) has been reduced to foundation level³ in cellars supporting Charles IV's chambers above. Much of this reconstruction of the palace has disappeared under later work leaving more documentary than material evidence. The rebuilding of the palace had to include accommodation for the court as well as the royal household so that the two or three surviving rooms are only a fragment of the rebuilt palace.

The principal survivor, now lacking its floor and with later windows, has simple quadripartite vaulting. The nearby ground floor Pillar Hall was built for Wenceslas IV in about 1400 with a far more complex vaulting pattern supported on two central columns. It is therefore to the cathedral that we must turn for the elements of Matthias' and Parler's stylistic range that would have given Charles' palace French influenced individuality.⁴ According to the chronicler František, the new palace was 'constructed at great expense on the pattern of the royal palace of the French kings'.⁵ Paul Crossley suggests that this not only refers to the existing Rayonnant detailing but to its layout and spatial sequence including a prominent stair to a first floor hall with generous windows.⁶ However, it is possible that the residential layout was influenced by Matthias' experience at the papal court at Avignon as much as that of the French monarch.

The late medieval metamorphosis of Prague Castle was undertaken by Vladislav II at the close of the fifteenth century. Unused for fifty years except for official functions, the castle had become an out-of-date fortress and residence holding a partially built cathedral. Beset by civil conflicts following the Hussite wars and a weakened throne of little authority, the 28-year-old Vladislav took up permanent residence in the castle for his own safety (1484). For the next twenty-five years, he carried out a thorough reorganisation of the castle's fortifications followed by remodelling of the royal apartments.

As the castle lacked any artillery protection or capability, Vladislav initially concentrated on a fundamental reappraisal of the fortifications (1485–1500). Under Benedict Ried of Piesting in Austria, the perimeter curtain walls were doubled and provided with bastions and gun towers. The three round towers projecting from the north side of the castle were built by Ried with the provision for firearms at several levels. On the east side, the earlier Black Tower was protected by a new barbican and series of ramparts, while the defences towards the other side were thoroughly strengthened.



Pl. 58 Prague Cathedral: interior



Pl. 59 Prague Castle: Vladislav Hall

Inside the renewed walls, the remodelling of the royal palace was put in hand, now linked by a stone bridge to the newly built royal oratory in the cathedral (1493). This was part of the initial phase of the palace reconstruction which included a ground floor hall with its stellar vault (miscalled Vladislav's bedroom). The second phase was undertaken by the newly appointed Ried who was responsible for the first floor Vladislav Hall from 1492 to 1502. Externally, the buttresses that support the hall vaulting extend to the foundations of the earlier palace structure. Internally, the hall is dominated by the impressive vault of swirling curved ribs, one of the last outstanding achievements of Gothic architecture. Yet the large rectangular windows are a portent of the Renaissance style, one of them inscribed with the royal title and the date 1493. They reflect Vladislav's new interest in the crown of Hungary which included

the Renaissance residence at Buda Castle. 203 feet by 52 feet and 43 feet high, Ried constructed the largest secular vault not needing pillar support.⁷ Spanning the width of the earlier palace by replacing several of its rooms, the hall was used for receptions and state occasions (as it still is today) with Ried's ramp-like vaulted stair facilitating mounted access from the ground floor for jousting demonstrations. This banqueting hall is a vivid juxtaposition of the old and the new in architectural styles – the past and the future. Ried was knighted in 1502 in recognition of his abilities and was subsequently responsible for the four-storeyed residential wing projecting into the gardens designed in the newly adopted Renaissance style (1503–10).

Notes

1. P. Frankl, *Gothic Architecture* (2000) 200. P. Binski, *Gothic Wonder* (2014), 236–7, 275 for English influence.
2. For this reliquary, Boehm and Fajt (2005), 179–80. The paintings at the uppermost level in this chapel are by the Master of Litomerice (1509).
3. The Romanesque Basilica of St George at the rear of the cathedral retains vaulted aisles of c.1173. The basilica stands at the core of the early castle.
4. An engraving of Prague made in 1493, either by Wohlgenut or Pleydenurff published in *Liber cronicarum* by Hartmann Schedel (1499) shows the cathedral rising above the palace buildings of Charles IV. Burian and Hartmann (1975) 49, Schwarzenberg *et al.* (1994), 255. The two-storeyed chapel of All Saints within the palace and built by Parler in the 1370s in imitation of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, was destroyed by fire in 1541. Its successor of 1580 with Baroque additions includes an extension to link it to Vladislav Hall.
5. G. Dubski *et al.*, *The Story of Prague Castle* (2003), 158–65.
6. 'Prague as a New Capital' in B.D. Boehm & J. Fajt, *Prague, The Crown of Bohemia* (2005), 60–61.
7. The hall lost its tent-shaped roofs in the fire of 1541. Ried's Diet Hall of c.1500 was also crowned with a rib curved vault but as this was destroyed in the fire forty years later, the existing vault is a copy of 1559–63.

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KARLSTEIN CASTLE

Situated twenty miles south-west of Prague, the multi-roofed Karlstein Castle is superbly positioned on a cliff-like promontory high above the village. L-shaped by the terrain, it was planned by Matthias of Arras for the emperor's personal use rather than as a military fortification. The foundation stone was laid by the archbishop of Prague in 1348 and the castle was completed within seven years.¹ The enceinte is tower-and-bastion-protected² but within is a hierarchical structure purposed to safeguard the imperial insignia and Charles IV's religious relics. The royal buildings were confined to the lowest level. The Church Tower for the clergy stands at the intermediate level, and the five storey Great Tower holding the Holy Rood Chapel with its relics of the True Cross, the Holy Lance, and the Crown of Thorns dominates the whole castle and village.

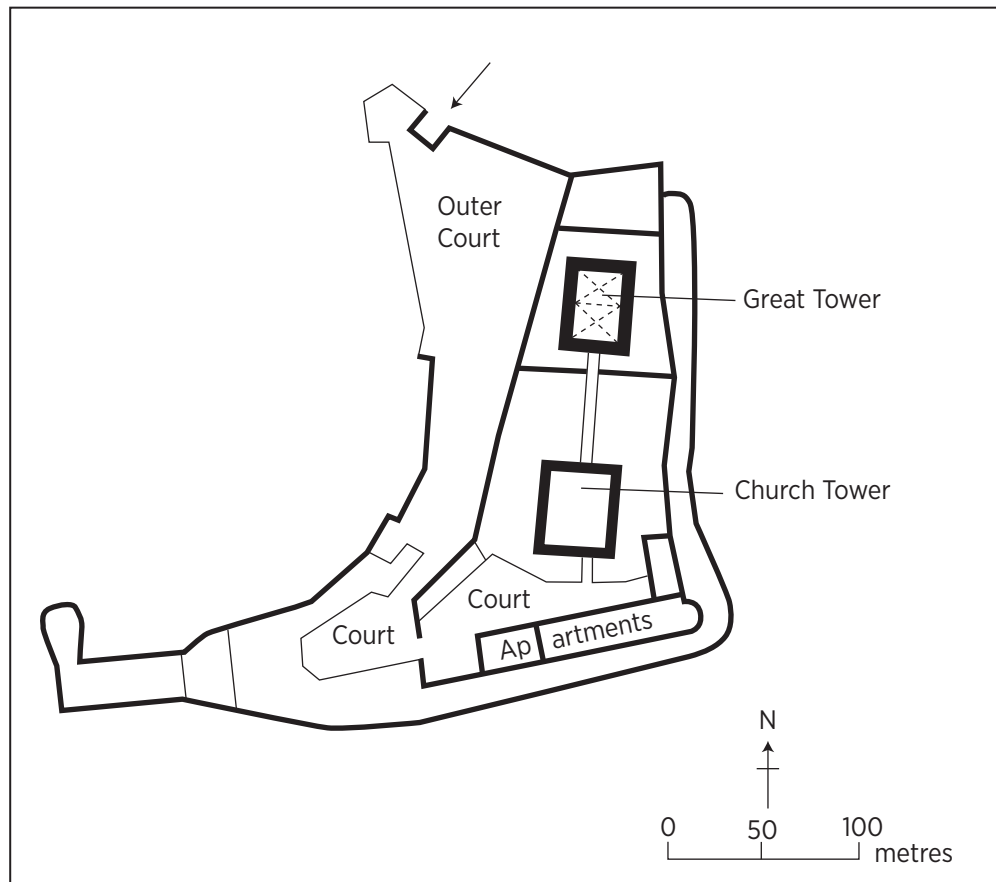


Fig. 34 Karlstein Castle: site plan

The palace buildings in the lower courtyard included a large reception hall and the emperor's apartments. They were damaged in the sixteenth century and so grossly over-restored in the mid-nineteenth century that only the two upper buildings are of value. The Lady Chapel in the three storeyed central tower retains contemporary wall paintings from the book of Revelation and scenes of Charles receiving the relics from the dauphin and the king of Hungary. The tower also includes the tiny chapel of St Catherine where Charles IV shut himself away for days. Solely used by the emperor, this two bay oratory glimmers with semi-precious stones and murals of the Crucifixion in the Siennese style of the 1360s.

A wooden bridge linked the Church Tower with the Great Tower, 121 feet high with 20 feet thick walls. Above the 'Hall of the Empire' stands the heart of the castle, the Holy Rood Chapel. A gilded lattice separates the two vaulted units into a nave and chancel.³ Lined with 2,450 precious stones and 129 panel paintings of 1360–64, the chapel is crowned with a gilt stucco vault enhanced with Venetian glass stars to create a 'heavenly Jerusalem'. This room is still little touched with the head and shoulder paintings of saints, martyrs, and angels by Master Theodoric marking a milestone in Bohemian and German art of the fourteenth century. His innovative work, influenced by south German sculpture, was decorated with discs of Venetian glass and strips of marble encrusted with many precious and semi-precious stones from the Bohemian hills. Even the gilt stucco originally covered the pews, picture frames, and floor.⁴ Behind the Crucifixion are niches where the crown jewels and relics were kept, though the crown jewels are now in Vienna and the Bohemian jewels are held in Prague Cathedral.⁵



Pl. 60 Karlstein Castle: engraving of 1857

Lit by hundreds of candles which emphasised the glitter of the setting and the sparkle of the glass and stones, the impression was created of being in Heaven rather than a representation of Heaven on earth.

Karlstein Castle was built in the same relation to the capital as Windsor Castle was to Westminster but construction began some years before the remodelling of either Windsor in England or the Louvre in France for Karlstein's purpose was quite different. Charles IV saw himself as much as an earthly priest hallowed by the grace of God as the ruler of the Holy Roman Empire. Thus the imperial regalia, now blessed by Christian relics, were symbols of Charles' divine vocation and they deserved a priceless home of dazzling beauty. Tended by priests and monks, the castle was not a fortress but a protected imperial shrine that reflected a sacro-political intent.⁶ It was a tangible expression of the Holy Roman Emperor's purpose and an environment where life was governed by strict rules and the etiquette appropriate to a holy place. Like Malbork Castle, Karlstein Castle is a hybrid, part residential palace, part religious stronghold but in this instance, overlaid with the aura of a sacred site. Superficially, Karlstein seems like an architectural fantasy but its function was wholly rooted in an unwavering devout belief in the purpose of the imperial crown and its divine legitimacy.

Notes

1. These long-affirmed construction dates are uncertain. As the treasury for the Bohemian imperial relics, it is likely that the castle was only begun after Charles had returned from his coronation in Rome in 1355. J. Royt, *Medieval Painting in Bohemia* (2003), 64. Charles' work probably replaced the earlier Luxembourg country seat.
2. Karlstein primarily relied for defensive protection on its formidable site and the obstructed approach. These were sufficient to ensure it never fell to the enemy as every other imperial stronghold did during the Hussite wars. As with Pierrefonds, Warkworth, and the later tower-houses in France, Spain, and England, the Great Tower at Karlstein makes the dominating authority of the owner particularly clear.
3. This room was initially secular in purpose but it was converted in 1357 before the paintings were executed. J. Fajt (ed.) *Court Chapels of the High and Late Middle Ages and Their Artistic Decoration* (2003), 258–68.
4. M. Bravermanova *et al.*, *Ceské Korunovacní Klenoty* (1998).
5. For a description and assessment of the paintings within the castle, J. Royt *Medieval Painting in Bohemia* (2003), 64–68.
6. P. Frankl, *Gothic Architecture* (2000), 29. Of course, Charles (and his mother's) acquisition of precious relics needed the generosity of his French cousins. Boehm & Fajt (2005), 26.

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THE ORDER OF THE TEUTONIC KNIGHTS

THE CHANGING PURPOSE OF THE ORDER

The lands held by the Order of Teutonic Knights lay well over two thousand miles from England but they were relevant to the Hundred Years War in two fields – for trade and for fighting the infidel. Trade across the Baltic and North Seas was dominated by the Hanseatic League which extended to the lands held by the Teutonic Knights, even though they were beyond imperial territory. The Hansa was a German based organisation as was that of the Teutonic order. Hanseatic trade became increasingly important in England during the first half of the fourteenth century – timber, grain, furs, and wax in exchange for wool – but the organisation was also one of the credit sources used by Edward III who had confirmed their privileges in 1334 as Richard II did in 1388.¹

The crusades had generated two religious orders that sought to protect pilgrims to the Holy Land by combining military prowess with an ascetic life – the Hospitallers and the Templars. By the close of the twelfth century, they had become military orders and were joined by a third organisation, the Order of Teutonic Knights. It had been founded by German merchants from Bremen and Lubeck who had provided many crusaders with sea transport to the Holy Land. The Order was confirmed in its purpose by Innocent III in 1199 who sought to convert the pagan tribes of present-day north Poland to Christianity. By the mid-thirteenth century, the Order had become increasingly militant as conquest took precedence over conversion, concentrating its resources entirely on expanding its grip on the pagan Baltic region east of the German states of the Holy Roman Empire. By now, the order had fundamentally changed its purpose. It was no longer enforced conversion to Christianity but territorial domination and the economic control of the Baltic lands under the cloak of religious acceptance. The knights therefore turned eastwards to the vast state of Lithuania, covering much of present-day Russia from the Baltic to the Ukraine, with the consequence of much bloody fighting and the acquisition of valuable booty.

In the absence of any official led expedition to fight the infidel in the Holy Land,² the Teutonic Order provided a much sought-out access point to fight the pagans beyond eastern Europe. At regular intervals the Grand Master called on knights in Europe to join the Order's fight against the infidels, with the benefit of staying in such castles as Malbork and Königsberg and joining in memorable hunts in the region's forests. They would also participate in the twice seasonal military campaigns, to display personal prowess, and hopefully achieve the elevation of their souls. Among such guests were Henry Grosmont, duke of Lancaster (1351), Thomas, earl of Warwick (1367), Henry Bolingbroke, later Henry IV (1390),³ and Thomas, duke of Gloucester with Hugh, earl of Stafford who set out for Prussia and Malbork in September 1391 until a storm scattered their ships and forced them to return disappointed. French and Gascon attendees included Marshal Boucicaut and Gaston Fébus, count of Foix.

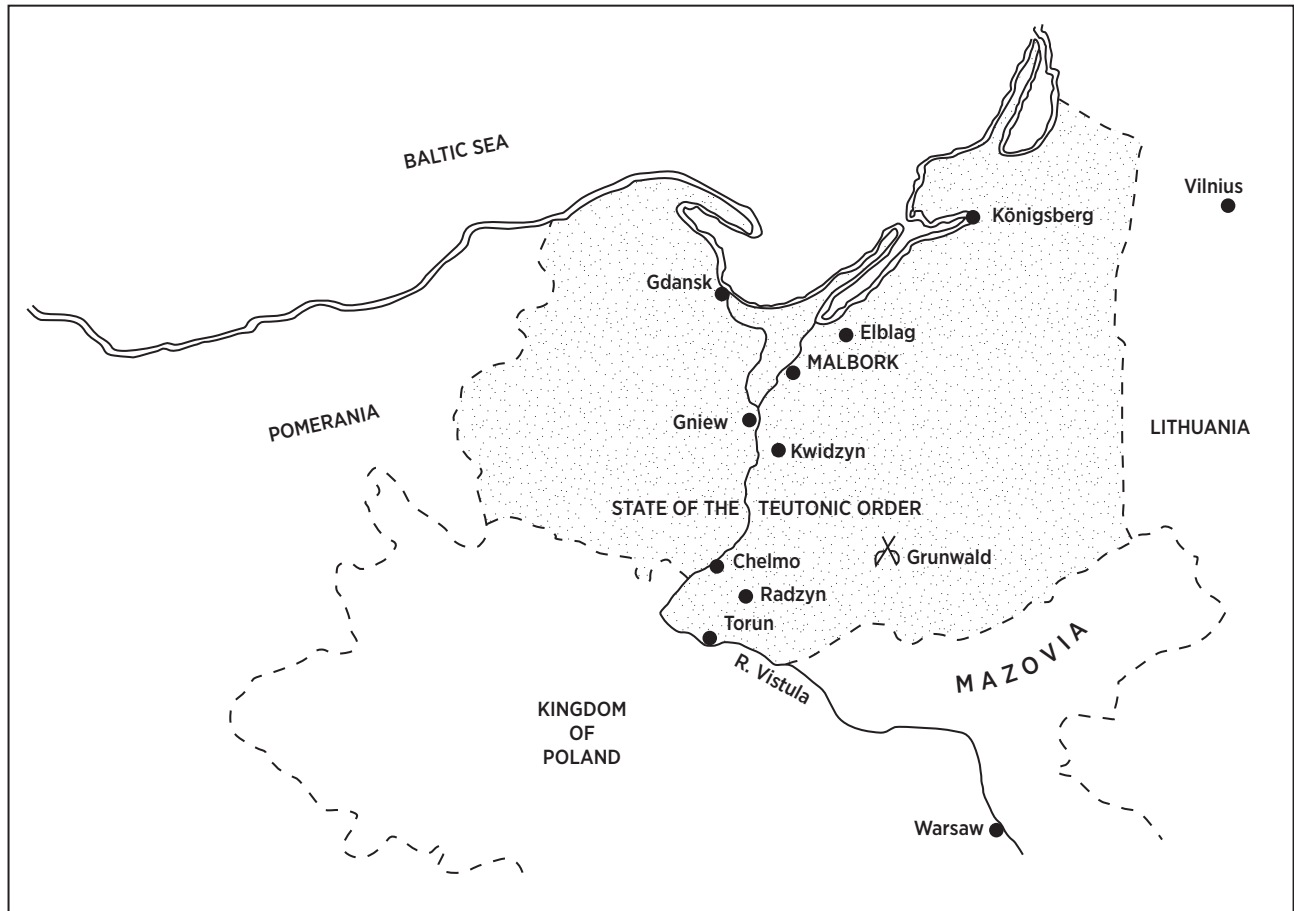
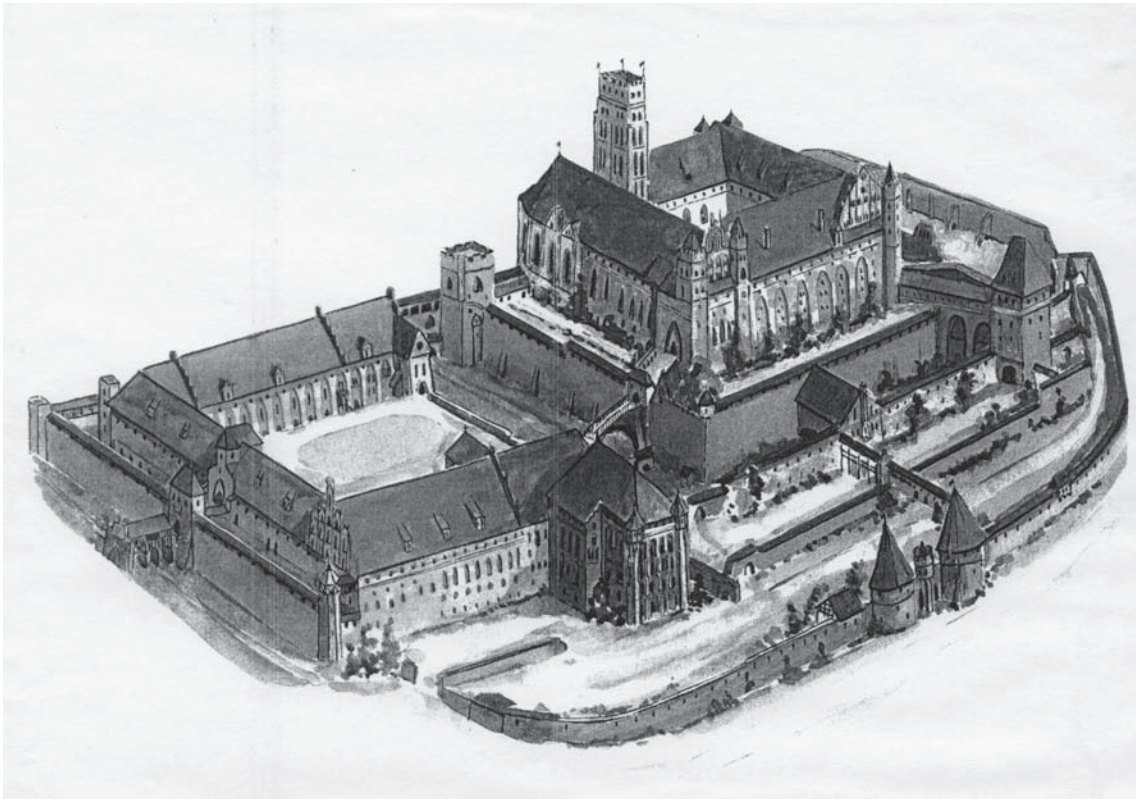


Fig. 35 The Teutonic State in the fourteenth century

The Teutonic Order was at its zenith during the fourteenth century leaving a legacy of over 120 castles, mainly in modern Poland but with some in Lithuania and a handful in Russia. However the Order swiftly collapsed after its catastrophic defeat by the combined forces of Poland and Lithuania at the battle of Grunwald (Tannenberg), 1410. The Order was no longer invincible and had also lost its ideological justification. Though the Order is only tenuously connected politically with the Hundred Years War, the links are far closer economically and architecturally, particularly in the development of Malbork Castle, and more precisely with the palace of the Grand Master within that castle.

MALBORK CASTLE, THE GRAND MASTER'S PALACE

Malbork Castle in Poland has been described as 'the greatest work of medieval secular architecture in Europe that has come down to us astonishingly complete'.⁴ As a palace-fortress, it compares in scale and completeness with the royal structures at Windsor, Vincennes, and Seville, the papal palace at Avignon, and the princely chateaux at Pierrefonds, Saumur, and Durham. Furthermore, the Grand Master's residence within Malbork Castle can be compared with the ducal palaces at Gubbio, Mantua,



Pl. 61 Malbork Castle: bird's eye view showing the Upper Castle (right), the Middle Castle (left) with the Grand Master's Palace projecting towards the turreted Bridge Gate

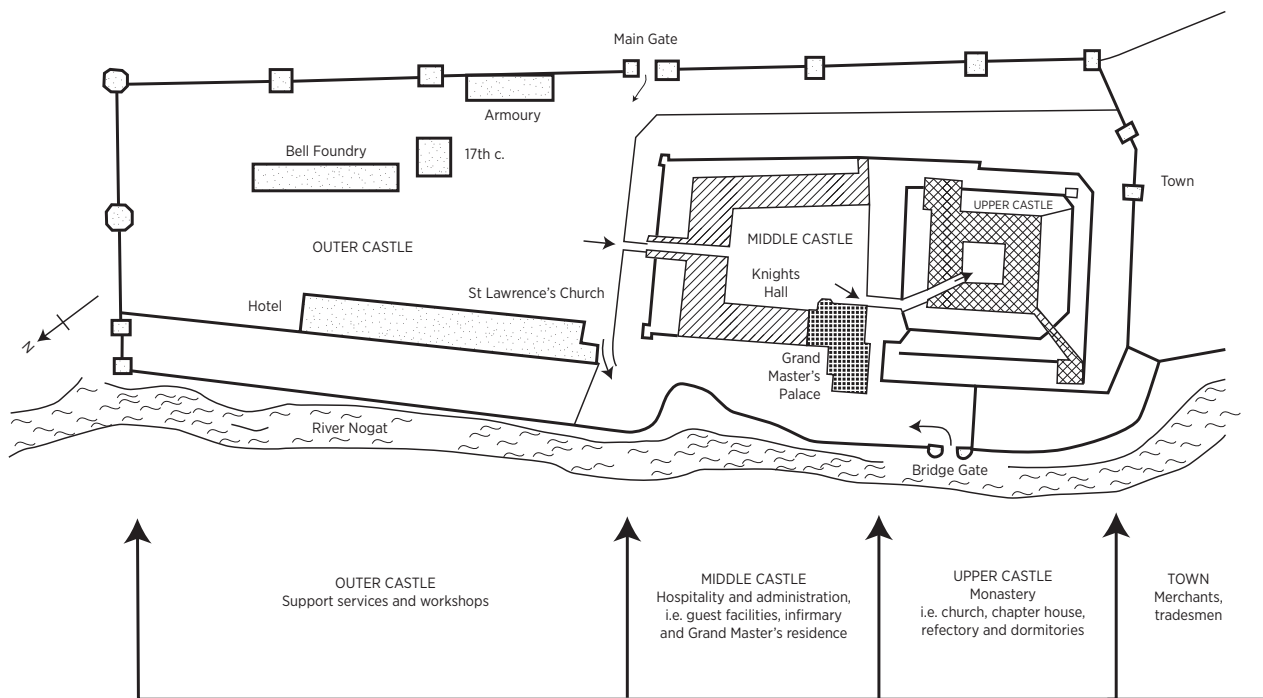


Fig. 36 Malbork Castle and town: site plan

and Urbino and the episcopal palaces at Wells and Narbonne. Much of the original structure survives at Malbork to testify to the high standards and outstanding quality of the workmanship practiced in the region throughout the fourteenth century. But the castle also demonstrates the meeting of secular and religious architecture in a concept and with a vocabulary that can be rarely matched so vividly in medieval Europe.

Malbork Castle stands on the low-lying right bank of the river Nogat not far from its delta with the Baltic Sea, 25 miles away. It was the epicentre of the Order of Teutonic Knights who developed it in stages between about 1276 and 1406 so that it became the largest brick castle in the world. Despite centuries of military occupation and partial destruction in 1945, the fortress stands once more relatively complete – roofed, windowed, and floored – as one of the most impressive monuments of the medieval world.

The castle is made up of three self-contained defensive enclosures. The Outer Castle held the domestic offices and workshops. The Middle Castle was the administrative centre and guest quarters of the fortress together with the Grand Master's residence. The Upper Castle was the heart of this monastic fortress with church, chapter-house, dormitories and refectory.

Development Phases

Three features distinguish the castles of the Teutonic Order from others in Europe. The first was that they were built for a monastic order which was as powerful a determinant in the design as their defensive needs. The second is that they were rectangular and because their location was not determined by natural features, they were usually built on lowland close to a river. This greatly facilitated the provision of moats. Thirdly, as Baltic coastland lacked quality building stone, the castles were primarily built of brick. Bare walls were usually relieved by dark headers and crowned by steeply-pitched roofs and stepped gables.

Turning to the castle at Malbork, no documentation survives for its construction apart from a lost plaque recording the completion of the monastic church in 1344. The castle's development has therefore to be architecturally determined, supplemented by some of the Order's administrative records and those of the later Polish kings.

The Upper Castle was constructed between c.1276 and 1300. The Middle Castle between 1310 and the 1350s with the lodging of the Grand Master extended from 1390 to 1406. At this point, the castle now stood much as it is seen today with occupation by the Order terminating in 1457 when the fortress fell into Polish hands. Most of the defences of the Outer Castle were destroyed in 1626 and the remainder was used for military barracks. The castle's revival extended throughout the nineteenth century, particularly under Konrad Steinbrecht from 1882 to 1923, but nearly fifty per cent of the castle was devastated at the close of the Second World War. Its restoration has nearly been completed.

Our particular interest is limited to the Knights' Hall and Grand Master's residence situated in the Middle rather than the Upper Castle because receiving and entertaining guests, crusaders and soldiers were primary elements of the Master's position and responsibility. It also enabled the quasi-monastic function of the Upper Castle to be carried out in greater quietude. It was only later that the position chosen for the Grand Master's residence facilitated its expansion towards the river during the closing years of the fourteenth century.

The Knights' Hall

The Knights' Hall, the great refectory for visiting knights and guests, was begun in 1318–19. It is the largest room in the castle, capable of holding up to 400 guests, and was one of the primary secular



Pl. 62 Malbork Castle: Knights' Hall, watercolour by Johann Schultz, 1846

apartments of medieval Europe. However, the outer walls of this ground floor hall were built on pine logs which gave way after the devastation of 1945 so that the apartment, though re-instated during the 1980s, awaits further restoration to its former superb state. Its line of fourteen ogival windows (six to the inner court and eight facing the river), its complex vaulted ceiling supported on three slender columns, and painted walls (only a portion of the Coronation of the Virgin survives) would have made a great impression on all newcomers. The vaulting is not unlike that of the chapter house of c.1330 in the Upper Castle, but the awkwardness there has been resolved in the broader space using more ribs so that the apartment looked like a line of slender spreading trees – a multiple of the chapter house at Wells Cathedral. Completion during the years close to 1340 is likely.

Like the guest rooms on the opposite side of the courtyard, this great hall was a fusion between secular and military architecture and was an appropriate prelude to the Grand Master's residence as an essential element of the castle's hospitality commitment. It was the apartment where the Master would welcome his guests and lead the most important of them up the stair from the dais end to his first floor apartments.

The kitchen lay beyond the lower end of the hall with a large hearth like that in the kitchen of the Upper Castle. It had its own storeroom, garderobe, and cellar which holds evidence of the refectory's heating system of ducted warm air.

Grand Master's Residence – Exterior

The Master's residence is not particularly striking when seen from the courtyard, in part because of its initial modest form. Only the line of seven column-separated first floor windows next to the plain apsidal

chapel hint at its importance. However, the river approach tells a totally different story with its highly elaborate frontages contrasting with the more dominating military facades of the Upper Castle. This palace wing is clearly a later extension, standing five storeys high, and warrants detailed examination.

The extension stands on two basement floors, not visible from the courtyard but necessary because of falling ground to the river Nogat. The lowest has narrow openings, now bricked up, while that immediately above was used for storage with larger square windows set in brick frames. Above was the Chancellery, at ground level when approached from the courtyard. Its large stone windows are separated by brick buttresses in the primary south and west faces rising the height of the building to support the embattled wall-walk. The floor above was devoted to the Grand Master's apartments with the elaborate windows that fill the recesses between the brick buttresses marking the principal reception rooms. The two-light upper windows are set in brick frames and the three-light lower windows in stone frames with the buttresses between the latter replaced by pairs of stone columns to increase the light internally.

The elaborately decorated wall-walk immediately above these major apartments is carried on four-centred arches spanning the machicolated recesses between the brick buttresses and protected by the eaves of the steeply pitched roof. The walk expands into six-sided turrets at the corners, brace-supported in stone, while the same material is used for the blind trefoil and quatrefoil panelled battlements to create a highly decorative head to the Palace wing.

The contrast between the ornateness of this wing and the simplicity of the Knights' Hall nearby of little more than a generation earlier could not be greater. In function, the extension was not unlike the contemporary work of Richard II at Portchester Castle where he rebuilt, albeit more modestly, the hall and private apartments within the curtilage of the earlier castle, the whole enclosed and protected by the defensive walls of a long-established fort.



Pl. 63 Malbork Castle: Grand Master's Palace, north façade

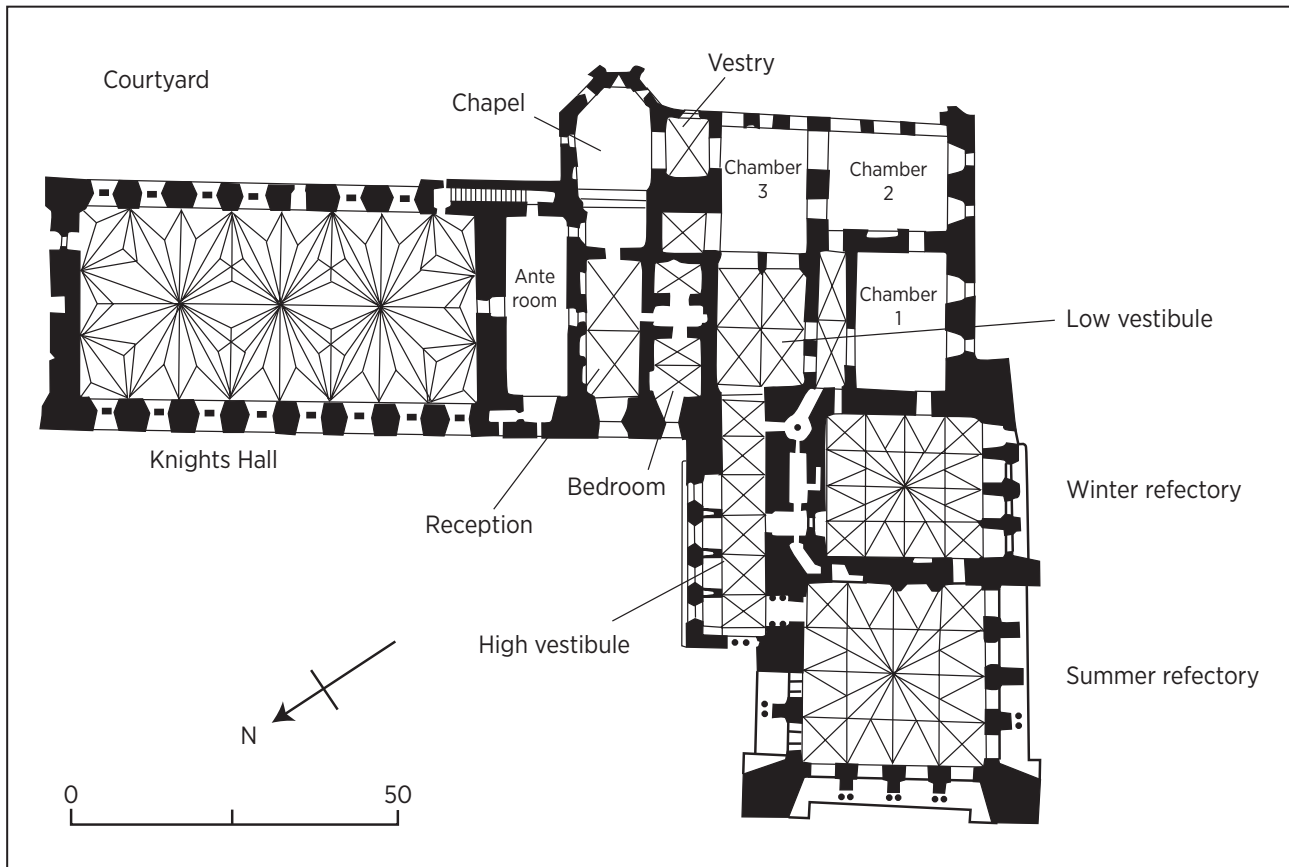


Fig. 37 Malbork Castle: first floor plan of Grand Master's Palace

Grand Master's Residence – Interior

The Master's residence was a three phased development converting a relatively modest lodging into a palace-like complex. The approach to this sequence of first floor apartments was from the stair at the high end of the Knights' Hall as in contemporary high status residences in England. It opened into an ante-room, a waiting chamber to the Master's personal apartments. The first of these has a vaulted ceiling, repainted in the late nineteenth century with arabesques above simulated wall hangings to give an idea of the former richness of such rooms.⁵ This apartment originally opened into the Master's private chapel dedicated to St Katherine, but the approach is currently blocked pending essential restoration. Only its bare brick walls, lancet windows, and basic vaulting survived the Polish-Swedish wars in a condition that even Steinbrecht was reluctant to tackle.

A small lobby accesses the room of the Grand Master's companion on one side and the Master's bedroom on the other. The companion's room is currently used by the castle's custodians. The Master's room, lit by a single square-headed window, was warmed by a ducted heating system with an outlet near the bed recess, and benefitted from its own garderobe. The walls retain their original painted decoration in three planes – simulated curtaining below a line of patron saints with acanthus leaves reaching to the ceiling.

These rooms were originally next to a small yard, spanned by a timber galley and stair to a large chamber, all destroyed during the expansion of these lodgings that marked the next stage of the castle's

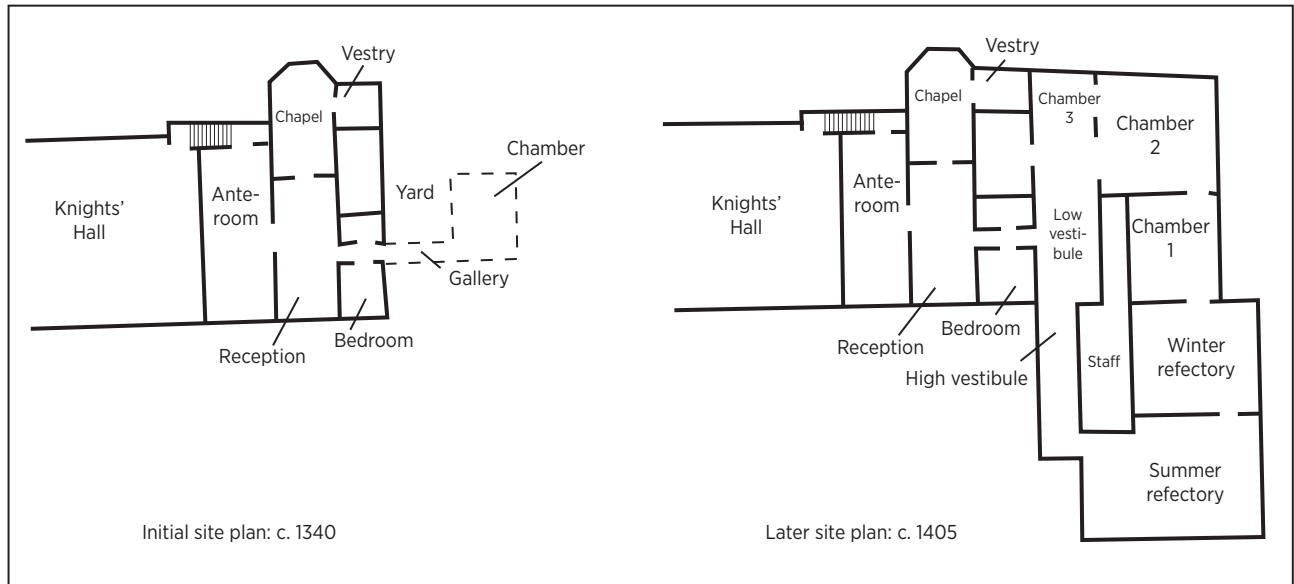


Fig. 38 Malbork Castle: development plan of Grand Master's Palace

development (see fig. 38). It was initiated by the low, broad vestibule⁶ that served as a prelude to the sequence of three new reception rooms principally facing the courtyard. These new (miscalled 'royal') reception chambers were generously fenestrated and vaulted⁷ but they proved inadequate for the Grand Master's ambitions. Before the close of the century, a far more imposing development had been conceived dominating the river frontage.

The rooms at this final development stage were prefaced by a narrow but 'high' vestibule, spanned by the tall vault which gives the corridor its eponymous name. It is flooded with light from a line of large rectangular windows, separated by detached columns in contrasting stone copying those on the exterior of the Summer refectory. The columns are Steinbrecht reconstructions but the window seats are original as are the stone surrounds, the well, and the sink with its drain for washing hands, mouth, and feet. There is evidence of early wall paintings under the present whitewash. The stylistic contrast between the construction of the earlier and later vestibules in less than ten to fifteen years – between gloom and lightness, routine and innovation – is maintained in the subsequent rooms.

The two reception rooms facing the river, romantic-



Pl. 64 Malbork Castle: Summer refectory

ally claimed to be Summer and Winter refectories, were audience chambers for receiving and entertaining envoys and honoured guests. The Summer refectory, nearly fifty feet square and the larger of the two, used stone brought from Sweden. The windows filling $2\frac{1}{2}$ sides of the room are in two planes. The lower windows are of two or three rectangular lights with a multi-cusped quatrefoil above, while the upper windows are of two lights with multi-decorated heads. As noted earlier, the lower windows are separated externally by stone columns interrupting the brick buttresses carrying the crenellated wall-walk. Internally, the upper windows are separated by the ribs of the central radiating vault. This is supported on a single granite pillar with the ribs terminating in plain corbels between the windows. The serving hatch was for meals and refreshments brought from the kitchen. The fireplace is a disfiguring insertion from the period of Polish rule. The entry door, tiles and figurative wall paintings are late nineteenth century for this and the adjacent room were badly damaged by their use as a textile factory during the late eighteenth century. Even Steinbrecht's stained glass windows were lost during the Second World War and have been replaced with plain glass. Originally, this room was painted with a heraldic gallery of Grand Masters, complementing those made during the first half of the fourteenth century in the chapter house of the Upper Castle.

The Winter refectory with its heating vents in the floor is less monumental than the Summer Refectory. It has a lower ceiling but was similarly vaulted from a central granite column. Yet the quality of the

stone decoration is plainer than in the earlier parts of this building. There is no capital to the central column, no wall corbels, the ribs are cut off at the wall, and the windows are of two transomed lights with less ornate quatrefoil tracery. The room has a hatch for serving meals, and unrestored evidence of original wall paintings. All these rooms were decorated by the Polish court painter, Master Peter who started work here in 1402. The vaulted ceilings were decorated with wreaths of flowers wrapped round a vine or acanthus, while the walls were decorated with figurative or heraldic motifs. The lower parts were usually covered with painted imitations of hanging curtains.

The ground floor rooms under the Grand Master's apartments served three functions – administrative offices under the private rooms, the archives office and chancellery under the refectories, and staff quarters beneath the 'royal' chambers. The chancellery was approached by a vestibule as on the floor above, complete with a similarly positioned well, square-



Pl. 65 Malbork Castle: Winter refectory

headed windows, doorways with four-centred heads, and more modest vaulting. The four rooms held the accounting system and archives of the Order with the first room where the accounts were prepared benefiting from a ducted heating system. These rooms were much abused during their use as part of the weaving factory so that their restoration has been drastic.

It can now be appreciated that the development of the Grand Master's Palace occurred in three phases of increasing splendour spanning the fourteenth century. His private rooms were an extension of the west range of the Middle Castle and were coeval with it (c.1320–40). They were centred round the chapel of St Katherine, projecting beyond the upper end of the Knights' Hall. They included the Master's reception room, his bedroom, and a further chamber abutting the galleried yard at the side of the chapel. Chamber, yard and gallery were replaced during phase 2.

In c.1382, the Grand Master Conrad Zollner Rotenstein, initiated the construction of the 'low' vestibule and the three 'royal' rooms, essentially facing the courtyard. The windows in this and the first phase are square-headed and plain.

In phase 3 begun in c.1390, the added wing was constructed boldly facing the river Nogat rather than the fortress. The 'high' vestibule and the so-called Summer and Winter refectories were completed by c.1405. The windows are still square-headed but with traceried heads.

Assessment

By the early fourteenth century, the initial purpose of the Order of Teutonic Knights had become diffuse. It now depended on highly trained warriors rather than on pious monks as militancy compromised religious conversion. This affected the architectural development of the fortress. The reception of guests, whether as soldiers or crusaders, and the care of the sick became the essential element and purpose of the Middle Castle as much as the quasi-monastic layout was of the earlier Upper Castle. The result was a combination of defensive and domestic architecture – as much a monastery and residence as a fortress. Hence the combination of external impregnability with internal elegance.

Because of its scale, Malbork was more like a fortified city than a fortress – an almost self-contained sequence of structures capable of holding hundreds rather than a hundred occupants owing allegiance to the Grand Master. The closest analogy in England is the fortified outcrop at Durham above the river Wear, crowned by the castle of the prince-bishop and the cathedral-priory of the Benedictine order. But that settlement was under two separate authorities. The royal fortress at Vincennes outside Paris is a closer analogy with the royal residence in one part of the fortified enceinte, gate and multi-tower protected, enclosing a chapel as large as that at Malbork and many houses, workshops, and stables within an enclosure comparable with Malbork's Outer Castle.

The defence of their seat of power was vital to an Order which felt like a colonial power controlling a region far from its ethnic origin. So the fortress was equipped with all the defensive elements known at the time. Throughout its development, the mighty bulk of the Upper Castle, the quasi-monastic heart of the Order, dominated the entire complex as it still does today. Initially, it was similar to the other strongholds on the borders of the Teutonic state, but the changes made during the mid-fourteenth century reflected the Upper Castle's importance as the seat of a masterful religious order. The Middle Castle was developed to serve the administrative needs, hospitality, and ceremonial function of the Teutonic state, while the Grand Master's Palace was continuously expanded to match the perceived standing of the head of the Order. In its final form, the Grand Master's residence expressed the power and majesty of the Teutonic Order and was an appropriate setting for entertaining royal and honoured guests.

Though this essay is concerned with the growth and form of the Master's residence, it is necessary to refer to some of the features of the earlier Upper Castle. Architecturally, there is a marked contrast between the severity of the late thirteenth century monastic fortress and the greater richness of the succeeding development of the Middle Castle. This is partly a reflection of the change from the Romanesque to the Gothic style, though this occurred later at Malbork than further south in Poland. It was initially more obvious internally than externally for the severe basic vaulting of c.1280 in the ground and first floor rooms of the Upper Castle had given way by the 1330s to the multi-ribbed but restless vaulting of the monastic chapter house. This was almost immediately supplanted by the more ordered form in the church and the classical simplicity of the second floor refectory. All this work was a precocious development, the earliest in the Baltic coastal region. It was possibly influenced by English sources such as the chapter houses at Lincoln (c.1250) and Wells (c.1310).⁸ However, this initiative was not developed further over the next sixty years with little difference between the vaulting of the Knights' Hall (c.1340) and that of the refectories in the Grand Master's residence (c.1400). The source for the distinctive architectural changes in the Palace lay elsewhere.

The windows in the Knights' Hall were markedly larger than those of the previous generation and show a growing preference for traceried heads. By the close of the fourteenth century, these changes had contributed to the extremely individual style of the palace-complex. This was explored in three directions, through the wider use of building materials, expansive windows, and multi-shaped forms. The use of contrasting stonework – structurally and decoratively – made an immediate impact in a hitherto totally brick environment. Furthermore, the virtuosic display of external brickwork was heightened by combining it with highly decorative stonework. This ostentatious display of pattern and relief was in particular contrast to the character of the Upper Castle of a century earlier.

The windows to the world were much broader than before and were square-headed instead of following the two-centred form which had still been used as late as c.1330 for St Katherine's chapel and vestry. The upper plane of these distinctly shaped windows were now filled with multi-cusped tracery. Additional light was also gained by eliminating some of the outer wall thickness by using slender columns instead of buttresses on three sides of the Grand Master's residence. The trick was repeated internally to stunning effect in the 'high' vestibule. But multi-shaping did not stop there. Doorway heads were four-centred rather than two-centred, the battlement panels encompassed trefoils and quatrefoils, the turrets were six-sided, while the outer elevation was five-storeyed instead of the previous two and three storeys. And whereas the practice had been followed for all outer-facing windows in towers and ranges to be relatively modest at the higher levels, those in the Grand Master's Palace boldly increased in size with the rise in elevation. It all betrays a confidence ill-suited to the Order's purpose which essentially collapsed within the next fifty years.

Archiving over these changes is the dominating one that Malbork reflects the combination of religious and secular forms. It was a differentiation felt by nineteenth and twentieth century architectural historians but not by the builders who initially developed a monastery in the form of a castle, and subsequently introduced a secular palace within a religious fortress. The fourteenth-century umbrella and multi-ribbed vaults, the traceried windows, and brickwork decoration were the primary cross-over factors in the Grand Master's residence. Internally, its decoration was more routine with wall paintings of simulated wall hangings, heraldic devices, and arabesque foliage. Clement VI's contemporary work at Avignon's Papal Palace (1342–52) was architecturally more severe, internally and externally, but of greater decorative richness. Though Clement encouraged the use of groined vaults, internal enrichment essentially came from more innovative wall paintings and handsome furnishings. However, Avignon

and Malbork shared the same practice of locating the administrative heart of the organisation directly under the residential quarters of its leader. And while the Pope controlled the Christian faith in Europe from Avignon, the Grand Master dominated the Baltic lands and beyond from his equally magnificent palace at Malbork.

Notes

1. The Hanseatic League and the Order of Teutonic Knights suffered from English piracy and aggression during the early fifteenth century, but the League preferred discussion rather than retaliation.
2. The thirteenth-century crusades against the Albigensians and the *reconquista* in the Iberian peninsula proved successful, whereas those in Tunis and Egypt were a failure. Kings and nobles continued to pledge themselves to lead or participate in one expedition after another but usually found reasons to postpone their intentions. Though Alexandria was captured in a futile victory in 1369, most of these attempts during the later middle ages ended in failure. The banquet held by Philip the Good at Lille in 1454 announcing plans to recover Constantinople was among the most lavish recorded but the intention came to nought. The one notable success was the capture of the Muslim state of Granada in 1492 by the rulers of Aragon and Castile.
3. It cost him £4,438 in 1390–91 though he took a large and prestigious retinue. G. Harriss, *Shaping the Nation* (2005), 131.
4. B. Knox, *The Architecture of Poland* (1971), 83.
5. The fireplace is a Polish era addition.
6. The vestibule is decorated with vines and grapes with the shield of the Grand Master above the doorway to his apartments. It holds the arms of the Order's two most significant dignitaries, the brothers Konrad and Ulrich von Jungingen who died in 1407 and 1410 respectively.
7. This trio of chambers were over-restored in the nineteenth century, Chamber I is called the Königsberg Room through that city financing its restoration in the early nineteenth century. The central column, vaulting, and painting are entirely romantic re-imaginings for originally it consisted of two narrow rooms, each with a single window. The second chamber in the south-east corner of the Palace is also essentially a reconstruction. The windows are entirely late twentieth century for Steinbrecht inserted square-headed windows though he had no architectural or pictorial evidence to do so. The two central columns are Steinbrecht replacements as is the vaulting. The altered fireplace retains earlier columnar jambs at its side. The division separating chamber 2 and 3 has long been removed so that the two apartments run into each other. It is now a featureless area that currently marks the blocked entry to the Master's chapel.
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PART TWO

1380–1420

THE FRENCH CROWN

CHARLES VI AND THE BREAKDOWN OF CONSENT: 1380–1420

The Royal Fiefs

The political upheavals in England during the years either side of 1400 prevented any attempts to reopen the war or to seek support from European allies. The papacy was rent by schism, while the princes of the Empire had replaced Wenceslas of Bohemia with the incompetent Rupert of the Palatinate.

Superficially, France seemed to be in a strong position politically at the close of the fourteenth century, supported by an era of aristocratic prosperity. But the royal domain was in poor condition for the royal princes had consolidated and expanded their holdings at the expense of the crown. The monarch was in their thrall while the royal revenues were bent to serve their ends. It is scarcely too much to say that by the beginning of the fifteenth century, the royal domain had become the vassal of the royal fiefs.

The disagreement between the royal uncles that had broken out during the minority of Charles VI throughout the 1380s had barely been put aside during his four year rule before the king's insanity manifested itself in 1392. As there was no respite from Charles' paranoid schizophrenia until his death thirty years later, the splintered state of France was on European-wide display well before 1400.

Of the king's three uncles, Louis of Anjou, based in Angers, had held Maine, Anjou, and Provence until he was succeeded by his young son Louis II in 1384. This royal cousin was twenty-three years old in 1400. The sixty-year-old John, duke of Berry, using Bourges as his capital, held Poitou, Berry, and Auvergne and was lieutenant of Languedoc in 1381–89 and from 1401 onwards. The fifty-eight-year-old Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy with his capital at Dijon, held Burgundy, Flanders, Artois, and the counties of Rethel, Nevers, and later Charolais. The king's younger brother Louis, a virile twenty-eight-year-old duke of Orléans held Orléanais, Angoumois, Périgord, and the counties of Blois and Dunois. A more distant relation Louis, duke of Bourbon, the late king's brother-in-law, was less significant but was extremely capable at building up his scattered patrimony of Bourbonnais, Le Marche, Forez and the large lordship of Beaujolais.

Within a few years of Charles' initial bout of insanity, these several courts swiftly became individual centres of power and intrigue, little worried by the two non-royal duchies. Brittany was still a vassal state under duke John IV, followed after his death by John V. But John IV's widow, Joan of Navarre, soon married Henry IV of England and thereby encouraged that monarch to look towards France's troubled state. Aquitaine was still in English hands but continued to be a prime bone of contention. Louis of Orléans made an attempt to conquer it in 1406 but his actions were desultory and he abandoned the attempt.



Fig. 39 France: 1420

By 1400, Charles' three uncles, already territorial princes with too much power for the safety and effectiveness of the monarchy, had seized the opportunity to divide a substantial portion of the kingdom between themselves. It was not their intention to destroy the monarchy – far from it. They simply intended to control it for their own ends. And in this, Anjou, Berry, and Burgundy were now joined by the king's younger brother, Louis, duke of Orléans who had ambitions to be the lord of Milan after marrying the daughter of the Visconti duke. Each of the appanages had become a mini-state with its own judicial and taxation system, administrative machinery, and corps of officials serving their overlord. As a consequence, these domains had become so bloated that the princes had to turn to the royal lands to meet the costs they incurred.

For over thirty years, there was political anarchy in France with the ambitious royal dukes enjoying personal centres of power and intrigue. The thirst for royal control centred on Philip of Burgundy and his cousin Louis of Orléans as they strove to dominate the afflicted king. Louis II of Anjou was primarily concerned with maintaining his claim on Naples which he held for a short time in 1389 and 1399. The peace-loving Berry was only interested in funding his expensive artistic tastes, while Louis, duke of Bourbon (1356–1410) was satisfied with small-scale land acquisitions.

By 1400, there had also been a major development in England. Richard II's reign was never going to be an easy one. In favour of peace whereas most of the aristocracy sought war, meant that he was neither capable nor minded to build up a supportive aristocratic power-base such as Edward III had achieved. But by his temperament he personalised all his relationships to the extent that he stood without support when an exiled prince, his first cousin Henry, duke of Lancaster, converted his return to claim his lands into a military campaign against the king, which Henry won without conflict. It is a rare example in England of the 'over-mighty subject', but once on the throne, Henry IV was beset by internal conflicts. They failed to destabilise the throne but they sapped the king of energy. The conflicts led by the Holand family in 1400, the Percy family in 1403, 1405 and 1408, and by Owain Glyn Dŵr throughout Wales between 1400 and 1410 were nowhere on the same scale as the civil wars in France but they frustrated any attempt to revive the French war and placed the English king in a continually defensive position.

The rivalry between Orléans and Burgundy, vigorously maintained after 1404 by Philip's son, John the Fearless, touched every decision they made. Enmity swiftly turned to hatred, culminating in Louis' assassination in 1407 by Burgundian henchmen. Three years later his son, Charles of Orléans married the daughter of Bernard VII, count of Armagnac. Led by the count and his unruly Gascon gangs of supporters, the Orléanist party became known by the hated name of Armagnacs. The bitterness between the two parties split the kingdom into two – the Burgundians and the Armagnacs. Relations became even more poisonous as both factions experienced triumph and defeat. In 1411 John the Fearless had appealed to Henry IV of England to support him in his blockade of Paris. Henry had responded with a modest force which was doubled in size to meet the appeal in the following year by Charles, duke of Orléans (Treaty of Bourges). Bourges was besieged but neither side had sufficient financial support to prosecute the attack vigorously. Both factions showed bared teeth but little more until the accession of Henry V of England unleashed the reality of renewing the war.

It was after 1415 that the new English king triumphed across Normandy following his startling success at Agincourt. Among the prisoners taken in that battle was Charles, duke of Orléans who was held in England for twenty-five years. In his absence, his cause was waged by his father-in-law, Bernard VII, count of Armagnac. His supporters murdered John the Fearless on the bridge at Montereau (1419) under the eyes of the future Charles VII. They had revenged the assassination of Louis of Orléans but at the cost of being discredited throughout Northern France. To bring an element of stability to a ravaged kingdom, it was necessary to treat with the enemy and agree to the terms of the Treaty of Troyes (1420) whereby Henry V was recognised as heir to the French throne.

The re-opening of the war necessarily brought some changes to the French royal fiefs. The English conquest of Normandy by the spring of 1419 was followed by the establishment of an English administration and government in the duchy, centred on the capital of Normandy, Rouen. This became the base for the Regent John, duke of Bedford (d.1435) until the English lost the city thirty years later.

A further consequence of the war was that the early success of English forces meant that on the death of Henry V, followed by that of Charles VI, the duke of Bedford became Regent of France for the young

Henry VI. The dauphin was disinherited and barred from living in Paris. He therefore established his government at Bourges using the palace there of his late uncle, the duke of Berry. From this centre, all France south of the Loire (except Anglo-Gascon Aquitaine) was nominally under his control, but the 'king' of Bourges was virtually penniless. Support for him was extremely patchy and only came from three areas – the lands close to the Loire, Languedoc, and the Dauphiné and Lyon.

Unrestrained Luxury

Charles VI's reign was an era of luxury across all the courts of France. Paris was already a leading centre of artistic production, particularly for goldsmiths' work which reached an extraordinary level of accomplishment by the close of the fourteenth century. Charles VI's reign therefore not only witnessed a period of economic recovery but has rightly been regarded as a spectacular period of artistic output. This continued unabated throughout the early fifteenth century. Though the king lay incapable for much of his life in the Hôtel Saint-Pol in Paris, court festivities continued unabated. The queen, Isabel of Bavaria, revelled in them, encouraged by the duke of Orléans. She was responsible for giving the extremely elaborate and expensive *Goldenes Rössl* to her husband on New Year's Day in 1405 (Alotting Church, near Munich, Bavaria).

The royal dukes similarly garnered treasures of which we are fortunate that some of the highest quality can still be appreciated. Many Apocalypse tapestries of the king's uncle have survived (Angers Castle) that we do not know of a residence where they could all be displayed at once. The *Très Riches Heures* (Musée Condé, Chantilly) is only one of the hundred or so manuscripts that have survived out of the three hundred owned by the duke of Berry. The Royal Gold Cup (British Museum, London) was given by the duke of Berry to Charles VI in 1391 but it subsequently appears in the inventory of the duke of Bedford in 1434.¹ The two wings of the altarpiece painted by Melchior Broederlam that flanked the figures carved by Jaques Baerve for the duke of Burgundy (Ducal Palace, Dijon) are a reflection of the character and standard demanded by the duke for his Carthusian monastery at Champmol. These give only a glimpse of the output achieved to fulfil the demands made by each duke so that he could outdo his relatives.

Paris was the centre for this prosperity but it was at the various courts where the output was displayed. Some of these residences such as the castles at Saumur (Anjou), Mehun-sur-Yèvre (Berry) and Pierrefonds (Orléans) and the palaces at Dijon (Burgundy) and Poitiers (Berry) reflect their appeal to the decorative. They were not intended to be fortresses like those at Vincennes or Suscinio but support a graciousness and decorative character from strongly positioned sites and markedly thick walls. Whereas the Louvre had been softened by internal remodelling, the ducal castles were more showy, externally and internally. It was an architecturally rich era but most of the castles and palaces only survive in part or in a heavily restored state. Yet they still hint at the extraordinary richness and refinement of the artefacts that filled them during Charles VI's reign. It is imperative that this is borne in mind when visiting what otherwise are usually empty apartments today. At the same time, elaborate and colourful clothing matched the exuberance of these settings, but the glitter concealed barren treasuries – regional as much as royal.

Notes

1. Like the *Goldenes Rössl*, this cup was originally stored in the Bastille, close to the Hôtel Saint-Pol. The cup was probably not unlike some of the 157 gold cups owned by Richard II.

PARIS, THE ROYAL RESIDENCES

The French crown held three castles close to Paris – Meudon, St Germain-en-Laye, and Vincennes – and a hôtel at Beauté-sur-Marne. Apart from Vincennes, regular usage at the others was minimal. The Louvre fortress in Paris was a favourite of Charles V while the Hôtel Saint-Pol on the opposite side of the capital was Charles VI's primary residence. The crown also held the Palais de la Cité which had been extensively extended by Philip the Fair (1285–1314) but Charles V stopped using it after the Paris riots of 1358.¹ Visits there were limited to special occasions such as the state reception for the ageing Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV and his son in 1378, and for the veneration of the relics in the Sainte-Chapelle.

Apart from his additions to the Louvre, Charles V initiated the construction of a new fortress to serve Paris in 1369. The Bastille gave additional protection to the Porte Saint-Antoine, the principal entry to the walled city from the east, and it was also close to the Hôtel Saint-Pol. The fortress was finished early in Charles VI's reign by 1382. It was of simple form, a moat enclosed rectangle with eight bold half-round towers, but it was used by Charles VI as a royal depository for jewels and valuable objects held by the crown. The jewels of Queen Isabel, for instance, were carried from the house of the Templars to the Bastille in a walnut chest and were subsequently kept in ten locked cupboards in one of the towers.² However, heavy inroads were made into the royal treasury by the dukes of Anjou and Burgundy with further inroads made to pay for the lavish spectacles enjoyed by Charles VI and his wife. More claims on the collection were made during the civil war and to pay for the army after the resumption of hostilities with England in 1415. By 1430, the royal treasure had virtually disappeared and the fortress reverted to an arsenal and prison.³

The Hôtel Saint-Pol

Nothing survives of this favourite residence of Charles V and Charles VI. Initially, it lay immediately south-east of the walled city of Philippe Auguste but it was enclosed within the larger walled circuit of Charles V (1365–90), close to the Porte Saint-Antoine and the Bastille. It was positioned on the north bank of the river Seine, within the Saint Paul area of the Marais.

Since 1360 when he was still the dauphin, Charles had begun developing the residence from a number of *hôtels* including the Hôtel du Petit Musc, established by Louis of Bourbon, a grandson of St Louis, in 1318, and the more recent Hôtel d'Étampes acquired in 1361. The buildings were renamed Hôtel Saint-Pol and declared inalienable from the crown three years later.

The gradual absorption of several *hôtels* into a single residence allowed Charles V to develop a complex of buildings of differing function including separate quarters for the queen (using the hôtel d-Etampes) and for the royal children (Hôtel des abbés de Saint-Maur). The residence was more comfortable and less forbidding than the Louvre even though it had towers. It also enjoyed three inestimable benefits – it was surrounded by gardens, it was far less central to the noise and crowds of the city than the Palais or the Louvre, and it was next to the Seine and the more open countryside to the east.

The only illustrations of the property are from fifteenth-century miniatures⁴ which show that one of the towers carried statues of Charles V and Joan of Bourbon. The property was large enough to accommodate daily audiences, meetings of the Great Council, and conferences with ministers. One of the rooms was over 80 metres long. Gilbert of Metz in his *Description of Paris* (1435) describes the property, revealing that the queen's *logis* was decorated with a great panorama of trees and shrubs with fruit trees laden with apples, pears and cherries, intermingled with roses, lilies, and irises.⁵

The hôtel was used extensively by Charles V and Joan of Bourbon with several of their children born here and baptised in the nearby church of Saint Paul. It was, in effect, the official residence of the king of France and was used even more extensively by Charles VI and Isabel of Bavaria. After Isabel's death in 1435, the hôtel was no longer occupied by the crown. Charles VII and Louis XI preferred to live in the Loire Valley. The hôtel was divided by Louis XI in 1463 and sold by Francois I in 1543.

Notes

1. This major ensemble had been enriched in the twelfth century with a keep (destroyed), the Sainte-Chapelle in the mid-thirteenth century, with the undercroft of the great hall and the adjacent Salle des Gardes initiated at the close of that century. (The great hall was destroyed by fire in 1618). John II had rebuilt the kitchens in c.1353 as a vaulted rectangular block close to the great hall. It was two storeyed for royal (upper) and household (lower) use. John had also added the Clock Tower in 1350 on the waterfront of the Palais, with the clock added by Charles V in 1370. See Pl. 19.
2. J. Stamford in *Treasure in the Medieval West* ed. E.M. Tyler (2000), 134.
3. The Musée Carnavalet in Paris holds an important maquette of the Bastille fortress made in 1790 immediately before its destruction.
4. E.g. miniature of c.1422 in Jean Chartier, *Chronique*. Bibl. Nat., Paris.
5. Lorentz & Sandron, *Atlas de Paris au Moyen Âge* (2006), 91.

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THE DUCHY OF ANJOU

THE HOUSE OF ANJOU

The late middle ages was a glorious time for the house of Anjou with ducal ambitions and conquest matched by major building projects, luxury, and a refined court life. After the collapse of the Plantagenet empire in the early thirteenth century, Louis IX had assigned Anjou and Maine to his younger brother, Charles. In 1260s the pope offered Charles the crown of the Kingdom of Sicily. Already count of Provence since his marriage to the heiress in 1246, the first house of Anjou conquered and intermittently held the Naples kingdom for nearly two hundred years. Though the Angevins were driven out of the island of Sicily in 1282 (but retained the title), they made Naples an elegant city, rich in spiritual, intellectual, and artistic life. The kingdom was subject to conflicting claims throughout the fourteenth century and the French king had reclaimed the province of Anjou for the royal domain early in the century, but a second house of Anjou entered the lists not long afterwards.

Louis I (1356–84)

In 1356, King John II of France had given Anjou and Maine to his second son Louis as his exclusive domain. With his strong personality, he quickly became involved in royal affairs and was raised to the rank of duke in 1360. He remodelled Angers Castle (hall and great stair) and initiated the rebuilding of Saumur Castle (1368–84) which still stands as testimony to the rapidly developed fortune of the house of Anjou. He also strengthened his strongholds at St Maur and Baugé between 1372 and 1380 but nothing survives of his activity there today.

In 1380, Louis was adopted by his distant relative, Joanna I queen of Naples as her heir in the absence of any closer relative. Louis attempted conquest and in so doing, dissipated the greater part of his fortune. Joan was murdered two years later, while Louis died in southern Italy in 1384 before he had reached the capital of his new kingdom.

Louis maintained a lavish court in Paris as well as that at Angers where the tapestries of the Apocalypse are a reminder of its pomp and luxury. In order to help fund his expedition to Italy, Louis melted down over 3,000 sacred and secular vessels that he had collected and displayed during the previous twenty-five years.

Louis II (1384–1417)

During Louis' childhood, Anjou was capably administered by his mother, Mary of Blois. Only thirteen

years old in 1389, Louis II seized Naples and ruled there for the next nine years until he was forced into exile. He returned to France in 1399, married Yolande, the daughter and heiress of the king of Aragon, and initiated the construction of Tarascon Castle (1400–15). This work, intended to rival that of his father at Saumur and his uncle at Vincennes, symbolised the ambition of the Valois line in southern France. Louis also undertook additions at Angers (*logis* and chapel) and completed the construction of Saumur Castle. But Yolande was the force behind these schemes. Determined and authoritative, she took over control of Anjou, particularly necessary when there was such vitriolic rivalry between the houses of Burgundy and Orléans. Meanwhile, Louis continued to be tempted by conquest in far-off Italy until his death there at the early age of forty left Anjou at risk from English attack following the renewal of the Hundred Years War.

Louis III (1417–34)

The young Louis and his mother stayed at Tarascon Castle in Provence during the initial phase of the English conquest of Normandy but Anjou quickly became part of the frontier between the lands held by Henry V and those of the dauphin. In 1420, English troops reached Vaulandry forcing Yolande to order her troops (with Scottish support) to face the English. The battle of Baugé in 1421 resulted in a rare French success at this stage of the war, but there was no follow up to this victory. The duchy continued to be attacked by the regent, the duke of Bedford, and it was not cleared of danger from English troops until the 1440s.

In 1423, the twenty-year-old Louis III had been adopted by his aunt Joan II of Naples as her heir. He had high hopes of conquering his elusive Italian kingdom and spent much of his time in Calabria leaving his very capable mother to run his French estates. He died in Calabria in 1434 and as Joan II died a few months later, the crown of Naples passed to Louis' younger brother René.

ANGERS CASTLE

Development Phases

The development of the castle at Angers spanned two and a half centuries, undertaken initially by the king and subsequently by the dukes of Anjou. The royal work was determinedly military: the subsequent ducal activity was entirely domestic.

(1) Royal: 1230–1242

The overpowering enclosing wall of black schist, interrupted on three sides by seventeen huge towers, was constructed by Louis IX between 1230 and 1242. Incorporating an earlier ducal residence, it was the finest defensive enclosure at that time in France, purposed to be a royal base against the Bretons and their duke. Rising from the natural rock, the castle was made all the more impressive by alternating bands of dark granite and white gritstone.¹ The towers now lack their uppermost floor, their battlements and roofs.

(2) Ducal: 1373–1455

When John the Good granted Anjou to his second son, Louis in 1356, he made the pentagonal-shaped fortress at Angers the centre of his patrimony. Its uncompromising exterior gives no hint

Pl. 66 Angers Castle:
the formidable outer
circuit



of the heterogeneous collection of domestic buildings added within the earlier enceinte by the line of ducal rulers between 1370 and 1455.

The earlier apartments were in ruin, but Louis I (d.1384) remodelled the Romanesque great hall in about 1370 and replaced its kitchen. Louis sought to impress his peers and lesser contemporaries with tournaments, ceremonies, and his collection of gold plate, but his most singular commission was the spectacular tapestry sequence illustrating the Revelation according to St John the Divine, now displayed once more within the castle.

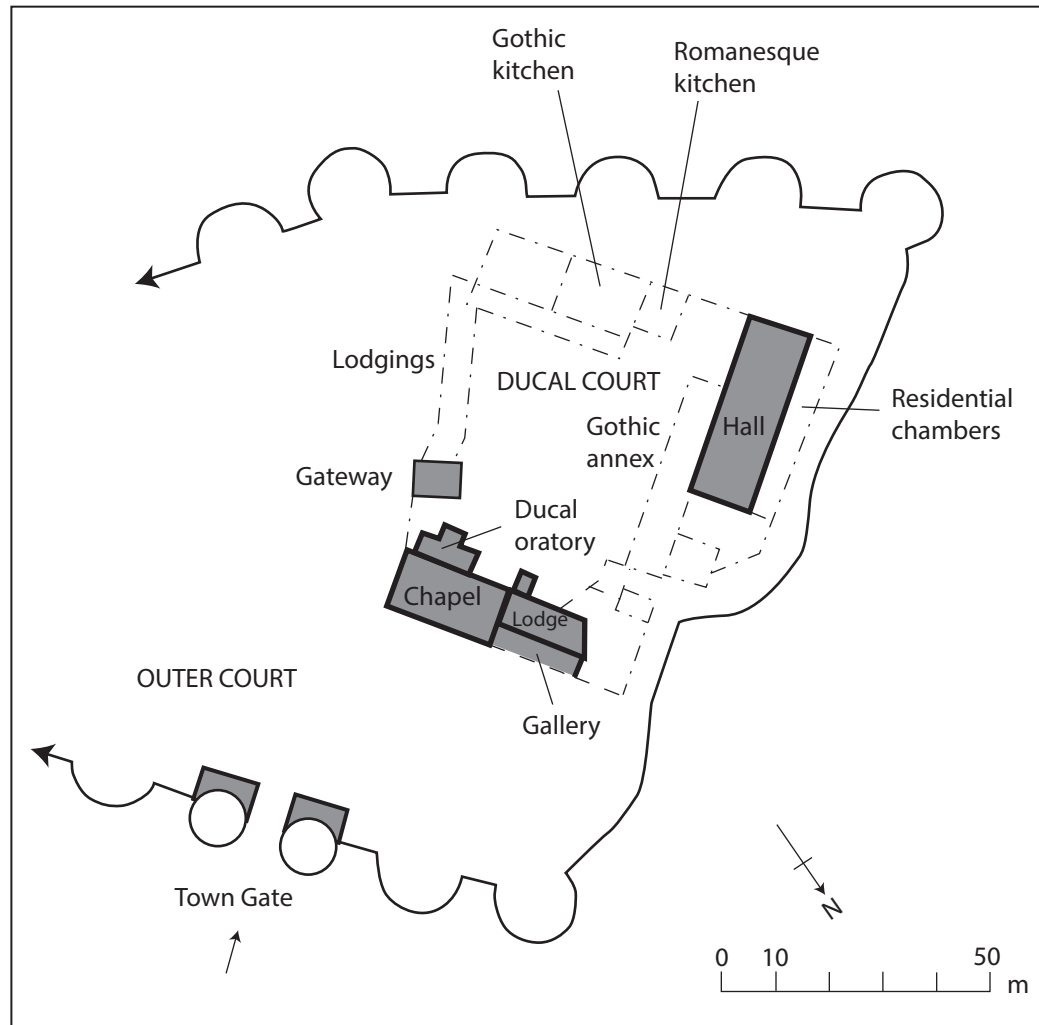
Initially Louis II (d.1417) tried to establish his rule in Italy as the king of Naples (1389–99) but on failing to do so, he returned to France to continue the building projects of his father at Angers, Saumur, and Tarascon. At Angers, Louis II built the *logis royal* between 1402 and 1410 at right angles to the hall, followed by the dominating chapel to house a relic of the True Cross. This work was completed in 1415 by Louis' wife, Yolande of Aragon.

Louis III (d.1434) spent most of his life in Calabria with barely a visit to Angers. On his death, his younger brother René took over his estates, though at the time, he was a prisoner of the duke of Burgundy. It was not until the early 1450s that he made any additions to the castle, initially with the entry gate to the seigneurial palace between 1450 to 1455 followed in 1453 by his corridor access to the royal lodge. His other residential modifications have been lost over subsequent centuries.

The Ducal Buildings

Three centuries of prison and military occupation of the castle only ended in 1947. By 1950, the eastern half of the outer court had been cleared of all military structures and laid out as a formal garden. Of the two retained castle entrances, the Town gateway was remodelled internally for a senior official under Louis I, while the eighteenth-century lodge next to the Principal gateway facing the countryside incorporates a mid-fifteenth century stair turret from an earlier lodge.

Fig. 40 Angers Castle:
site plan of ducal
court



Though the seigneurial palace filled the south-west quarter of the castle interior, only four medieval structures survive and they do not coalesce into an architecturally coherent plan. The great hall is ruined but is basically twelfth century, subsequently modified by Louis I two centuries later. Most of the ducal apartments have been destroyed and replaced by twentieth century exhibition galleries except for the small lodge built against the chapel by Louis II and extended forty years later by René. Louis II and his wife were also responsible for the imposing chapel, while the gateway was a rebuilding by René. These four elements of this ducal palace – gateway, hall, lodge, and chapel – will be considered in their historical rather than the visited order.

(1) Hall

The unbuttressed great hall was constructed during the mid-twelfth century and used throughout the middle ages as the principal reception apartment. It is a rare if ruined early domestic survival with its retained Romanesque entry with two lines of dog-tooth decoration. The apartment was remodelled by Louis I who replaced most of the early windows in the courtyard wall with square-headed six light transomed windows within arched bays² and four higher square windows lighting the roof. Louis also inserted the end-wall fireplace, sixteen feet wide, an annex preceding the hall entrance, and a ceremonial stair at the upper end, now destroyed to foundation level.



Pl. 67 Angers Castle: courtyard face of the great hall

Excavations have shown that a line of residential chambers abutted the hall to overlook the river Maine. The twelfth-century kitchen, similar to that surviving at Fontevraud Abbey, was built close to the upper end of the hall. Two centuries later, Louis I's kitchen was built next to it. It was four times as large as its predecessor and comparable to the fine fifteenth-century survival at Montreuil-Bellay Castle with a large vaulted area with four hearths in the angles and a vaulted aisle all round.³

(2) Lodge

The hall and several important apartments (including the Great Chamber and the Council Chamber) filled one side of the central court. Nothing survives of the services and lodgings on the south and south-east side of the court, finally destroyed in the early nineteenth century to provide space for prison use.

At a higher level on the north side of the courtyard was Louis II's ducal (later royal) lodge of 1402–10, formerly linked to the great hall. The rooms in this lodge are smaller than might be expected. They consisted of an outer and inner chamber on three floors with the lavatories in a projecting turret. René's galleries subsequently provided external corridor access to the rooms on each floor.

(3) Chapel

The lodge abutted the chapel erected by Louis II and his wife, Yolande of Aragon between 1405 and 1413 to house a relic of the True Cross.⁴ 75 feet by 40 feet and built of local limestone, this expansively windowed and buttressed chapel of three vaulted bays creates a broad interior. There is no porch but the entrance is enhanced by side niches, a pinnacle entry, and painted leaf moulding. The windows facing the ducal court are much shorter than those towards the outer court but the tracery patterns differ on all three sides. The first bay retains some late fifteenth-century stained glass and the east wall retains late Renaissance painted scenes and hangings. The



Pl. 68 Angers Castle: chapel and King René's châtelet

plain quadripartite vaulting is of typical Angevin character with the keystones bearing the arms of Louis II alone, Louis II and Yolande of Aragon, and the double barred cross of Lorraine. The lord's private oratory, elaborately sculpted towards the chapel, and with a fireplace, was privately accessible from the ducal court.

(4) René's Gateway and other Additions

To complete this overview, René's later additions are noted here rather than in Part Three. As the mid-years of his rule coincided with more peaceful times, his elegant works within the castle reflect this change. Between 1450 and 1455, he replaced the earlier entrance to the ducal court with a new ceremonial gateway or 'châtelet'. This three storeyed gateway is distinguished by bold turrets flanking the front and rear facades of the gabled entry block with the turrets corbel supported (a rear one holds the stair) and crowned with steeply pointed roofs. Though the approach is fully frontal, the entry passage was built on an angle to give the visitor diagonal access to the palace's inner court. The broad entrance arch is welcoming while the generous fenestration dispels any thoughts of defensive needs. The enceinte walls and towers had taken care of that. This was an early and much copied decorative gateway to an expensively furnished seigneurial residence.⁵ In about 1453, René added a very linear frontage to his predecessor's lodge marked by two superimposed galleries at first and second floor level. Both galleries were vaulted and provided with four exceptionally large windows serving as an east-facing grandstand for himself and his family. Framed by buttresses and crocketed gables with flower finials, the upper parts of these windows were filled with glass but the lower sections were closed by shutters in flamboyant Gothic style. The form of René's gallery, repeated at Saumur and Tarascon, foreshadowed the Renaissance galleries developed from Blois to Fontainebleau. The galleries were approached from a generous newel that terminated in a multi-ribbed head, and provided access to the private apartments. René also made changes to the lost ducal apartments and offices and filled the ducal court with small pavilions linked by galleries,

surrounded by gardens packed with flowers brought from Provence. He sought to create an artificial world dedicated to beauty through its buildings, gardens, flowers, ponds, and his menagerie.

The Tapestry of the Apocalypse

Though the structural remains of the ducal buildings are of considerable if scattered interest, what is of undisputed magnificence and a European masterpiece without parallel in England is the tapestry of the Apocalypse, ordered by Louis I in 1375 and completed in about 1382. It was undertaken by Nicholas Bataille, tapestry maker of Paris and Robert Poinçon whose ateliers probably worked as subcontractors to the cartoons of Hannequin of Bruges, court painter to Charles V. It is still the largest wall hanging in Europe and was intended to decorate the residences of the duke, particularly that at Angers. As it was 462 feet long, no single room in the castle was large enough to accommodate it, making it necessary to display the six 77 feet long panels separately.⁶ Each panel was composed of fourteen scenes on two levels. Though it has been badly treated so that nearly a third of the tapestry has been lost, this is an extremely rare but monumental example of an expensive late medieval survival in context. Furthermore, it not only illustrates scenes from the last book of the New Testament, the Apocalypse according to St John the Divine, but it reflects the context of the Hundred Years War in its depiction of the ravages of conflict, plague and famine.

Notes

1. This striking banded work raises the question whether the Theodosian walls at Constantinople were necessarily the model for Edward I's banded walls and towers at Caernarvon Castle. St Louis' fortress was famed in its own day and has the same high country entrance across the moat and town-facing gate for daily access that was adopted at the Welsh castle. Edward I was already modelling St Stephen's chapel at Westminster on St Louis' Sainte-Chapelle, and perhaps the highly unusual banded feature of one of Europe's most formidable fortresses was a more immediate precept for the Welsh castle.
2. A remarkably similar form was used at Harewood Castle in Yorkshire (c.1366–75) which was without precedent in England.
3. The Montreuil-Bellay kitchen was built during the second quarter of the fifteenth century. This castle, like a miniature Windsor Castle, has three other substantial survivals built by the Harcourt family during their 71 year tenure (1417–88). They erected a large collegiate church between 1472 and 1484, comparable in size and position to that at Warkworth; a contemporary group of four independent canons' lodgings of vertical form; and a double private chapel with the lower vault covered in c.1480–85 with frescoes of angels with musical instruments and a motet by a Scottish monk Walter Frye.
4. This relic, better known as the cross of Lorraine, is now held at Baugé.
5. For example, at Carrouges Castle in Normandy where Cardinal Le Veneur built a larger brick version during the first quarter of the sixteenth century.
6. King René bequeathed the tapestry to Angers cathedral which sold it in 1848. It was subsequently recovered by the bishop and since 1954, has been displayed in the purpose-built exhibition gallery within the castle.

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SAUMUR CASTLE

Construction

The present castle at Saumur was initiated by the king's brother in 1368 and was completed in a little over thirty years. As it commands an important crossing over the river Loire, there had long been an earlier fortress on the site with a stone keep constructed in the late eleventh century. It was not unlike that still standing at Beaugency or Montrichard. During the early thirteenth century, Philippe-Auguste enclosed the keep with a quadrangular circuit of curtain walling with drum towers at the four corners. Residential ranges were subsequently erected on the west and south sides¹ but this fortress was markedly old-fashioned when it came into the possession in 1356 of Louis, count of Anjou.

What Louis sought from his master-mason was a castle that served two purposes. It had to be a fortress capable of repelling enemy forces, whether they were under English command or bands of mercenaries terrifying the countryside. It also had to declare Louis' royal position and authority by the quality and magnificence of the structure. The earlier fortress determined the shape of the new castle but its internal planning and luxurious superstructure were the precedent for similar work adopted by Louis' brothers, the dukes of Berry and Burgundy. Some of the lower parts of the earlier castle were retained, particularly the round bases of the corner towers but they were now surmounted by polygonal towers. These and the newly built residential ranges were crowned by bold machicolated parapets.

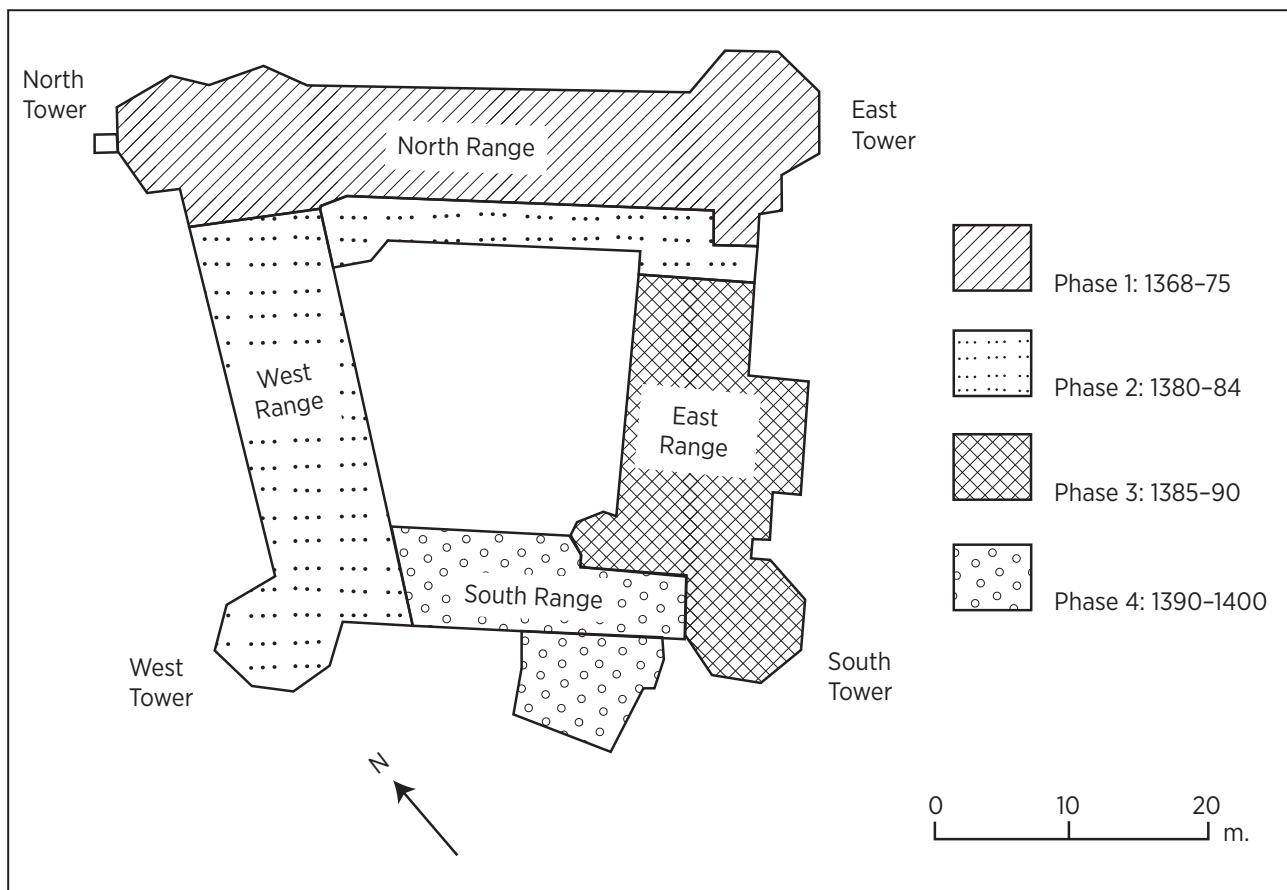


Fig. 41 Saumur Castle: development phases



Pl. 69 Saumur Castle: September in *Très Riches Heures*, c.1410–16. (Le mois de septembre/Limbourg Pol, Jean et Hermann/ © RMN-Grand Palais (domaine de Chantilly)/René-Gabriel Ojéda/Chantilly, musée Condé)

The first phase extended from 1368 to 1375 with the rebuilding of the north range with its two terminal towers overlooking the river Loire.² The new range was four storeyed with the towers rising higher. The second phase from 1380 to 1384 began with the demolition of the Romanesque keep that had filled the courtyard so that a corridor gallery could be built against the new north range with a great stair at one end. At the same time, the great hall was constructed on the west side of the courtyard, together with the west tower with a first floor boss that cannot be later than 1382. After the death of Louis I in 1384, his wife undertook the third phase, the construction of the east range between about 1385 and 1390, with the south range and châtelet entry concluding the castle's reconstruction during the last decade of the fourteenth century.³ Extended ducal absences in Italy did not inhibit construction

for it was the ducal wives – mainly Marie of Blois on behalf of Louis I and Yolande of Aragon for the young Louis II – who ensured building continuity. This was despite the financial demands incurred through the princes' fighting in Italy from 1382 onwards.

The result was a commanding structure that was both fortress and palace, strikingly built in the local cream stone from Dampierre and Savennières. The newly-cut stone must have given the castle a brilliance that time has dimmed. It culminated in a paroxysm of machicolations, battlements crowned with fleur-de-lis decoration, immensely tall chimneys, and high pitched conical roofs. The depiction of the castle in the September illustration in the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* brilliantly details the complex character of the castle by the early fifteenth century.⁴

King René spent a considerable amount of time at Saumur Castle during the third quarter of the fifteenth century and redeveloped part of the east range between 1454 and 1472 as his primary residential quarters. His work included remodelling the east tower, the nearby balustrade projection, and a wooden stair in the east corner of the courtyard.

Between the late sixteenth and the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the castle was given a total enclosure of artillery bastions and casements even along the cliff-like river side. By that time, a plan of the castle shows that the loss of the west range including the great hall had already occurred. The fortress was subsequently used as a barracks, a state prison, and a military arsenal until 1889 when the badly decaying building was given up for military purposes.

Restoration

The town of Saumur purchased the castle in 1906 for the remarkably modest sum of 2,500 francs. Intended to be used for museum purposes, the north range was restored in 1906–12, followed by the east range between 1920 and 1930. Floors had to be removed which had been inserted in the eighteenth century and the rows of cells inserted in the early nineteenth century had to be destroyed. Not surprisingly, the restoration was a heavy one. Externally, the roof line resembles a partial version of that shown in the *Très Riches Heures* but lacking some of the gables and tall chimneys as well as the gilded fleur-de-lis vanes. The internal restoration was achieved on the partial remains of internal walls, original windows, vestiges of the main fireplaces, and fragments of internal vaults. No attempt was made to reproduce the sculptured decoration of doors and fireplaces but every effort was made to restore the original internal layout.

Both ranges are used for museum purposes – medieval art in the north range, with furniture, tapestries, and porcelain of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries in the east range with its attic floor devoted to the museum of the horse. In 1997, the restoration of the south range from its prison layout was initiated but work ceased in 2001 with the collapse of the north-west rampart. This has meant the virtual closure of the castle from 2002 for a fundamental restoration which will not be completed until at least 2015.

Layout

Unlike the assertive gateways at Montreuil Bellay or La Ferté Milon, the entry at Saumur was a modest prelude seemingly added to the frontage of the south range. It is two storeyed with twin turrets and a machicolation box above the approach which was formerly drawbridge protected. The strength of this castle lay not in its entry but in its four corner towers rising from the earlier splayed bases to first floor level where they become fourteenth-century octagonal structures.⁵ An angled passage, portcullis-guarded, gives access to the inner court.

The west side of the court was filled with the great hall above an undercroft. The site is now a built-up



Pl. 70 Saumur
Castle: entry range

terrace following the hall's destruction by the early seventeenth century. It would have been approached by an independent stair from the courtyard but this has been totally lost as has the kitchen close to the recently restored well house protecting the 200 feet deep well. This well house has accidentally protected two windows of the former hall range. The high or upper end of the hall is marked by a square-headed fireplace, twenty feet wide, with decorated jambs and lintel. A small doorway to one side led to a major chamber in the west tower that was remodelled at the same time as the hall. High above the fireplace is the outline of the hall's stone vault.

The ranges round the remaining three sides of the courtyard were filled with apartments. It seems likely that Louis I occupied an earlier entry or south range during the first phase of the castle's reconstruction. These rooms were not large – an audience hall, chapel, and bedchamber – but they were soon replaced by the larger suite for the duke in the north range.

The first phase work included a stair accessing the line of four ducal rooms at first floor level.⁶ The largest was the *chambre de parament* or public audience chamber. It was succeeded by the *chambre de retrait*, a smaller and more private room with a latrine projecting from the outer wall. Both rooms were provided with sculpted fireplaces, generous four light casement windows, and decorated floor tiles, all restored in 1906–12. At the north end was the ducal bedchamber with a separate latrine and ante-room next to the great hall. At the east end was the vaulted ducal chapel with a four light window with traceried head, external hood and head stops, and formerly with stained glass commissioned by Louis from Paris. The chancel occupied the east tower.

It is possible that the duchess' rooms were above those of the duke, but the room divisions under the roof have been destroyed leaving only stone benches to the three dormer windows as evidence of their high status occupation. However, the accounts record that there were two quality chambers

above the chapel with fine windows, wood panelling, and paved floors. The range was surmounted by a machicolated parapet fronting a lead roof while the end towers were slate covered and with the gilded coat of arms of Louis I.

The second phase work included a continuation of the north range development. The Romanesque keep was pulled down enabling a three storeyed gallery or *pavillon* to be built above a three (formerly four) arched arcade. The original gallery seems to have been of wood with the existing gallery with its first floor vaulted roof a fifteenth-century replacement. Concurrent with this was the construction of the great stair projecting into the courtyard and with its open loggias and canopied niches which were no doubt filled with figures of family members.⁷ This distinctive approach to the private apartments was an early example of a singular French architectural conceit that had a contemporary parallel in the Louvre where the statues were representations of the royal family.

The second phase not only included the construction of the great hall and the west tower but also the double spiral stair and the latrine closet between them. One of the stairs could only be approached from the bedchamber giving the occupant total privacy and access to the room above. The second flight of stairs was used by the guards as it served the *chemin de ronde* at roof level and formerly went down to the courtyard.

The east range had been constructed in the 1390s but it was modified by King René during the third quarter of the fifteenth century. He created a new approach to the range in the east angle of the courtyard by a wooden newel encased within a tower. The keystone of the first floor vaulted light well has the

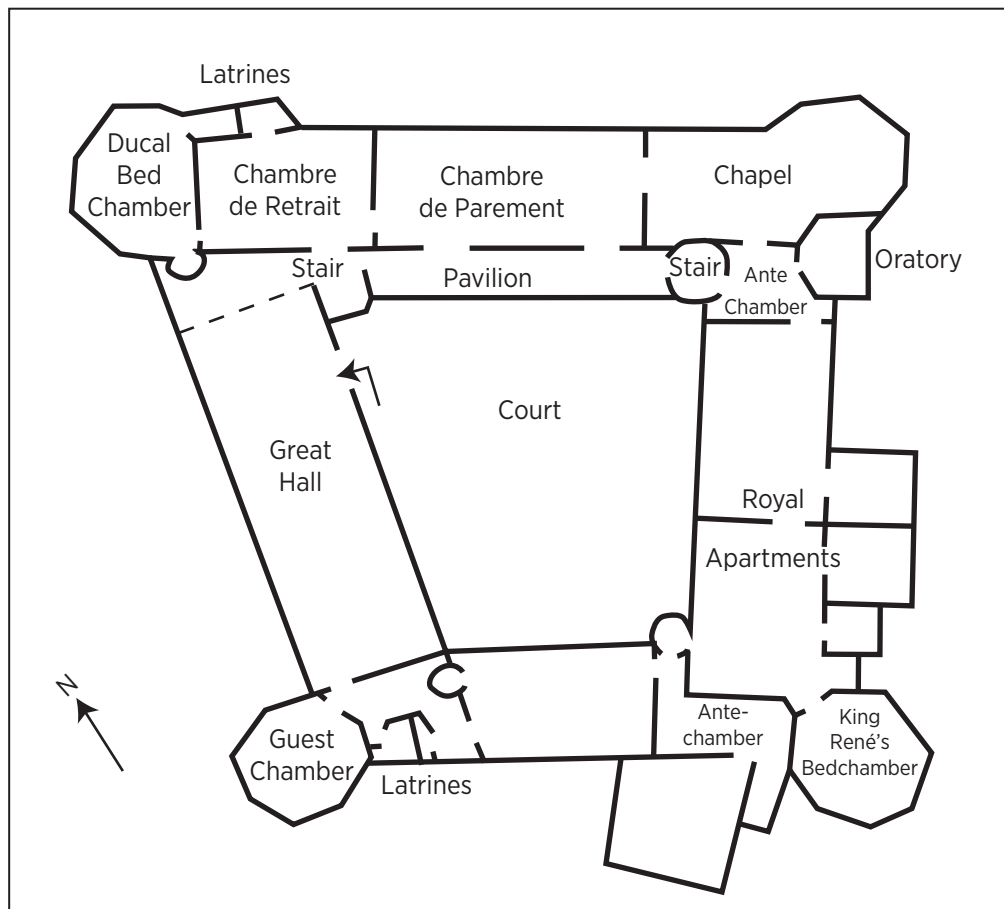


Fig. 42 Saumur Castle:
first floor layout c.1470



Pl. 71 Saumur
Castle: east range

arms of René's second wife while the nearby chapel was given a second entrance in a flamboyant style. The range followed the pattern of a more public outer room and a more private succeeding chamber but now with intimate rooms at two levels in the east facing projection and in the south tower. It is possible that René's wife occupied the rooms in the north range built for Louis I.

The south or entry range was replaced at the close of the fourteenth century or perhaps during the first years of the fifteenth century. It was the last major development at the castle and was only rescued from its desperate condition through prison use at the close of the twentieth century. It seems that the original rebuilding by Louis II and Yolande replaced like for like, dominated by an audience or semi-private chamber with a six light window. The latrine and curving corridor served as a buffer separating this chamber from those in the west tower. This suite could have been used, for instance, by privileged guests. The entry block was rebuilt at the same time as the south range against which it partly abutted.

Summary

What was built by the dukes of Anjou at Saumur was a combination of a fortress and a display of magnificence. The former was achieved by using the base of the earlier towers but redeveloping the walling above with an extensive use of large windows and surmounting the ranges and towers with an array of turrets, roofs, and chimneys. A similar combination was being developed by Charles V at the Louvre but it can only be appreciated today at Saumur. It is a rare survival of a semi-royal residence of the late fourteenth century, planned whilst duke Louis was still heir to the throne, with completion by about 1400. It combined artistic taste with a statement of royal power and majesty. Internally, the sequence of state chambers in this castle point to their growth in scale and number from the sequence

of lodgings for Louis I to a possible guest suite in the south range by the close of the century, and a preference for additional intimate rooms half a century later.

Notes

1. These ranges are north-west and south-west by the compass but they have been realigned for descriptive ease.
2. Some of this work is recorded in the *Comptes de Macé Darne*, Louis I's master of works from 1367 to 1376.
3. This phasing programme follows that proposed by E. Litoux, J. Hunot, and D. Prigent, L'Edification d'Un Châteaux-Palais dans le dernier tiers due XIVe siècle in *Le Château et La Citadelle de Saumur* (2010), 49–90.
4. A sculpted survival was found in the post-2000 restoration confirming the depiction of the castle in the *Très Riches Heures*. Whether this and the other well-known seasonal illustrations in this manuscript are of the mid 1410s or later is still the subject of considerable discussion.
5. The thirteenth-century vaulted basements survive in the south, west and east towers but with no windows, only elongated loops in the west tower.
6. The castle was closed to the public during my visit in 2011 as part of a historic building repair programme that became the most expensive in France. The internal layout of the north and east ranges is therefore indebted to Mary Whiteley's paper on the castle in J. McNeill and D. Prigent (ed.) *Anjou: Medieval Art, Architecture, and Archaeology* (2002), 247–58.
7. The trunk of one of these statues, found in the Town Hall, has been rescued and returned to the castle.

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TARASCON CASTLE

Like the earlier castle at Saumur in the Loire valley, Tarascon Castle in the Rhône valley stands as testimony to the power of the Valois dukes of Anjou in southern France. As the river Rhône was the political frontier between the county of Provence and France, Tarascon was always a place of military and strategic importance. Construction of the present castle spans the first third of the fifteenth century and was primarily the work of Louis II who died in 1417 and his elder son Louis III (d.1434), with a coda by his brother René (d.1480).

The house of Anjou acquired Tarascon in 1246 through the marriage of Charles, the younger brother of St Louis to the heiress of the count of Provence. Charles was subsequently crowned king of Naples and Sicily by the pope and in the 1260s captured Naples and initiated its conversion into a Francophile capital. He died in 1285 but not before the king of Aragon had initiated more than a century of intervention against Anjou's claim to the Neapolitan kingdom. The county of Provence was the strategic assembly point for the Angevin pursuit of the crown of Naples and Sicily, and Tarascon stands as testimony to their long held ambition. But despite considerable expenditure and energy, neither Louis II nor his sons were successful in their protracted enterprise.

Construction

Externally, Tarascon is a fortress: internally it is more obviously a palace. Externally, it is a homogenous structure of a single period, but internally there is more obvious evidence of phased activity. Built on



Pl. 72 Tarascon
Castle: east
frontage

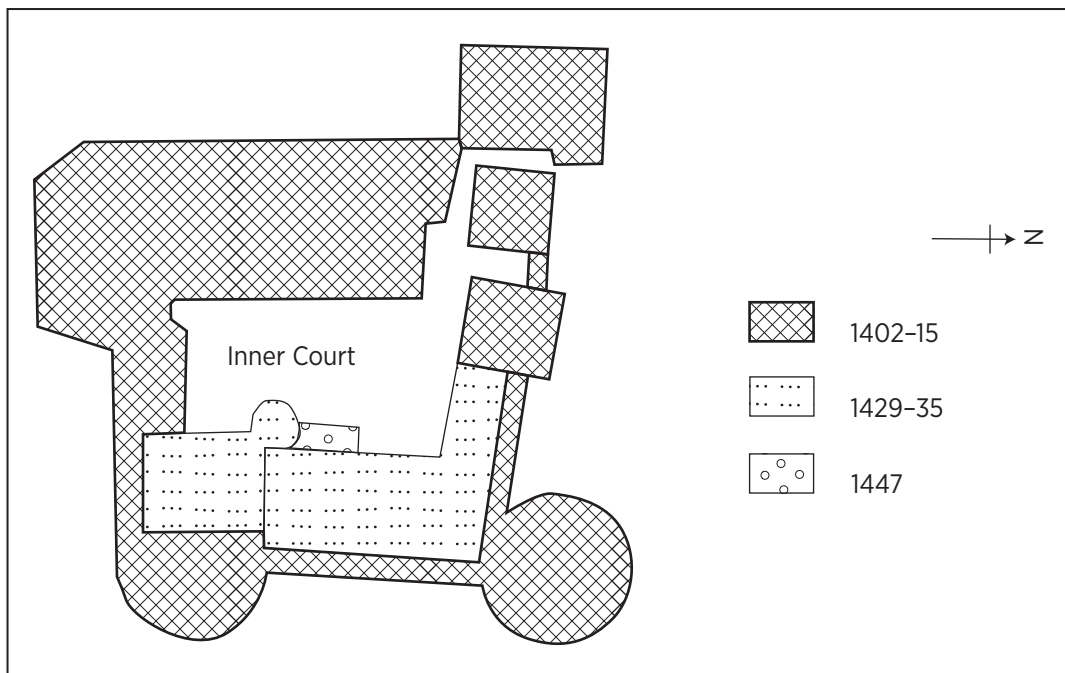


Fig. 43 Tarascon
Castle: develop-
ment phases

a rocky outcrop at the edge of the river Rhône, it is of quadrangular plan with four prominent angle towers, square to the river but circular to the town. Tarascon is less regular than Pierrefonds with its walls surmounted by a single machicolated parapet and a flat platform roof for artillery.

Louis II decided to rebuild the old castle at Tarascon in the autumn of 1400 a few months after his marriage to Yolande, the daughter of the king of Aragon. Work proceeded briskly, overseen by Louis and

his wife between 1402 and 1415, beginning with the west range with its north and south extensions and perimeter towers opening from a wider courtyard than stands today. Louis left for Anjou in 1415 but he never returned as a consequence of the English invasion of Normandy that threatened his borders.

Yolanda and her children returned to Tarascon in 1419 to a castle that now held several furnished chambers, a useable hall, and a chapel. Further work was necessary though to provide more suitable accommodation for the queen of Naples. This second development phase, initiated in 1429, extended the chapel nave so that its new entrance was in line with the principal stair and adjacent gallery. This work was preparatory to the construction against the east and north sides of the courtyard of a tier of royal suites above an open gallery. As Louis III spent much of his time in Italy, this activity was supervised by Pierre Beauvau, Head of Provence, between 1429 and 1435. Goods and masonry were supplied by Jean Robert, the builder was Richard Imbert, and payments were made by Jean Hardouin, paymaster of the county of Provence. Site clearance in 1433 marked the conclusion of this major addition to the castle, followed by Louis III's death in the following year.

Military defeat in Italy forced King René to return to his estates in Anjou and Provence. Previous visits to Tarascon – a few days in 1437–38, a few weeks in 1442–43 – were followed by an extended stay in Provence in 1447–49 when he made some alterations to improve the castle's comfort and added a small first-floor chapel above the ground-floor gallery. An inventory of 1457 reveals that the castle was virtually empty, meagrely decorated and lacking in quality contents, for the castle was increasingly anachronistic to the lifestyle of René and his second wife. They preferred the country palaces and gardens at Aix-en-Provence and their houses in Avignon and Tarascon.¹ Between 1471 and 1478, René attempted to make their apartments in the austere castle more comfortable but with little success. With the subsequent annexation of Anjou and then Provence by Louis XI, royal 'comfort' at the castle gave way to prison occupation until the early twentieth century.

Description

This castle divides into two major units – the narrow open quadrangle of the outer court, and the formidable square bulk of the castle proper (fig. 44). The oblong layout of the outer court was rock determined and was protected by three belligerent square towers towards the town which may have been built on the tower bases of the earlier castle.² Their considerably greater height than the adjacent curtain wall and the two lines of machicolated wall walks reflected the form adopted in the 1370s for the town walls at Avignon. The wall seats were for shooting, not for accommodation which was limited to the line of mid-fifteenth-century lodgings on the river side. Each of the six barrel-vaulted rooms had its own entry, window, and fireplace and was used for domestic services – kitchen, larder, buttery, pantry, sauces, and fruits – with traces of sculptures above the doors probably showing the appropriate services. The staff accommodation above was approached internally. Goods were brought into this outer court through the river-facing postern opposite the main entrance.

(1) Defences

The castle proper rises from its rock base, visible internally as well as externally, with all outer walling protected by battered bases and a wet moat towards the town. The fortress is a formidable block of common height throughout, surmounted by a continuous machicolated parapet and a flat roof. It was unlike most contemporary castles for the multi-towered roofline of the Louvre or Pierrefonds was replaced here by a stone terrace for artillery defence. Only the outer court was broken by towers that rose higher than the crenellated parapet. Windows were modest except those

facing the river, while the entrances were drawbridge protected.

The outer gateway opens into the forecourt that is markedly spacious with the rock-hewn fosse spanned by the single bridge to the castle. However, an enemy force would be vulnerable to attack from all sides. Of the same five-storey height throughout, the entry frontage was tower-protected with only an occasional barred window so that the façade is an uncompromising declaration of power – as aggressive as that forty years earlier by Charles V at Vincennes.

Of the four angle towers, the square and pentagonal projections reflected traditional practices common in Provence, while the round and semi-round towers reflected more up-to-date Angevin techniques as at Fort St André at Villeneuve-lès-Avignon. The 160 feet high outer walling enabled an artillery platform to be created at roof level. It was a pioneer example of this type of defence. Artillery equipment was kept in a small *châtelet* on the roof (no longer existing) that held equipment delivered in 1415.³ The machicolated and crenellated parapet gives the castle a frowning crown, though it now lacks the chimneys and banners that were formerly here.



Pl. 73 Tarascon Castle: outer court facing the modest entry

(2) Residential Units

The castle is divided into four functional units – the entry towers and kitchen (north), the reception hall and royal suite (west), the chapels (south) and the queen's apartments (east). Partially built-over windows and doors opening into voids point to changes during construction and phasing activity.

a) Great Hall and Royal Suite

The river side is filled with three tiered halls, all of the same size. The approach to the ground floor reception hall could not be more modest – a chamfered arched opening for double doors. Immediately within was a sink for washing hands. Here as elsewhere in the king's apartments are large casement windows, mullioned and transomed, with replacement glass and shutters. The hall has two windows towards the courtyard and three overlooking the river, all set high with a step-approach to the window seats. The hall is warmed by two fireplaces, one serving the dais and one the body of the hall. The ceiling is original with retained evidence of its painted decoration – plant and geometric patterns with fantastic creatures in between. This

apartment was essentially used for receptions. The two rooms behind the dais are vaulted but neither has a fireplace suggesting they were non-residential. That they were used for services is underlined by the approach to the withdrawing chamber above which was not close to the dais but at the lower end of the hall.⁴

The first floor withdrawing chamber repeats the two fireplaces, the beamed ceiling, the two windows in the courtyard wall but only two overlooking the river with a third one in the lower end wall. The windows also differ from those below in being approached at floor level. The ceiling again retains its painted patterning of fantastic beasts and coats of arms. This imposing withdrawing chamber or *chambre de parement* was used by the king for his more private discussions and more intimate meals. It was part of the royal suite and helped to restrict access to his private apartments. They consisted of four rooms on two levels beginning with the royal chamber to the rear of the hall. It is a relatively austere room with a single window to the river and to the courtyard, a fireplace, a latrine in the wall thickness, and a beamed ceiling (restored). A newel separating this royal bedchamber from an inner or 'retreat' room gave access to an identical room layout above. This suite was initially occupied by Louis II and his wife Yolande from about 1410. With the subsequent development of her own suite on the opposite side of the courtyard in c.1430, this suite was used solely by the king and his personal staff.

The second floor audience chamber differs from those below in its three bay crown of rib vaulting. It repeats the two fireplaces though they are both in the courtyard wall, the two windows in opposing side walls, and the single north-facing window. They all have generously approached stone seats. The vaulting is supported on lively corbels as elsewhere in the castle. The rear room is similarly vaulted in two bays with the corbels holding coats of arms and foliated surrounds. The generous windows, fireplace, and latrine reflect its residential function.

The square north-west tower overlooking the river, known as the Artillery Tower, was primarily residential. It was independent of the royal suite but its position identifies that it was for occupants of standing such as Louis III's youngest brother, Charles, count of Maine and lieutenant general of Provence, or for other honoured guests.



Pl. 74 Tarascon Castle: Audience Chamber

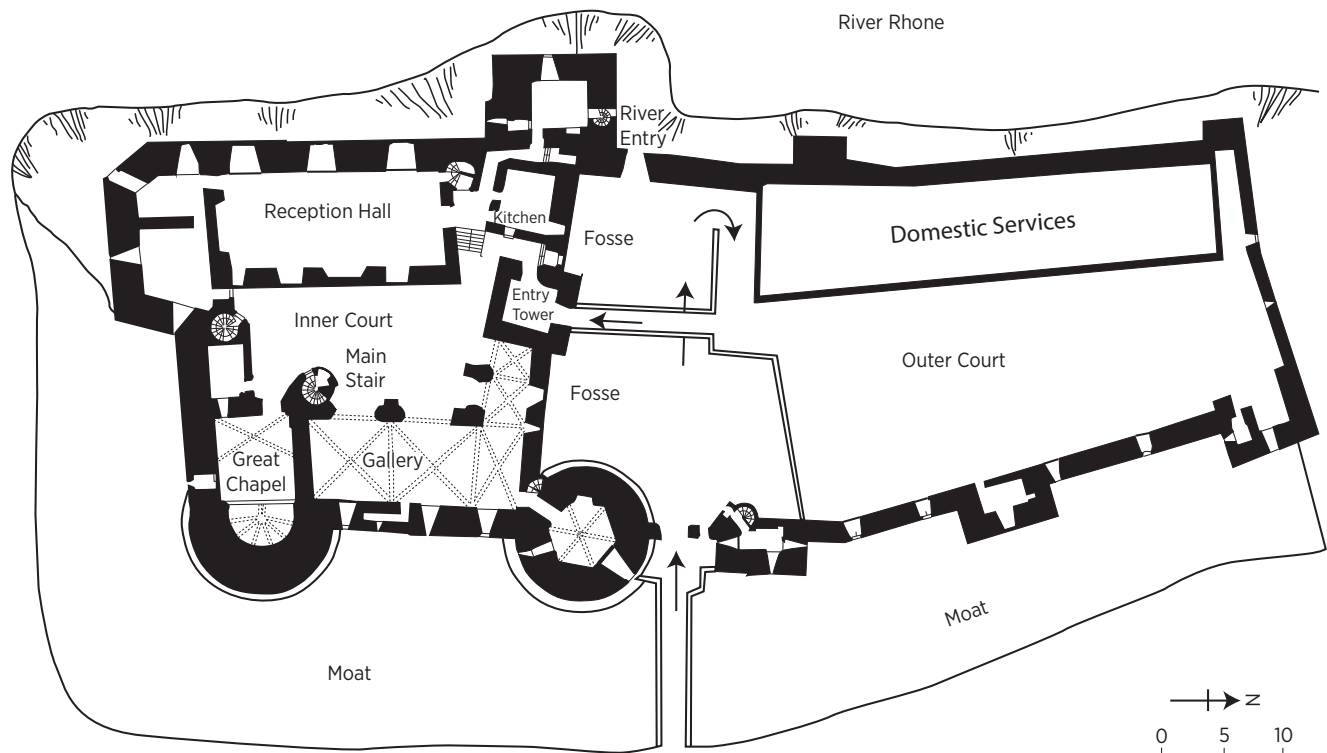


Fig. 44 Tarascon Castle: ground plan

b) The Chapels

The approach to the Great Chapel is prefaced by the Cantors' Chapel created in a vaulted recess by René in 1447. The Great Chapel entrance of c.1430 was an imposing one surmounted by a fleuron-headed arch but it is now denuded of its decorative work except for the flanking canopied niches for statues. The body of the chapel is a two bay nave with a single bay apse, vaulted throughout with the apse ribs meeting at a single boss. The apse was built by Louis II but the nave was added by Louis III in c.1430. Compared with the generous fenestration of the west range, the chapel was lit by only three slender lights while an arrow slit in a wall recess reminded chapel users that the building was a defensive one.

Above the Great Chapel was the more private royal chapel with its two oratories. Of similar plan and rib vaulting, its lower end is lit by the largest Gothic window in the castle.

c) The Queen's Suite

The three identical suites used by the queen and her entourage on the east side of the castle were added in 1429–33 above an open gallery at courtyard level. They were occupied in turn by the wives of Louis II, Louis III, and the two wives of King René. This group of L-shaped suites consisted of four rooms, two to the east, one to the north, and a hexagonal one in the circular tower at the junction with the newel that served them. This stair was the approach to the largest apartment, a reception room, flanked by the more private inner room at each end. The occupation of the fourth room in the tower was supplementary to each suite. Every room

had a fireplace, window with seats with those in the largest room facing the town as well as the courtyard. All the rooms had beamed ceilings except those on the third floor which were stone vaulted as elsewhere in the castle at that level. The principal stair from the courtyard was a very private one that was the honoured approach to the inner room of each suite. This included the queen's bedchamber on the first floor, next to René and Isabel's tiny added chapel.

There were, however, some differences. The first floor suite is slightly grander than those above. The outer chamber has a markedly ornate fireplace, the finest in the castle, and a fine painted ceiling. The room is not so well windowed as those above but this is overcome by the generously fenestrated inner chamber with its latrine. The second floor newel lobby is rib vaulted, while the others are plain, but the third floor hexagonal room has no latrine. The uppermost suite has smaller windows to the town than those below – possibly for staff occupation.

Assessment

Tarascon Castle was a declaration of authority and power and was therefore more like the formidable-looking royal castle at Vincennes than the duke of Berry's castle at Mehun-sur-Yèvre. Externally, it was a fortress. It was only internally that it proved to be a palace. The architectural form of the castle is significant. Whereas the 1st duke of Anjou developed Saumur from an earlier fortress, Tarascon was developed by his son totally anew. Saumur is surmounted by a highly decorative roofline whereas the roof at Tarascon is an artillery platform giving the castle a much more stark character.

The castle is compact, more so than Pierrefonds or the papal palace at Avignon, and in comparison with them, it is squat. The incorporation of the two south-facing towers in the internal design rather than the two more boldly projecting north-facing towers identifies masterful planning, while the artillery platform reflects its up-to-date military imperative. Though the Bastille in Paris had been built with a roof terrace in the 1370s that at Tarascon is one of its successors for Louis II had swiftly appreciated the value of artillery in Naples and



Pl. 75 Tarascon Castle: Cantors' chapel and inner courtyard stair

had installed a substantial number of such pieces in the castle in 1415 under the guard of Jean of Hainault.

Internally, there is a mixture of architectural forms. Windows are square-headed, the larger mullioned and transomed, but some of the later additions are of more obvious Gothic tracery such as the courtyard gallery arches, the great chapel entry, René's cantors' chapel, and the upper chapel window. Gothic forms were limited to areas of religious activity compared with the square-headed casement windows with hood moulds and foliated stops for rooms of domestic or secular use. This is most obvious when the Gothic forms of the great chapel entry and the upper chapel window are compared with the casement window of the large room that separates them. The first floor recess under the king's chamber with the busts of René and his second wife (c.1460) is of Renaissance character.

Though Tarascon Castle stands far distant from the campaigns of the Hundred Years War, it reflects a vital aspect of the ambition of the Valois line in France between the late fourteenth and late fifteenth centuries. Its architectural relevance to the period is immediate. It was developed by two key members of the Anjou dynasty and stands in cultural contrast to their work in the Loire valley and elsewhere. Its external form is unlike that at Saumur, in particular but culturally it is an equal platform to the family's semi-royal way of life. Tarascon displays an up-to-date awareness of military developments and yet it retains the layout of two adjacent suites – one for the duke and his wife replaced a generation later by separate suites for the king and queen. Furthermore, despite distressing prison usage between the sixteenth and early twentieth centuries, the castle's internal layout is relatively clear and includes the outer court with its staff accommodation (missing at Saumur) as well as high quality decorative detail.

Notes

1. They similarly preferred the country manor-house at Launay near Saumur rather than the old castle which lacked the rural delights they enjoyed.
2. The two river-facing towers were smaller and lower but there was a further tower at the north end, destroyed in 1817–22.
3. In 1457, the châtelet held 19 bomb ketches, 30 bombardelles, catapults, bolts, and the materials for making cannonballs.
4. The ruined tower between the entry tower and the hall held the kitchen – no hearths remain – with the pantry and buttery above.

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THE DUCHY OF BERRY

JOHN, DUKE OF BERRY

John, duke of Berry (1340–1416) was the third son of John II (John the Good) and was granted the duchies of Berry and Auvergne in 1360. Berry became count of Poitou in 1372, but he had chosen Bourges to be his capital and it continued to be so rather than be replaced by the long established historic centre of Poitiers.

Though of impeccable aristocratic background and upbringing, Berry was confronted with the realities of war when his father was taken prisoner by the English in 1356. Berry was one of the forty hostages who stood surety for him in England between 1361 and 1366. Berry proved an inept military commander but he was entrusted with several diplomatic missions.

In his squabbles with his brothers after the death of Charles V and the accession of the twelve-year-old Charles VI in 1380, Berry was bought off with the government of Languedoc and French-held Guyenne. The death of Louis of Anjou in 1384 meant that Berry was the king's eldest uncle and his arrogance grew proportionally. He exorted money from his territories by any means leading to uprisings in 1381 and again in 1389–90 so that the king had to process through the regions to enquire into his uncle's tyranny. Although Berry was deprived of the governorship of Languedoc, he was allowed to keep the profits of his oppression. In 1402, he was appointed lieutenant for life in Berry with virtually sovereign powers while the governorship was restored in 1407. Arguments, power struggles and armed conflicts between family members marked Berry's later years. In 1412 Berry sought help from Henry IV of England to raise an army against John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy. Not surprisingly, the king and the citizens of Paris turned against the duke so that his Paris residences were plundered and Berry had to flee during the civil war that followed. His two sons had died before Berry whose own death occurred in 1416 with burial in his palace chapel in Bourges. As the duke had no surviving male heir, his appanage was divided to endow his heiresses, though the crown was the principal beneficiary.

Artistic Greediness

Bourges together with Paris and Dijon, became one of the three outstanding centres of the arts in France from 1360 to 1420. Berry's enthusiasm developed in two key fields – an extensive building programme and a wide-ranging artistic collection. He was a supreme collector of all things beautiful and curious. He was also dictatorial and greedy for money to pay for his expensive and eclectic tastes. He filled his residences with a vast assemblage of exquisite furniture, jewels, and curiosities. He had wide tastes that

encompassed books (illuminated by the Limbourg brothers), statuary (by André Beaunevue), items from the East (brought back by his nephew from the disastrous crusade to Nicopolis in 1396) as well as tapestries and classical medals.¹ He also had a fetish love for jewels, cameos, and enamels.

Several inventories of his treasurers survive from the early years of the fifteenth century, published in two parts at the close of the nineteenth century.² One volume covers the inventory for 1403, begun in Paris in 1401 followed by Mehun-sur-Yèvre and Bourges in 1403, while the second volume was prepared in 1413. There are several supplementary inventories for the intervening years up to the post-mortem listing of 1416. They not only reveal the wide range of his collection but the many unusual objects he acquired such as part of Elijah's cloak, one of the stones that Christ turned into bread, and the body of one of the innocents murdered by Herod.³

Building Activities

Berry held at least seventeen castles or residences within his duchy, many of which he remodelled or extended to provide suitable settings for his bejewelled collection. His building programme included remodelling the palaces at Bourges (Berry), Poitiers (Poitou), and Riom (Auvergne) as well as extending or redeveloping the castles at Mehun-sur-Yèvre, Clain on the edge of Poitiers, Concesssault, Lusignan, and Bicêtre.⁴ His architect was Guy de Dammartin, the brother of the duke of Burgundy's architect Dreux de Dammartin, responsible for the charterhouse at Champmol near Dijon. Much of Berry's legacy has been destroyed including most of the palace at Bourges, the castles at Clain and Bicêtre while the remains at Poitiers, Riom, and Mehun are partial. In Paris, his favourite residence was the Hôtel de Nesle on the opposite bank of the Seine to his brother's residence at the Louvre but it no longer survives nor does Bicêtre Castle on the outskirts of the capital, now buried under the Institute of France.⁵

These building works were primarily undertaken during John's earlier years with his focus shifting later in life to his extremely wide-ranging and exotic collections. Apart from a small number of architectural working drawings, accurate representation of contemporary medieval buildings — either in paint, sculpture, or brass — are extremely rare. There is one stunning exception and that is the depiction of the eleven castles and palaces of the Valois family in the *Très Riches Heures*. This is only one of the six Book of Hours prepared for John, duke of Berry but it is the most magnificent. All six have survived to a greater or lesser extent, but the *Belles Heures* of 1408–09 is the first to contain such a wealth of miniatures (Cloisters Museum, New York). The *Très Riches Heures* was prepared a little later, probably between 1410 and 1416 by the three Limbourg brothers but was not quite completed before they and Berry died.

This masterpiece opens with a calendar and illustration of the twelve months of the year in the form of vignettes of life as seen through aristocratic eyes. The background to ten of the months are depictions of some of the homes of Berry and his relations. January could not open with a more blatant display of regnal authority. It depicts the duke sitting under the dais baldachin in a tapestry-hung great hall receiving honoured guests. As his friend, the bishop of Bourges is sitting next to him; it is possible that the scene represents a New Year reception at the Bourges palace. As February lacks any background residence, the sequence begins with Lusignan Castle in Poitou (March) followed by Dourdon Castle (April). The May illustration is thought to be Riom Castle, the capital of the Auvergne. Then follows the Palais de la Cité in Paris as seen through a window from the duke's residence at the Hôtel de Nesle opposite (June). Clain Castle on the edge of Poitiers (July), Étampes Castle (August), Saumur Castle (September), the Louvre Palace, Paris as seen northwards from the Hôtel de Nestle, and Vincennes

Castle (December). These large-scale miniatures were the last part of the volume to be undertaken leaving one or two blank pages at that point. Only two miniatures lack a lordly residence, February and November, though the November illustration was added seventy years later by Jean Colombe.⁶

Their depiction continues in the following section illustrating scenes from the bible on an equally large scale as those of the calendar. Three or four of these include representations of cities. Bourges in the background to the Presentation of the Virgin also replaces Bethlehem as the setting for the Adoration of the Magi. Poitiers is thought to be the background town in the Annunciation to the Shepherds, while the Meeting of the Magi takes place in a rocky landscape not far from Paris which sits on the skyline. However, the culmination of these biblical events in a Valois setting is the Temptation of Christ when the devil tempted Christ after he had fasted in the desert for forty days and forty nights. Instead of the devil taking Christ to an exceedingly high mountain to promise Him the riches of the world, he shows him the castle at Mehun-sur-Yèvre, imperiously thrust into the foreground with other ducal properties in the distance. Mehun Castle is shown in meticulous detail filling much of the picture page leaving little room for Christ perched on a rock with the devil behind him at the top of the page (pl. 78).

The settings for these castles and palaces depict aspects of aristocratic life including its fashionable dress as well as aspects of farm life, the grape harvest and boar hunts. Peasants are shown but not townspeople, craftsmen, or soldiers. These are the settings of courtly life, a sequence of peace-loving images that were completely at odds with the blood-soaked reality of intrigue, murder and civil war in France at that time. These illustrations also reinforce the pleasure of ownership, self-aggrandisement, and extravagance that were endemic within the confines of a narrow elite. Yet these illustrations are on such a large scale that the word 'miniature' is inappropriate. At 29cms by 21cms, each page is like a small cabinet picture, and therefore an innovation in book illumination.

Notes

1. H. Bober, André Beauneveu and Mehun-sur-Yèvre, *Speculum* 28 (1953) 741–53.
2. J. Guiffrey, *Inventaires de Jean, Duc de Berry*, 2 vols. (1894, 1896).
3. Among his treasures that have survived are the Royal Gold Cup (c.1370–80, Brit. Museum), the Holy Thorn Reliquary (c.1390–1400, Brit. Museum) and the enthroned Madonna (c.1400 Toledo Cathedral).
4. Work at other castles included Aubigny-sur-Nère, Dourdon, Genouilly, Étampes, Gien, Gracay, Nonette and Usson.
5. For both properties, see Louvre Exhibition Catalogue, *Paris 1400* (2004) 100–01.
6. It is one of two later miniatures showing castles owned by the duke of Savoy, added by Jean Colombe between 1485 and 1491. The other identifiable building, the abbey of Mont St Michel occurs towards the end of the volume.

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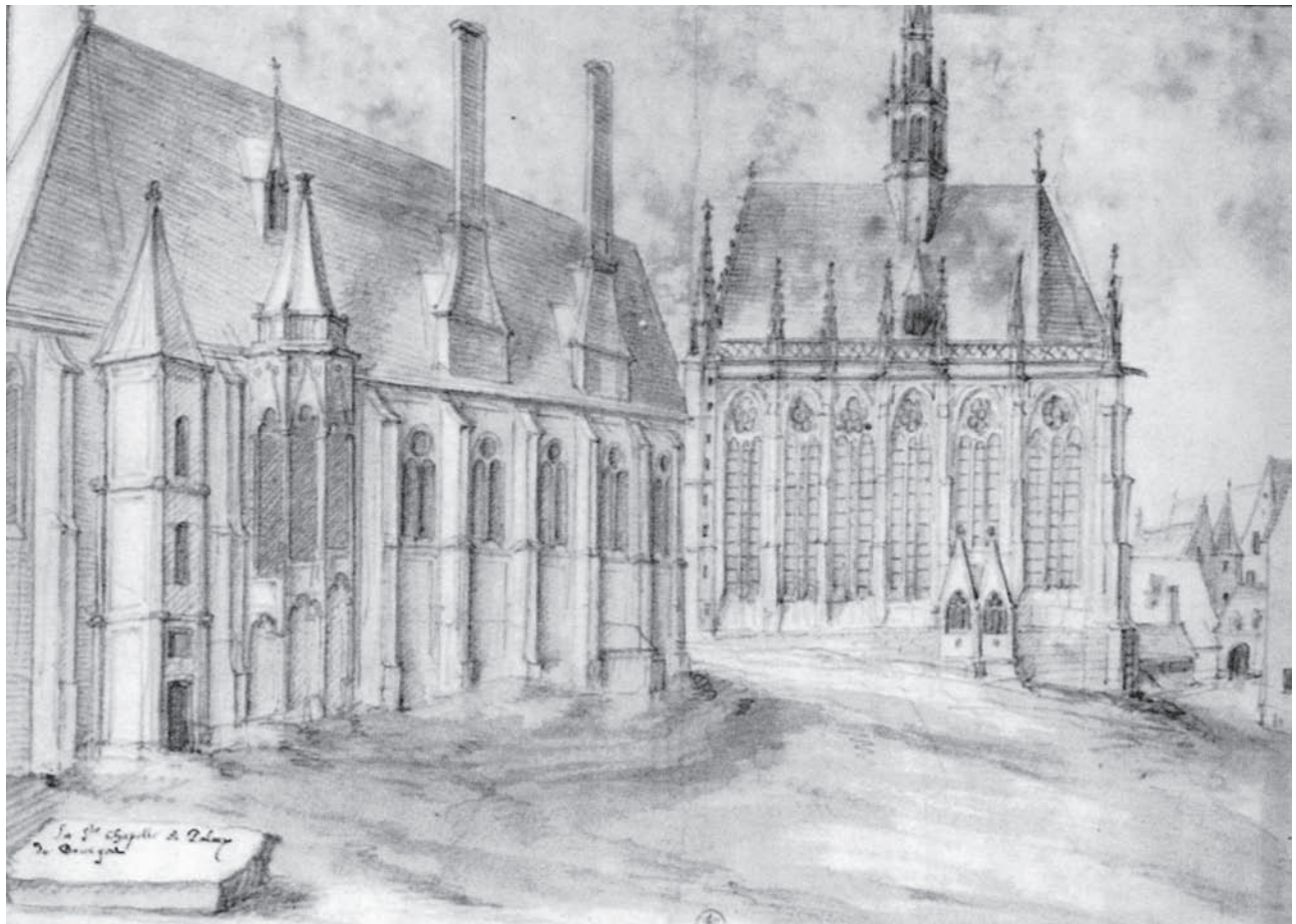
- F. Lehoux, *Jean de France, duc de Berri, sa vie, son action politique: 1340–1416* (1966–68)
 L. Schacherl, *Très Riches Heures: Behind the Gothic Masterpiece* (1997)
 T.B. Husband, *The Art of Illumination. The Limbourg Brothers and the Belle Heures of Jean de France, Duc de Berry* (2008)
 A. Salamagne, *Le Palais & son Décor au Temps de Jean de Berry* (2010)

BOURGES PALACE

Hardly anything survives of the duke of Berry's palace in Bourges but it is depicted in an early seventeenth century drawing¹ and in an eighteenth century painting.² The palace lay to the south-west of the cathedral of St Etienne.³ It abutted part of the Gallo-Roma wall that encircled Bourges but all that remains are two or three attributed windows in a building now used as the prefecture of the Cher region.

The palace formerly consisted of a commanding triple-arched entry, approached by a broad flight of steps. It opened into an entry hall. To the left stood the Sainte-Chapelle with a flight of internal steps rising from the hall to the first floor chapel. Both sides of this six bay chapel that terminated in an apse, were filled with enormous five-light windows. The entry hall also accessed the great hall, linked to it by a low block with the multi-windowed gable end of the great hall rising high above it. The hall was followed by a line of royal apartments at right angle to the chapel.⁴ All the principal rooms here were at first floor level and included a *logis*, a *galerie du cerf*, a library, and a treasury. Etienne Martellange's drawing of 1615 shows a projecting oratory and stair turret towards the upper end of this range where the most private rooms lay. The scale of the windows of the chapel and hall reflected the same large and smaller proportions adopted at the contemporary New College in Oxford.

Like the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Berry was extremely conscious about the location and form of the family tomb for himself and his wife. In about 1390, the duke sought to be buried in Bourges



Pl. 76 Bourges Palace: Sainte-Chapelle and residential range by Etienne Martellange, 1615

cathedral but his request was turned down. He therefore decided to build a glorious chapel within his palace at Bourges which would hold his funerary monument. In 1392, he obtained permission to construct the chapel. The parallel with the duke of Burgundy's monastic foundation and mausoleum at Champmol is clear. But rather than found a comparable charterhouse, Berry established a Sainte-Chapelle holding a small relic given to him by the king taken from the True Cross held in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris. His structure would therefore be complementary to the royal foundation.⁵ It is possible that the Holy Thorn Reliquary now held in London may be linked with this chapel.⁶

Building extended from 1392 until 1405 at the same time that Burgundy was raising his monastery at Champmol. The chapel was consecrated in 1405 and was liberally endowed with further relics and jewels. Work subsequently began on the duke's funerary monument but the chapel was destroyed by fire and abandoned in 1759 at the same time that the remainder of the palace was destroyed.

The fragmentary remains from the palace are now held in the crypt of the cathedral. They include the base of his white marble tomb, two figures of the duke and duchess, probably taken from the entrance porch of the palace, and some of the panels of the chapel's stained glass. They include about twenty prophets, much restored with additions. A series of stone prophets, possibly from the chapel and some weepers from the duke's tomb are currently held in the Museum of Berry, Bourges.⁷ The school of sculpture centred on the court of the duke of Berry at Bourges was as important as that centred on the duke of Burgundy at Dijon. Both were led by outstanding masters, Claus Sluter at Dijon and André Beauneveu at Bourges.⁸

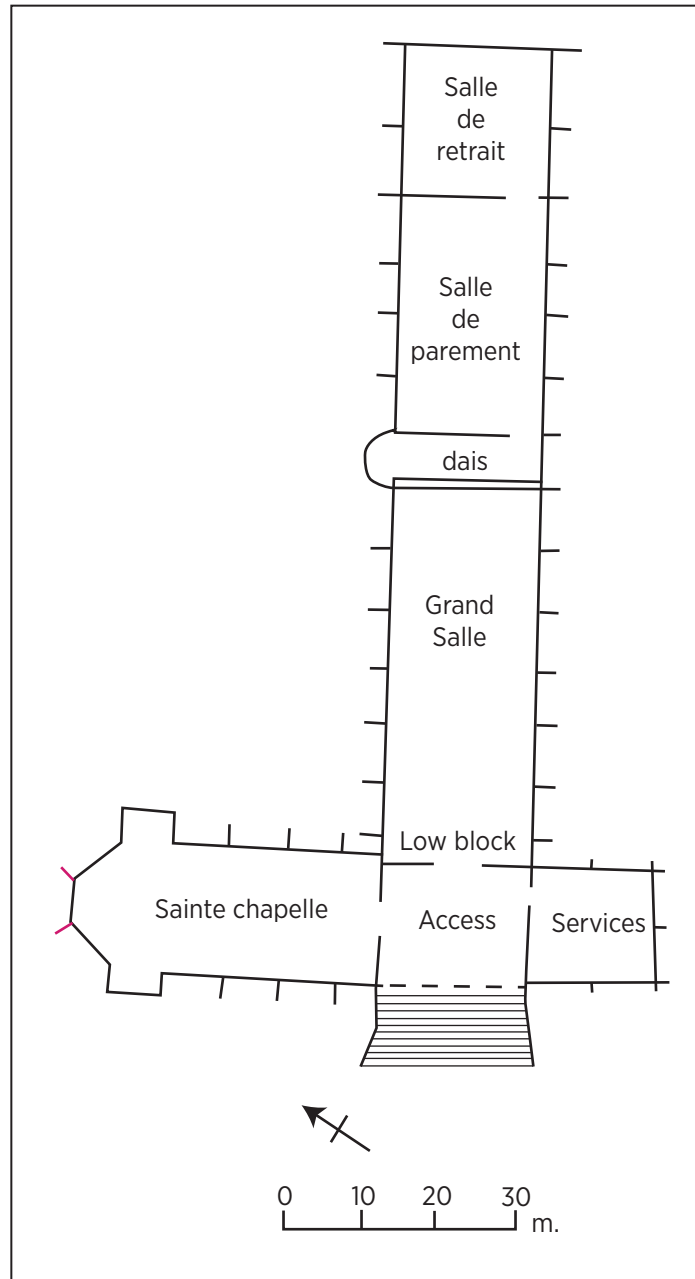


Fig. 45 Bourges Palace: functional locations

Notes

1. Illustrated A. Salamagne, *Le Palais et son Décor au temps de Jean de Berry* (2010), 172.
2. S. Nash, *André Beauneveu* (2007), 147. The original is in the Museum of Berry, Bourges.

3. Engraving of the city in 1575 by F. de Belleforest.
4. S. Nash, *Northern Renaissance Art* (2008), 258.
5. Berry also initiated a Sainte-Chapelle at Riom in the Auvergne in 1395. It is the only structure that survives of his palace though lacking the central spire. It consists of a tall nave and apse with mid-fifteenth-century glazing. There was an entry from the great chamber in the lateral wing of the palace as well as a more public entry at the lower end.
6. J. Cherry, *The Holy Thorn Relic* (2010).
7. The sedilia and three figures in Morogues Church near Bourges are said to have been brought from the Sainte-Chapelle.
8. T. Muller, *Sculpture in the Netherlands, Germany, France and Spain: 1400–1500* (1966). Other works from the Berry school of sculpture include the figures on the exterior of the Tour Maubergeon, Poitiers (c.1385) and those integrated with the stone grid work above the fireplaces in the great hall of Poitiers Palace (1386–87). A statue of the Virgin Mary from the St Chapelle at Riom survives in Notre Dame du Marthurst there.

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MEHUN-SUR-YÈVRE CASTLE

The modest village of Mehun-sur-Yèvre, eight miles north-west of Bourges retains only a portion of its once famous castle. The site has an extended construction history but it is particularly notable for its occupation by John, duke of Berry, and his redevelopment of the site between 1367 and the early 1390s. After Berry's death in 1416, the property reverted to the crown. Charles VII received Joan of Arc here in 1429 and 1430 and he died at Mehun in 1461. A generation later, the south front was given artillery protection. The Wars of Religion, followed by dismantling during the seventeenth century, took a heavy toll on the structure which was exacerbated during the Revolutionary years at the close of the eighteenth century.

The relatively small platform is still entirely moat encircled. Quadrangular in plan, its dominant features were the circular towers at each angle. Excavations have shown evidence of a development sequence beginning with the fortification of the site in the ninth century, followed by two construction phases in the eleventh century, with the site wall-enclosed by the mid-twelfth century. The four circular towers were erected by the Courtenay family during the early thirteenth century with the larger north



Pl. 77 Mehun-sur-Yèvre Castle: the shattered tower

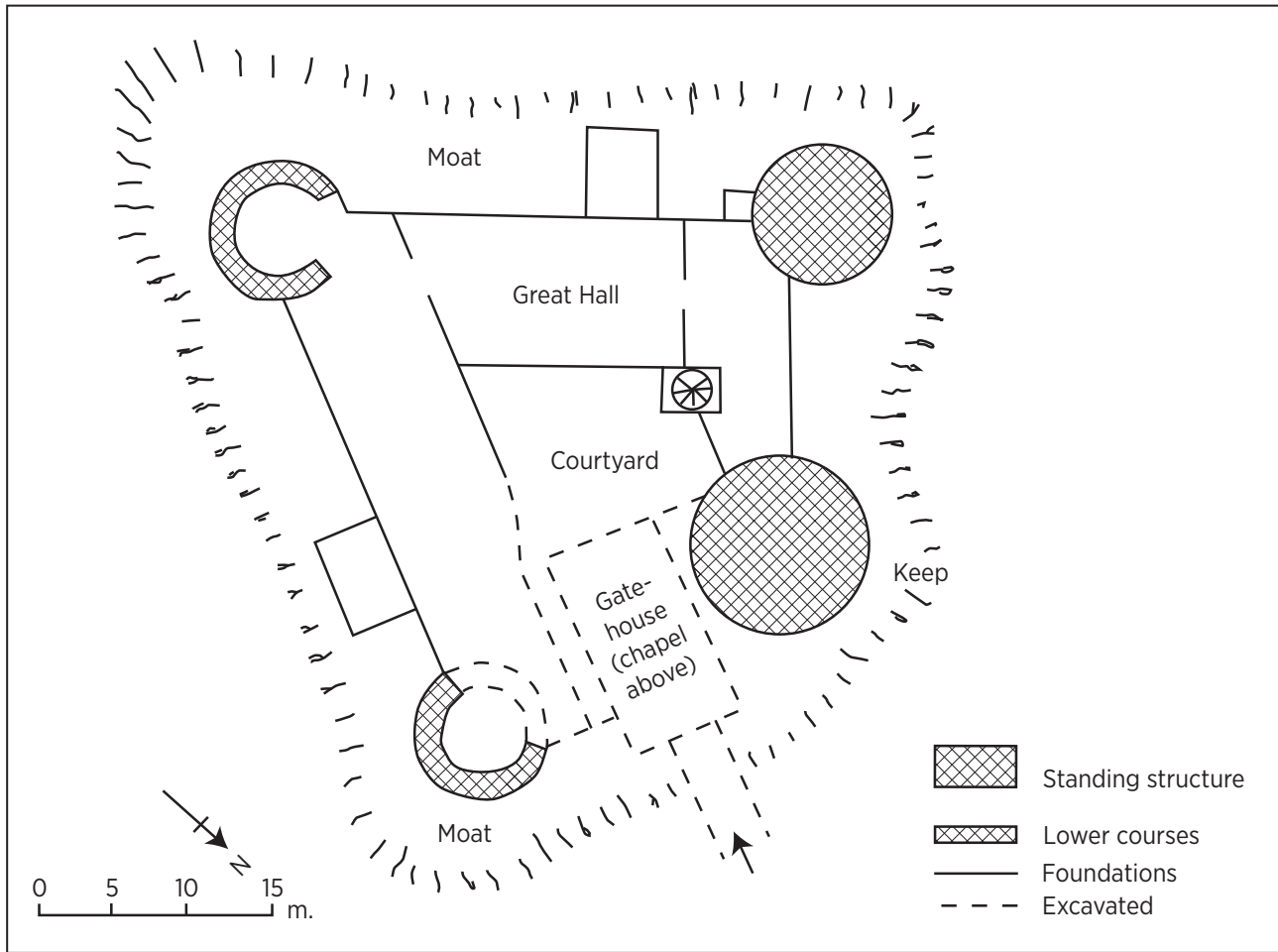


Fig. 46 Mehun-sur-Yèvre Castle: site plan

tower serving as a keep. The Courtenays held the castle from 1209 until the mid-thirteenth century when it was confiscated by the crown.

During the late fourteenth century, the duke of Berry remodelled the entire structure to make it suitable for the residence of a prince of royal blood. The towers and courtyard ranges were refenestrated, the heads of the towers were rebuilt with machicolated parapets and surmounted by octagonal pavilions, while the castle entrance was crowned by a gothic chapel. Guy de Dammartin's work transformed Berry's castle into a palace-fortress. André Beauneveu also worked here from 1393 to 1397 but the very fine head of an apostle from this castle, now in the Louvre, is probably the work of his successor, Jean of Cambrai. Today much of the site is reduced to foundation level, but two of the four towers stand to battlement height – one complete and one shattered.

The shattered tower stands six storeys high with a single chamber at the fifth and sixth level taller than those below. The sixth floor is also vaulted to support the added structure above, and has a fireplace as do all the rooms above first floor level. It also retains a fragment of the crowning pavilion with its gothic decoration. The complete tower was originally the keep flanking the castle entrance. Though as tall as the shattered tower, it had only four floors, the three upper rooms with mullion and transomed windows with traceried heads. Both towers have highly elaborate parapets, supported on leaf carved corbels between trefoil arches.

It is instructive to compare the fractured remains with the meticulous depiction of this castle in the *Très Riches Heures*. Where the two towers can be directly compared with those in the illustration, there is confidence in the accuracy of their representation. This is confirmed by an engraving of 1737 by J. Penot of the castle before it was totally ruined.

The three Limbourg brothers responsible for the exquisitely detailed miniatures in this volume show that a battlemented stone bridge led to the projecting stone entry tower with a figure (duke John?) over the entrance. Above and between the two towers was the apse of the chapel surmounted by a multi-windowed octagonal metal tower with a slender iron spire over the body of the chapel. Across the small inner court was the great hall, still traceable at foundation level. The Limbourg brothers show that its end gable was window filled and surmounted by the figure of a knight holding a ducal pennant. The three towers shown are plain and modestly fenestrated up to the machicolated level where they are surmounted by octagons, well windowed, and with filigree gable heads. Chimneys, stone figures and high pitched roofs also crown the towers with the keep heightened by a two-storeyed octagon. The ducal

apartments would have been approached from the stair close to the upper end of the hall and extended from the west range into the two standing towers. The rooms occupied by Berry are likely to have been in the former keep, close to the newly-built chapel above the gatehouse.

The castle at Mehun-sur-Yèvre was small but jewel-like. It was the duke of Berry's favourite residence and was the focus of the duke's artistic collection with some of his finest items kept here including the *Très Riches Heures*. Like Saumur Castle, Mehun reflects the two key phase of its development – the early thirteenth century and the late fourteenth century. Though there is evidence at both castles of earlier construction phases, they reflect the indispensable elements of a major fortification of the time of Philippe Auguste and the extraordinary decorative additions of two Valois princes one and a



Pl. 78 Mehun-sur-Yèvre Castle: from the miniature illustrating the Temptation of Christ in the *Très Riches Heures*, c.1410–16. (La Tentation du Christ/Limbourg Pol, Jean et Hermann/© RMN-Grand Palais (domaine de Chantilly)/René-Gabriel Ojéda/Chantilly, musée Condé)

half centuries later during a period of uncertain military calmness. There was an even greater contrast at Mehun between the earlier and more solid lower structure and the crowning decorative additions. And though these transformed both castles into palace-fortresses, this was heightened at Mehun by the quality of its contents.

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POITIERS, DUCAL PALACE

Three elements survive of the medieval palace at Poitiers, the great hall, the tower-house, and the block linking them. The great hall is still complete, most of the link block was rebuilt in the eighteenth century, and the tower-house has been reduced to its lower stages. All three units are incorporated within the precinct of the Palace of Justice in the centre of Poitiers and are part of its function. Despite this, they stand in France as a remarkable medieval survival within an urban context.

The Great Hall is among the few early halls to have survived in France.¹ It is approached through the early nineteenth century porticoed frontage of the Law Courts with the entry hall accessing the twelfth-century structure. 165 feet long and 56 feet wide (50 metres by 17 metres), the sides of this hall are marked by blind arcading, a feature of c.1200 repeated in the nearby cathedral. The second bay at the lower ends holds a fine late Romanesque entry with triple columns, capitals, and moulded head. The walls are plastered and painted with red lines imitating stone walling. Benches are provided on three sides which are still used for legal discussions. The hall must have been column divided originally but such supports were removed when the apartment was re-roofed to create a single open space. The present roof was constructed in the mid-nineteenth century following the form depicted by F. Gaignières in 1699.

The early development of the site is a cloudy one but a new residence was developed during the eleventh century on the highest point of the town's escarpment. A donjon was added by Count William VII in 1104. Poitou passed to the English crown on Henry II's marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1152 with Poitiers becoming one of her favourite residences. The hall was built between 1199 and 1204 befitting the principal residence as well as the political and judicial centre of the duke of Aquitaine and count of Poitou. Henry's court became one of the most civilised in France. The palace was surrounded by ditches, spanned by a bridge on the east side to reach the great hall, and with a chapel at the junction of the rue de la Cathédrale and the rue du Marché Notre-Dame, two of the several streets that have encroached within the palace curtilage. The town of Poitiers enjoyed considerable prosperity during this period until the death of Eleanor in 1204. The enclosing walls which Henry II and Queen Eleanor had initiated during the last third of the twelfth century failed to stop Philippe Auguste from capturing the city, but their construction continued during the thirteenth century, reducing the military imperative of the palace.²

Part of the residence was destroyed by Henry of Grosmont in 1346 with the town coming into English hands after the Treaty of Brétigny (1360). It was recaptured by du Guesclin in 1372 and was subsequently held by John, duke of Berry on behalf of Charles V. Berry undertook a major building

campaign which helped to stimulate a second phase of urban prosperity. His work included strengthening the city ramparts with semi-circular towers during the mid-1370s,³ remodelling Clain Castle, the early thirteenth-century fortress overlooking the river confluence north of the city in 1382–88, and upgrading part of the palace between 1384 and his death in 1416. This work encompassed two areas in particular, the construction of the Tour Maubergeon in 1384–85 and remodelling the great hall beginning in 1386.⁴ This work was undertaken by Guy de Dammartin who had previously been employed by the king at the Louvre.

Dammartin rebuilt the dais wall of the great hall in a highly complex and ingenious composition. Approached by eight stone steps to ensure that the dais held a commanding position, this end wall is essentially divided into three registers – hearths, balcony, and glazed windows (pl. 129). More specifically:

- Three hearths fill the body of the lower wall with doorways at each end. 30 feet wide, the hearths are separated by columns with figured capitals supporting a foliated lintel. Each hearth is surmounted by a coat-of-arms held by winged angels, Berry on the left, France in the centre, and Berry-Boulogne to the right.
- The end doorways open on to newels accessing the balcony surmounting the hearths and rising further in three-sided turrets to roof level. The balcony is enhanced by a pierced balustrade of quatrefoils supported on corbels rising from below.
- Five vertical grids divide the windows into sixteen lights with trefoil heads. The three central grids carry the flues serving the hearths below. The whole is prefaced by a grid of crocketed gables with flamboyant traceried heads extending the width of the balcony. The four statues in the tracery gables represent Jean of Berry (replacement head) and his wife Jeanne of Boulogne, his nephew Charles VI and his wife Isabel of Bavaria. With their elegant drapery and subtle modelling, they are high quality examples of the court school of sculpture.

Externally, it can be seen that the hall gable has also been decoratively treated with the end turrets, the windows, the buttresses separating them, and the fireplace flues creating strong vertical lines, spoilt by the cusped triangular heads across the flues. Dammartin's skill in rebuilding this end wall of the great hall lay not in incorporating three hearths in a single composition⁵ but in filling the dais with light from the wall immediately behind on a scale hitherto unattempted. Furthermore, the sculptured complex encompassing foliage, coats of arms, open decoration, and statues, was brilliantly enhanced by a featherweight decorative grid in front of the glazed windows. This is a virtuosic architectural display and was originally enhanced with colouring. At the same time, the hall floor was covered with majolica circular tiles in green and gold lustre by the Spaniard, John of Valencia.⁶ Together



Pl. 79 Poitiers, Ducal Palace: rear of the great hall gable

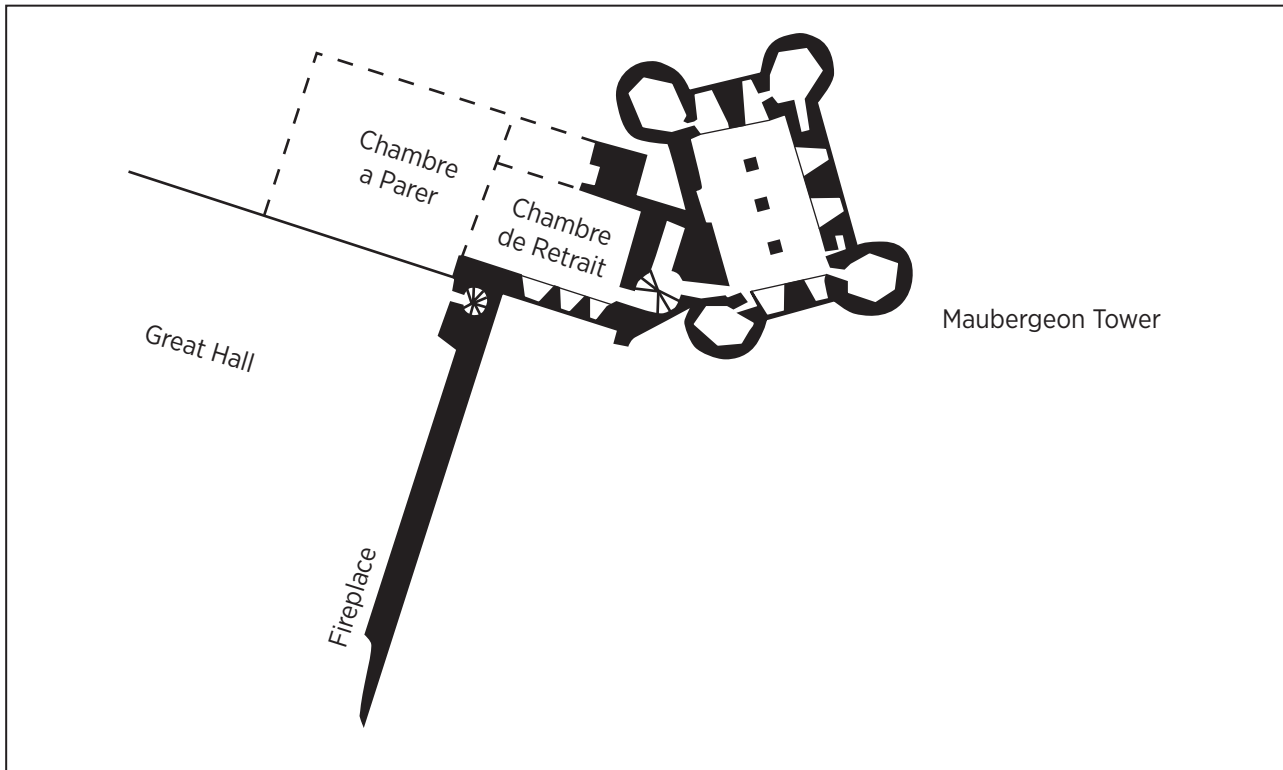


Fig. 47 Poitiers, Ducal Palace: ground plan

with the tapestry covered walls, the combined effect created a magnificent background to the pomp and ceremony of serving the duke and his guests seated in front of the fireplaces at the dais high table.⁷

Since the eighteenth century, the Link Block, has been only a shadow of its original form and purpose. It consisted of two rooms (one with a closet) leading to a third room in the tower. The outer chamber was the *chambre a parer* or 'state' room which held a state bed that was not used but signified the high standing of the occupying family. It came to serve as an ante-room or reception room. The *chambre de retrait* was a more private inner chamber that led to the duke of Berry's personal room in the Maubergeon Tower. This triple layout reflected that of Charles V at the Louvre and was the origin of the two or more rooms collectively known as '*le logis*'. Unfortunately, the outer room at Poitiers has been destroyed while part of the *chambre de retrait* and the newel stair has been incorporated in the later link block.⁸

The Tour Maubergeon probably derives its name from 'mallobergum', the place of the Merovingian tribunal (*mallum*) on the hill (*berg*). The donjon added in 1104 is claimed to be the origin of the present tower but although possibly on the same site, the present tower is entirely the work of Guy de Dammartin for the duke of Berry. This is a rectangular structure with bold round towers at each corner, the whole rising from a battered base. Only two floors survive with the first floor truncated and any further floors and roof superstructure destroyed in the early seventeenth century. The tower is dominated by its decorative ground floor windows and first floor statues.

The ground floor is lit on three sides by two light transomed windows under a two-centred crocketed head, flanked by spirelets. The corner towers have single lights surmounted by a quatrefoil head as in the larger windows. The first floor fenestration has been replaced by eighteenth-century square-headed



Pl. 80 Poitiers,
Ducal Palace:
surviving floors
of the Tour
Maubergeon

frames set in the bases of the earlier windows. At this level are the remains of the fourteen corbel-supported figures, either representing the duke's counsellors or possibly earlier counts of Poitou. Three of them have been destroyed including those of John of Berry and his young wife, Jeanne of Boulogne who are identified by their arms on the corbels. Their sculptural style points to the Parisian workshop at Vincennes.

Internally, the tower retains its ground floor vaulting with slender ribs supported on three central pillars (without capitals) in a single heated apartment of considerable elegance. The traceried windows are relatively low set, flooding the room with light, though it now lacks its former sculptures. These survive in the small hexagonal tower rooms, similar to those visible externally. The corner rooms have fireplaces and were vaulted, a pattern together with that of the principal chamber, repeated on the first floor above.

The plan of this tower-house followed that of Charles V at Vincennes and subsequently influenced other tower-houses within the ducal fief as at Romefort and Anjony. The royal precedent gave the Tour Maubergeon a military character which would have been emphasised by the machicolated and turreted roofline (see frontispiece). On the other hand, the great windows of considerable elegance underlined its essentially residential function. Nor was the vaulting of the principal room on each floor centrally supported as at Vincennes but on three pillars dividing the room into two aisles. The decorative touches displayed by Dammartin in the great hall were displayed here in the triangular supports rising from the batter to carry the statues, in the spirelets flanking the windows, and the decorative tracery. This was a tower-house, not a donjon. Its shape and scale suggest that the tower was constructed with at least a second and possibly a third storey so that it dominated the adjacent hall and gave further apartments of increasing privacy to the duke.

Assessment

If one stands on the dais looking down the body of the great hall, the view of this majestic apartment is similar to that seen by Eleanor of Aquitaine in about 1200. The arcaded walls, the painted plasterwork, and the line of upper windows have changed little. It is also probable that there would have been two lines of pillars to support the 55 feet span of the roof, a central hearth, and a louvre to help the smoke escape. Turning round, the change in architectural styling by about 1400 is overwhelming. As well as the triple fireplaces, the decorative stone tracery and abundant light flooding through the windows highlights the fundamental change in architectural style more vividly than almost anywhere in France. It is one of luxury and fantasy. Yet Dammartin would not have tolerated the lines of pillars or the central hearth and louvre. They were old fashioned and if not already replaced in favour of a new roof, then he would have been responsible for creating the uninterrupted space we see today.

Equally significant is the change reflected by the form of the Maubergeon Tower compared with its precursor at Vincennes. The *logis* held the two key ducal chambers that led to the third, more private chamber in the Tower. This last apartment (and that above) were more graceful than at Vincennes, helped by the lack of sculpted capitals to the pillars supporting the vaulting ribs and the much larger windows. Given the difference in scale and to some extent in purpose, it is the bold decoration and the spirit of lightness which distinguishes the Maubergeon Tower from the keep at Vincennes, begun a generation earlier and equally telling of a change in style.

Two years after the death of the duke of Berry in 1416, the fleeing Charles VII established his court at Poitiers four years before he was proclaimed king. Because of the English occupation of Paris, he was forced to move the Parliament here from 1423 to 1436. The palace was subsequently little used as a residence but it retained its administrative function until 1789. After the Revolution it became the law courts for the Poitou-Charentes region and still retains that role today.

Notes

1. Major early medieval halls survive at La Cité, Paris, and at Blois, Caen and Bricquebec (roofed), and ruined examples at Angers, Coucy, and Senlis.
2. The moats started to be filled in from 1244 onwards.
3. Part of these walls survive at the south-west corner of the city centre lining one side of the Bossac Park. A further solitary tower survives close to the site of Clain Castle.
4. The documents in the Archive Nationale, Paris, are not precise. Joan Evans favoured 1384–86, *Art in Medieval France* (1948), 164; F. Gebelin, *The Châteaux of France* (1964), 83 preferred about 1390, while C. Enlart, *Manuel d'archéologie française* (1932), 69 suggested the years between 1393 and 1415.
5. Triple hearth fireplaces were a feature of royal and ducal halls during the later middle ages. In France, Guy de Dammartin repeated the feature for the duke at his palace at Bourges and it was added for King René at Angers Castle in 1456. However, the form occurred earlier in England. It was a feature of John of Gaunt's great hall at Kenilworth Castle in the 1370s while Henry Yevele agreed in 1358 to build three chimneys and two staircases in the dais wall of the great hall at Kennington Palace for the prince of Wales. This predates Dammartin's work by at least thirty years. Also P. Binski, *Gothic Wonder* (2014), 277.
6. M.L. Solon, *Burlington Magazine* (November 1907), 83–86.
7. For a lyrical imagining of such an occasion, see Joan Evens, *Art in Medieval France* (1949), 164–65.
8. There were further private apartments to the east but they were demolished in the 1820s to create additional courts and offices.

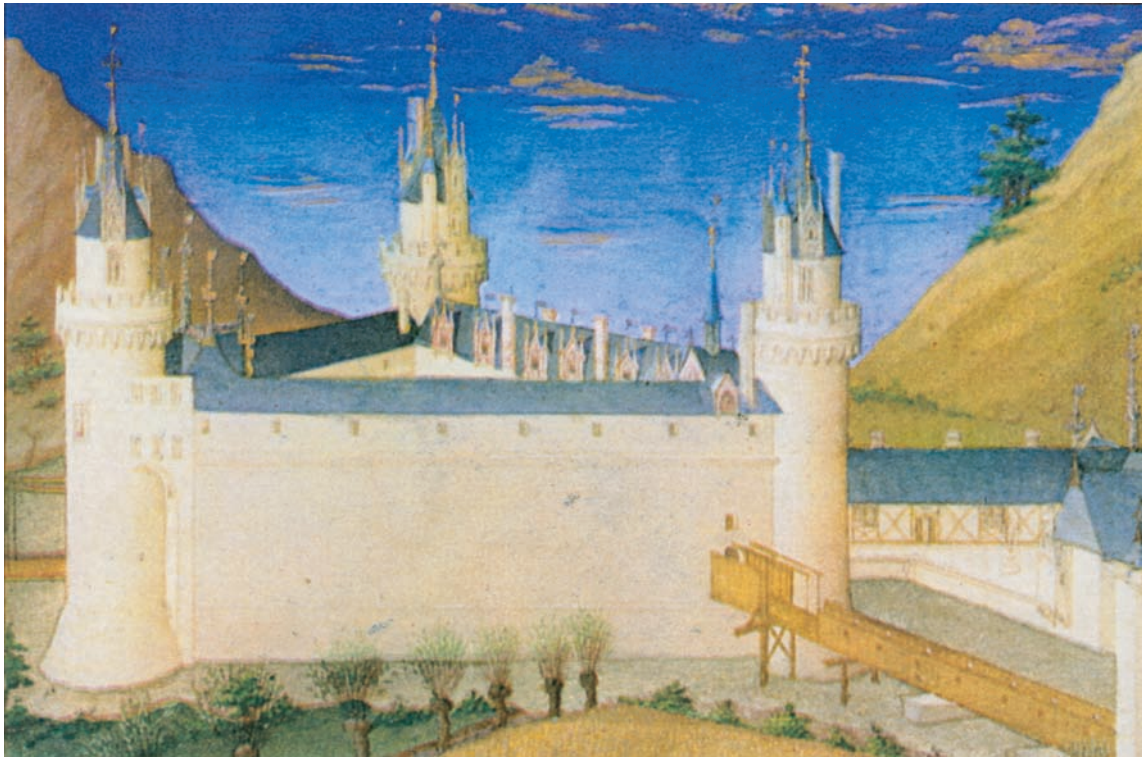
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POITIERS, CLAIN CASTLE

After seizing Poitou in 1204, Philippe Auguste constructed a new castle at the northern head of Poitiers' enceinte. It served two purposes. It dominated a rebellious town and it guarded the confluence of the river Clain and the river Boivre. Of rare triangular shape with three prominent towers at the angles,¹ this fortress was almost entirely reconstructed by John, duke of Berry in 1382–88. It was destroyed by the town in 1589–91 so that virtually nothing survives today except for the bases of two towers.

Clain Castle is depicted in considerable detail by the Limbourg brothers as the background to the July scene of harvesting and sheep shearing in the *Très Riches Heures* of c.1416. Apparently shown from the rear, the castle lacks any representation of the entry gateway. Instead, the wooden bridge spanning the river Clain leads to a drawbridge-protected postern. The illustration also shows some of the features added by the duke including the machicolated wall-walks, turrets, and finials surmounting the three towers of the castle. The apartments built against the enclosing walls were all inward-looking though one range is shown with the decorative attic windows of the duke's time. The outer court included a free-standing chapel and ranges which were partially timber-framed. It was at this castle that the duke stayed when visiting Poitiers and not at the palace which is why Clain Castle is depicted in the *Très Riches Heures* instead of the ducal residence in the city.



Pl. 81 Clain Castle, Poitiers: from July in the *Très Riches Heures*, c.1410–16. (Le mois de juillet/Limbourg Pol, Jean et Hermann/© RMN-Grand Palais (domaine de Chantilly)/René-Gabriel Ojéda/Chantilly, musée Condé)

Notes

1. An immediate parallel is the triangular-shaped castle of the 1270s at Caerlaverock in south-west Scotland with its imposing twin-towered entrance.

THE DUCHY OF ORLÉANS

THE HOUSE OF ORLÉANS

Louis, duke of Orléans was Charles VI's only brother and four years younger than the king. Even in his late teens, he was a disturbing presence at court. But the combination of avariciousness with political naivety, together with a belief in his own invulnerability was responsible for the abrupt curtailment of Louis' life. The patrimony granted at his birth in 1372 was modest. It consisted of no more than Touraine and Valois, the region north-east of Paris centred on Crépy-en-Valois, though he was unable to occupy that duchy in his own name until 1392. Through his marriage to Valentina Visconti in 1386, he was in line to inherit the duchy of Milan, the source nearly a century later of France's wars with Italy. In 1392, Louis exchanged the duchy of Touraine for the more productive duchy of Orléans by which he was henceforth known. It was also from this period that Louis' political ambitions became clear.

Louis was cultured, witty, eloquent and as frivolous as he was devout. He loved hunting and festivities, wore sumptuous clothes and was a connoisseur of jewellery. The initial outbreak of Charles VI's insanity in 1392 occurred when the king was riding with Louis. The consequence of this royal paralysis brought to a head the slow-burning antagonism that had marked relations between Louis and his uncles. More particularly, the bitter disputes between Louis and the duke of Burgundy now centred over who should govern the country in the king's name. The dispute was an unequal one.

Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, was a seasoned statesman and counsellor. Though Louis was the king's younger brother and had the king's ear during his periods of sanity, he was brash and became more aggressive as he grew older. Philip's territories were extensive and encompassed Flanders as well as Burgundy. Louis' estates were more modest and far less prosperous, though he took every opportunity to enlarge them, gaining a justified reputation for cupidity.¹ Even so, they were unable to sustain Louis' expensive political ambitions or a war against his enemy. Their differences were accentuated by Philip's seeking peace with England to protect the prosperity of his Flemish cities, whilst Louis was eager to re-open the war with England. The one purpose common to both leaders was that their support for royal governance was subordinate to their cherished personal ambitions.

Their antagonism had already peaked once in 1388 when Louis had encouraged Charles VI to come of age, assume government, and thrust his uncles aside from power. Nor were their differences lessened by Philip's death in 1404 since his son John the Fearless was even more virulent in his dislike of his cousin than his father. Within a month of Philip's death, the thirty-three-year-old Louis had completely taken over the reins of power and spent the next two years feathering his own nest. He persuaded the king to

add to his holdings in north-east France, close to the northern territories of the duke of Burgundy, while he was also the beneficiary of many royal gifts and *aides*. His attempt to take possession of the dauphin in August 1405 was thwarted by John the Fearless supported by the dukes of Berry and Bourbon and the king of Navarre, but the duke of Burgundy was unable to consolidate his success. An uneasy truce followed covered by an air of bonhomie and friendship, but this concealed the serious financial situation that lay between the two protagonists. Whereas nearly half of Philip the Bold's revenue (about 235,000 francs) came from the French crown,² that source dried up under his son. It was being diverted to Louis whose royal *aides* now exceeded 200,000 francs per annum. Other disagreements were equally fundamental. Louis' support of Benedict XIII the papal claimant, was unpopular in France and particularly in Paris, while his support of the city of Liège and the duke of Guelders against John the Fearless' brother-in-law underlined the detestation between the two branches of the royal family. The assassination of the thirty-five-year-old Louis in 1407 by henchmen of the duke of Burgundy is a classic example of personal bitterness fuelled by political and financial desperation.

Louis' son, Charles of Orléans, was only thirteen years old at the time of his father's death. His supporters therefore rallied round his unstinting protector, Count Bernard VII of Armagnac who led what was henceforth known as the Armagnac Party. This was all the more necessary after Charles had joined the royal army to attack the English at Agincourt, only to find that he was among the many prisoners captured in that French defeat. When the count of Armagnac was himself murdered on the bridge at Montereau by Burgundian supporters in 1418, the Armagnacs gathered round the king's last son, the dauphin (the future Charles VII).

Charles of Orléans spent twenty-five years in prison in England where he was joined by his young brother John count of Angoulême, captured in 1412 and held for thirty-three years. Upon his return from exile in 1440, Charles retired to his favourite castle at Blois and died there in 1465, a celebrated poet rather than a politician.³

Louis' Building Enthusiasm

The relatively small duchy of Valois commanded two important routes, that from Paris to Flanders and the road from Burgundy to Flanders. Proximity to Paris made it a region of considerable military importance while the road and rivers were heavily used for trading between the two territories of Louis' arch rival. Several rivers gave the duchy natural boundaries and afforded it protection – the Oise to the west, the Aisne and Vesle on the north, and the Ourcq towards the south-east as far as the Marne.

Apart from the desire to be as close to the capital as possible and to command one of the approaches to Paris, Louis seems to have built up a system of defence which was intended to protect his duchy from any attack launched from the capital. His south-west frontier was his most vulnerable for it was a region of open country. Viollet-le-Duc pointed out that the duchy was protected by three lines of defence with the southern fortresses between twelve and nineteen kilometres apart compared with those half that distance further north.

His first line consisted of three fortresses. The fourteenth century donjon of Montépilloy (a little to the east of Senlis) which Louis heightened, was supported by the castles at Nanteuil-le-Haudoin and Gesvres-le-Duc on the Ourcq.⁴ Louis created a second line of defence about twelve kilometres from the first with a series of fortresses linking the Oise with the upper Ourcq and following the river Automne – Verberie, Béthisy-St Martin, Crépy-en-Valois,⁵ Vez,⁶ Villers-Cotterêts, and La Ferté-Milon. Behind this second line, Louis developed his third bastion, Pierrefonds Castle. This was intended to be the centre of his estates, his principal residence, and an impressive palace. A little further afield, his eastern

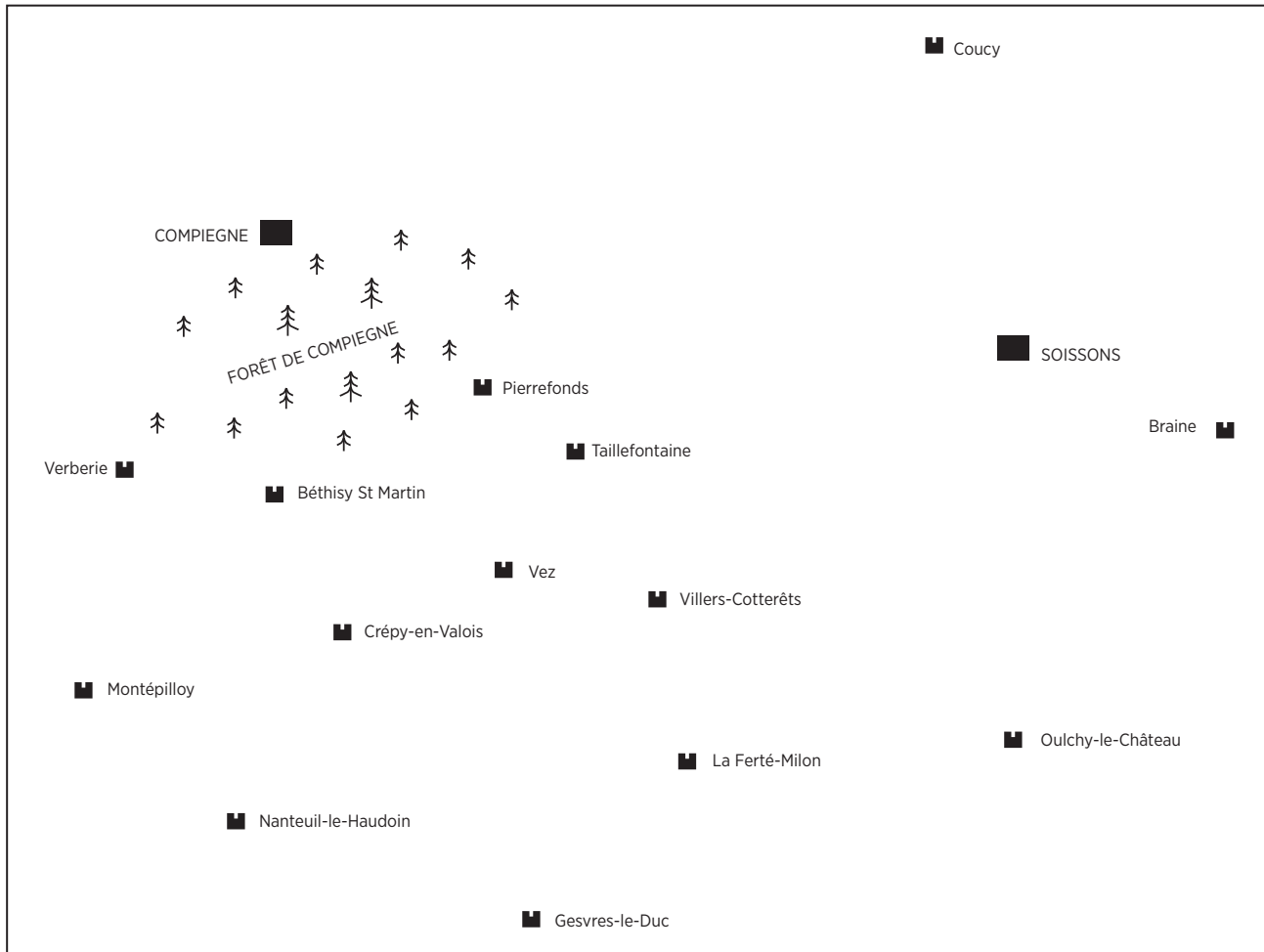


Fig. 48 Fortresses of the duchy of Valois c.1400

flank commanding the Burgundian approach was guarded by the castles at Oulchy on the Ourcq and Braine on the Vesle, while his north-east flank was similarly protected by the dominating fortress at Coucy which Louis acquired in 1399.⁷

To accomplish his plans, Orléans undertook a prodigious programme of building activity from about 1390 onwards, either by improving the defences of earlier fortresses (Montépilloy, Crépy-en-Valois), adding new buildings (Vez, Coucy) or by building anew (La Ferté-Milon, Pierrefonds). Such a vast construction programme would only have been achieved at enormous expense, compounding the avariciousness he had shown from an early age. Historians are not unanimous in agreeing with this defensive network as propounded by Viollet-le-Duc. They point out the weak strategic position of Pierrefonds on a low bluff 100 feet above the valley floor whereas there is a 600 feet high plateau nearby. Furthermore, an anticipated Burgundian attack to eliminate Louis' duchy so that Burgundy could be linked to its Flemish properties lay more in Louis' mind than in practicality. Viollet-le-Duc's proposal has overtones of linking up conveniently positioned fortresses rather than a substantive master plan. Nevertheless for a time, this close-knit group of fortresses became one of the most formidable in France during the war, more than those in Gascony or Brittany, while at the same time advancing the art of fortress development.

Notes

1. In twenty years, he added by royal gift, inheritance, or purchase Périgord, the counties of Dreux, Blois, and Angoulême, acquired Luxembourg and built up a powerful group of vassals on the German/Burgundian borders. The scattered nature of these territories lessened their value to Louis.
2. R. Vaughan, *Philip the Bold* (1962), 231.
3. Louis' third son Philippe, Comte de Vertus, had died in 1420 leaving only a bastard son by his mistress, Mariette d'Enghien, to defend the honour of the house of Orléans.
4. Only a moated site survives.
5. Crépy was the original capital of the duchy of Valois. Louis spent much of his time here rather than at Pierrefonds which must have always looked like a building site until after the turn of the century. The seigneurial remains at Crépy are mainly of the twelfth and thirteenth century.
6. Vez was a long established fortress which was virtually rebuilt by Hector of Vez after 1360. It was initially a fortified house but under his son, a courtier of Louis of Orléans, the massive tower-house was initiated in 1393.
7. He purchased the lands of the heiress of the Sires of Coucy as part of his campaign to thrust a wedge between Burgundy and Germany. He was responsible for a fine kitchen in the outer court of the castle, no longer standing. There is documentary evidence that Jean Aubelet, Louis' architect, was working at Coucy in 1403.

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PIERREFONDS CASTLE

As it stands today, Pierrefonds is a nineteenth-century fantasy castle developed from the extensive ruins of the late fourteenth-century palace-fortress built for Louis, duke of Orléans. For many visitors, it is neither fish nor fowl but it undoubtedly has the overwhelming panache of a brilliant stage spectacle. It needs to be considered first as a major fortress residence built by Charles VI's younger brother before assessing the changes made by Viollet-le-Duc to suit the conversion programme for Napoleon III and Empress Eugénie nearly five hundred years later.

Development Phases

Though there had been an earlier castle at Pierrefonds,¹ it had been replaced by a fortified house on the site of the later fortress during the second half of the fourteenth century.² According to Jacques Harmand, this house or 'manoir-donjon' was the basis for Louis' subsequent development of the site. The manoir-donjon was essentially a tower-house in the form of an irregular rectangle with two diagonally opposed corner towers, not unlike that at Warkworth Castle. Harmand dates this structure to 1393–94, a year or two after Louis had taken occupation of the duchy, though it may have been slightly earlier.³

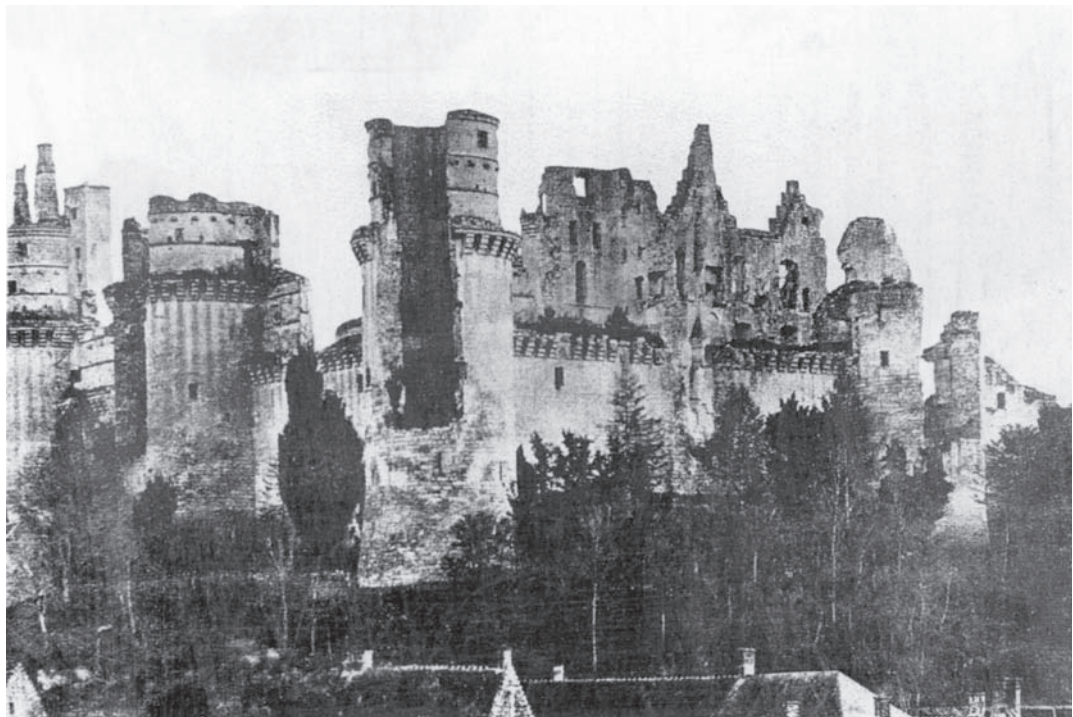
In about 1397, Harmand suggests that Louis of Orléans decided to incorporate this tower-house in a much more imposing quadrangular fortress of eight towers with linking curtain walls. Charles V had followed a similar practice, though on a larger scale at Vincennes. This work converted the site into one of the largest fortresses in France, a fitting centre for Louis' political ambitions. The bulk of this

second-phase development programme was completed by 1404–05 when Harmand identifies financial restrictions and a slowing down of building activity.⁴ The castle was perhaps unfinished by 1407 but the inventory taken after Louis' assassination records that the castle contained a quantity of furniture and objects d'art.

Louis' master mason was initially Jean Le Noir but he was replaced for the major development by Jean Aubelet, a pupil of Raymond du Temple who had succeeded him as architect to Charles V and Charles VI. The master carpenter Robert Fouchier similarly worked for Charles V and for the duke of Berry. Other craftsmen came from Burgundy and Flanders, despite the project being purposed against their duke, for Louis intended to be as much a patron of the arts as his uncles.

Louis' assassination in 1407 was followed by a second blow nearly six years later when the count of St Pol, a Burgundian supporter claiming to be a royal official, persuaded the castle's commander to surrender. St Pol set the castle on fire, badly damaging its roofs and floors so that little more than the shell survived of the duke of Orléans' prized possession.

When Louis' son, Charles of Orléans, returned from exile in 1440, he ordered the castle to be restored, though he did not use it himself. On his death the fortress passed to his son, subsequently Louis XII who made little use of it. A hundred and twenty five years later, the castle was occupied by the Catholic League during the Wars of Religion. It fell after a long siege to the troops of Henry IV (1594), but twenty years later it became the centre for the 'malcontents', an aristocratic rebellion against the regent, Marie de Medici. The fortress was besieged by Cardinal Richelieu on behalf of Louis XIII and its walls were breached (1616). A year later, Richelieu ordered the defences to be destroyed, the towers to be rent apart, and all floors and roofs to be burnt. For the next two and a half centuries, the fortress stood as a spectacular ruin until the prospect for its restoration became a reality.



Pl. 82 Pierrefonds
Castle: before
its restoration
initiated in 1857

The Medieval Evidence

The body of this palace-fortress was preceded by a sequence of defensive outworks including a moat, drawbridges, an outer gate, a platform, a barbican, and a concentric outer wall. Very little remained of these outworks which were reinstated by Viollet-le-Duc as part of his restoration programme.

The heart of the castle was an irregular quadrangle with the ranges lining a large central courtyard. However, the east face was pushed forward to create an angle that more precisely created a pentagonal plan. At each corner was a massive circular tower with further D-shaped towers on the same scale in the middle of each side. Usually four floors high and with battered bases 29 feet thick, each tower was surmounted by a covered machicolated wall-walk (*chemin-de-ronde*) with a second walk tiered above surmounted by a conical roof for Pierrefonds was protected by a system of two separate parapet circuits. One was a covered walk carried on corbels so that it projected well over the walls and was machicolated, with the machicolated walk between the towers continuing at a lower level. The second walk was partially open to the sky and ran uninterrupted across curtain walls and towers alike. These two walks provided an unbroken circuit encircling the whole fortress, facilitating speedy military movement to different parts of the castle. They were a dominating characteristic of Louis' stronghold.

Viollet-le-Duc initially sought to restore the original character of the ruined castle. Although rent by vertical breaches made in the early seventeenth century, several of the eight circuit towers retained evidence of their machicolated heads, together with the linking curtain wall up to its machicolated parapet.⁵ The body of five of the towers are therefore original but those on the entry front were so badly damaged by mining in 1617 that they had to be almost totally reconstructed by Viollet-le-Duc. All are surmounted by his double wall-walks and roofs, providing a contrast between fourteenth and nineteenth century building techniques.

A feature of these towers was the depiction high on their external faces of some of the heroes of antiquity, the Old Testament, and Christianity (The Nine Worthies). These gigantic figures stood in decorative niches close to the lower machicolated wall-walk. They not only gave the towers a distinctive feature but also an individual identity. They were restored by Viollet-le-Duc but three of the original though damaged figures have been moved inside the castle, joining other examples of late fourteenth century statuary found on site during the mid-nineteenth century.

The largest tower (Tour Jules César) abutted the slightly earlier tower-house that dominated the castle. This overlooked the entry approach to the central courtyard (the Court of Honour) and held the private apartments of Louis of Orleans. Fortunately, much of this structure survived Richelieu's order to destroy the castle so that the majority of the internal walls could be identified with confidence up to the roof gables. The vaulted ground floor held the kitchen and services with the principal apartments above with site evidence of the lost floors. Viollet-le-Duc's inserted walls and floors therefore recreated the original volumes and restored access to a magnificent second floor fireplace.⁶

The tower-house filled the south side of the Court of Honour. Part of the west side is also original, particularly the cellars with evidence of the brick stoves that originally helped to heat the fortress. It is likely that the floors above held a lower and upper hall, particularly as the present lower hall retains an original twin hearth fireplace and evidence of an open gallery towards the courtyard. The castle's principal reception hall with its end wall fireplace was at first floor level.

The internal layout of the north range is entirely mid-nineteenth century reflecting imperial accommodation needs. The initial layout is unclear but it presumably included apartments and offices as far as the chapel apse in the east facing tower (Tour Judas Maccabée). There was a small service court in the angle east of the tower-house.

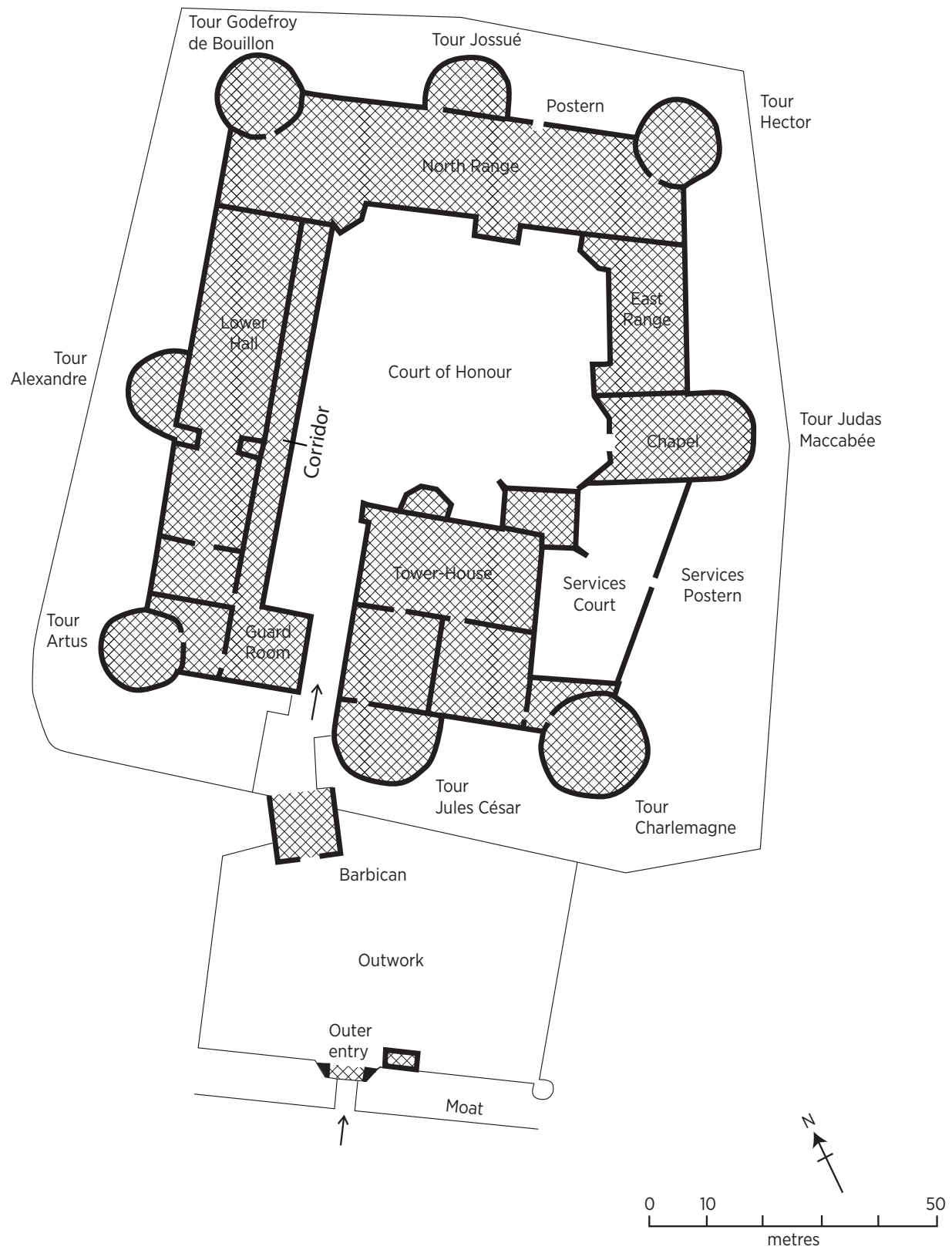


Fig. 49 Pierrefonds Castle: ground plan

Pierrefonds shows the same basic quadrangular plan as contemporary castles in France and England though on a gigantic scale. Externally therefore, Pierrefonds is still a coherent and complete architectural unit with the many towered heads dominating the skyline as they did in the late fourteenth century. Very unusually, the tower-house was not a freestanding structure as at Vincennes but it was positioned in the enlarged structure against the outer wall overlooking the entry approach. This is without parallel though the contemporary tower-house at Vez (c.1390) was built astride the east angle of an earlier quadrangular courtyard fortress.⁷ The additional benefit of the enhanced structure at Pierrefonds was that Louis' accommodation was increased by the rooms in the added Tour Jules César.

The scale of this castle is enormous – too large, in fact, for the financial resources of Louis of Orléans. But Pierrefonds was intended to make a statement. It was the residence of the king's brother and therefore on a similar scale to that of Charles V at Vincennes and the duke of Anjou at Saumur. It declared Louis' political ambitions, his material resources, and his aspirations for a much larger patrimony. Pierrefonds was up-to-date in its design, displayed quality craftsmanship, and exhibited a generosity of artistic spirit and architectural panache.

The mid-nineteenth-century Restoration

In 1857, Napoleon III decided that Pierrefonds should be restored as an imperial residence and appointed Viollet-le-Duc as his architect. Initially it was intended to rehabilitate no more than the tower-house and two of the north-facing towers for Pierrefonds was only nine miles from the royal palace at Compiègne. It was intended to landscape the remaining ruins but within a year, Napoleon III had decided that the castle should also house the imperial court necessitating expansionist plans and a revised budget for a total reconstruction of the site. As Louis Grodecki asserted, the result 'is a romantic princely palace, a fantastic imagining, sometimes with humour by an architect of genius'.⁸

An examination of Viollet-le-Duc's papers show that there was no detailed or logical restoration programme but a haphazard schedule of building activity. Modern materials such as steel girders were used and over 300 workers were employed at peak times to meet the emperor's wishes for speedy completion. The castle was therefore rebuilt in stages between 1857 and 1885, but this twenty-eight-year period sharply divides into a greater and a lesser phase.

The majority of the work was undertaken in the thirteen years between 1857 and 1870. No survey was made of the standing structure prior to its redevelopment, but some of the internal ruins were excavated in 1859 leading to the recovery of some of the original sculpture and statues. By the close of 1870, all the buildings had been stabilised. The tower-house, the eight towers and the chapel had been reroofed as had the courtyard ranges, but only five rooms in the tower-house had been decorated.

Work ceased in 1870 with the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War and the collapse of the Second Empire. Though Napoleon III died in exile in 1873, work was resumed later that year but at a far more desultory pace than before. Viollet-le-Duc died in 1879 though his torch was taken up by his son-in-law Maurice Ouradou who completed the chapel in 1882 to Viollet-le-Duc's inventive designs. All activity was permanently suspended in 1885. The extensive work between 1858 and 1870 had cost over five million gold francs, mainly incurred by the emperor with the remainder and all second phase costs borne by Les Monuments Historiques.

Viollet-le-Duc's work is neither a faithful reconstruction of the late fourteenth century palace-fortress nor a fantasy imagining of a late medieval castle. It reflects a mixture of his historical erudition and an increasingly creative imagining that led to a highly personal interpretation within a genuine architectural core.⁹ It is enhanced by Viollet-le-Duc's vividly expressed decorative schemes and his more academically



Pl. 83 Pierrefonds Castle: from the west after restoration

based furniture, statues and ornamentation. Much of his internal décor survives but little of his furniture for its manufacture had hardly been put in hand before all work ceased.

The exterior reconstruction was a coherent architectural structure, but Viollet-le-Duc's internal work reflected imperial planning needs under a medieval design of singular inventiveness. And though his decorative work is complex, it can seem mechanistic compared with the exuberance and humour of William Burgess' similar medievalising at Cardiff Castle and Castle Coch.

Viollet-le-Duc did not fundamentally alter the original layout of the outer walls or the towers but his internal work developed from the architectural restraint of the tower-house (1857–64) to his unfettered imaginings for the chapel (1882). As much of the tower-house interior was still standing, he kept the original layout as his basis for the suites for the emperor (first floor) and the empress (second floor), extensively decorated with a kaleidoscopic pattern of medieval stencilled walls, painted beams, sculpture, and ornamentation. Regrettably, the entry and newel stair he added to the tower-house are an over-contrived design using forms nearly a century later than the body of the castle. This added an over-decorative element that was a prelude to the more eclectic designs to come.

In the mid-1860s, the twin tiered reception halls in the west range were retained, the lower one with its original two hearth fireplace and the upper one with a hull-framed ceiling and polychrome décor. However, like many architects Viollet-le-Duc was anxious to show off. Instead of a courtyard façade reflecting the internal layout of the west range he created a four tier design of over-elaborate windows and arches serving a covered walk, gallery, principal hall, and dormers. Even though the north face of the castle had been least damaged by mining in 1617 due to the proximity of the village houses,¹⁰ Viollet-le-Duc could barely restrain himself. The whole range was completely remodelled to suit the imperial needs of kitchens and services (ground), reception rooms (first) and guest rooms (second). A

double staircase was added at the north angle while the courtyard façade was an eclectic mixture of window forms, ornament, and architectural references.

By the time the architect reached the chapel (1867–70, 1882), the façade and interior were the consequence of technical inventiveness and fervent imaginings in preference to historical accuracy. Even the insertion of a balcony over the altar – the only one in France – could only be justified by Viollet-le-Duc suggesting that Louis of Orléans and his wife needed armed guards to survey the chapel when they attended services there!

As his reconstruction moved from the tower-house to the chapel, Viollet-le-Duc's respect for the original structure diminished in the light of his 'creative interpretations' and increasing hubris. Today, a visitor traverses a sequence of empty rooms, essentially reflecting a medieval interpretation of an imperial dream that suddenly came to nought.

Notes

1. It stood about 500 metres from the present building.
2. J. Harmand, *Le plus ancien château de Pierrefonds et ses problèmes*, *Bulletin Monumental* (1959) nos. 1 & 2.
3. J. Harmand, *Pierrefonds, la forteresse d'Orléans* (1983). In 1589, Bergeron gave the commencing date as 1390, *Le Valois Royal et Pierrefonds*.
4. *ibid.* Harmand's work replaces the single phase project proposed by Viollet-le-Duc and all subsequent writers.
5. The three north-facing towers were breached but relatively well preserved. On the east side, the chapel tower stood in part to machicolation level but most of the three protecting the entrance frontage were destroyed in 1617. Alexander's Tower in the middle of the west face had been breached but stood in a tolerable condition. The two towers flanking the tower-house (César and Charlemagne) were surmounted by exceedingly tall watch towers.
6. The influence of the royal tower-house at Vincennes had quickly spread to several leading families north-east of Paris. The two earliest examples were the circular towers at Septmonts, a particularly striking structure built by the bishop of Soissons (1360–70) and that at Montépilloy (after 1360) by Robert of Lorris, Charles VI's chamberlain. (The machicolated head at Montépilloy was added in 1410–11 by Jean Aubelet, Louis of Orléans' architect, as part of the duke's defensive system). The slightly later tower-houses at Crouy-sur-Ourcq and Vez were rectangular. Crouy was built by admiral Jean III of Chepoy during the last third of the century, while Vez was developed by Jean of Vez, Louis of Orléans' chamberlain during the last quarter of the century. Louis' tower-house at Pierrefonds made an imposing architectural closure to the century.
7. It was similarly surmounted by a machicolated *chemin-de-ronde* (restored in the early twentieth century) but the castle circuit was never replaced by a massive towered enclosure like that at Pierrefonds.
8. L. Grodecki (1973) 3. Pierrefonds was matched by similar concepts in Europe such as Neuschwanstein Castle in Bavaria, Pena Castle in Portugal, Peckforton Castle in England, and Cardiff Castle in Wales but rarely with such bravura.
9. Harmand pays considerable attention to identifying Viollet-le-Duc's rebuilding as justified by the remains and the work which was entirely the result of his 'imaginings'.
10. After 1617, the Tour Hector at the north-east angle remained the best preserved of the towers and the only one that could still be ascended.

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LA FERTÉ-MILON CASTLE

Though there was a castle here in the thirteenth century,¹ the dominating structure that stands today is the entry façade of the fortress developed by Louis of Orléans from about 1398 onwards. It was sited on the west side of the thirteenth century towered enceinte that still encloses part of the town of La Ferté-Milon. Louis's residence was planned to be an irregular quadrangle like Pierrefonds but little more than the powerful frontage survives. 104 metres long, it consists of a central gateway flanked by two boldly projecting towers, curtain walls of the same height, and a massive tower at each end. Now lacking any rear walls, the façade stands like expensive stage scenery.

The two entry towers and the south tower are prow-shaped to help deflect projectiles and wooden siege towers. This form had occurred much earlier at Château Gaillard (1196–98), La Roche Guyon (c.1200) and at Carcassonne (late thirteenth century). However, La Ferté-Milon enjoyed the benefit of exquisitely cut masonry. All four towers were enhanced below the machicolation level by decorative niches holding large statues representing heroic ladies, similar to the statues at Pierrefonds and Poitiers. But the design of the entry deliberately draws the eye to the central feature above the entrance arch, a high quality relief of the Coronation of the Virgin. Sculpted by one of the best Parisian artists, it compares with the similar relief at Pierrefonds except that it conceals a murder slot.

The three storeyed curtain walls are interrupted by surprisingly large oblong transomed windows protected by grilles giving ample light to the chambers behind. This is in marked contrast with the severe walling at Pierrefonds. The better preserved north tower overlooking the river Ourcq was a tower-house projecting towards the field whereas that at Pierrefonds projected into the courtyard. Like its sister residence, it held high quality accommodation. All walls and towers are surmounted by a machicolated *chemin-de-ronde* at a common level. It seems that the towers were capped behind this machicolated wall-walk rather than surmounted by a second walk as at Pierrefonds.



Pl. 84 La Ferté-Milon Castle: entrance façade

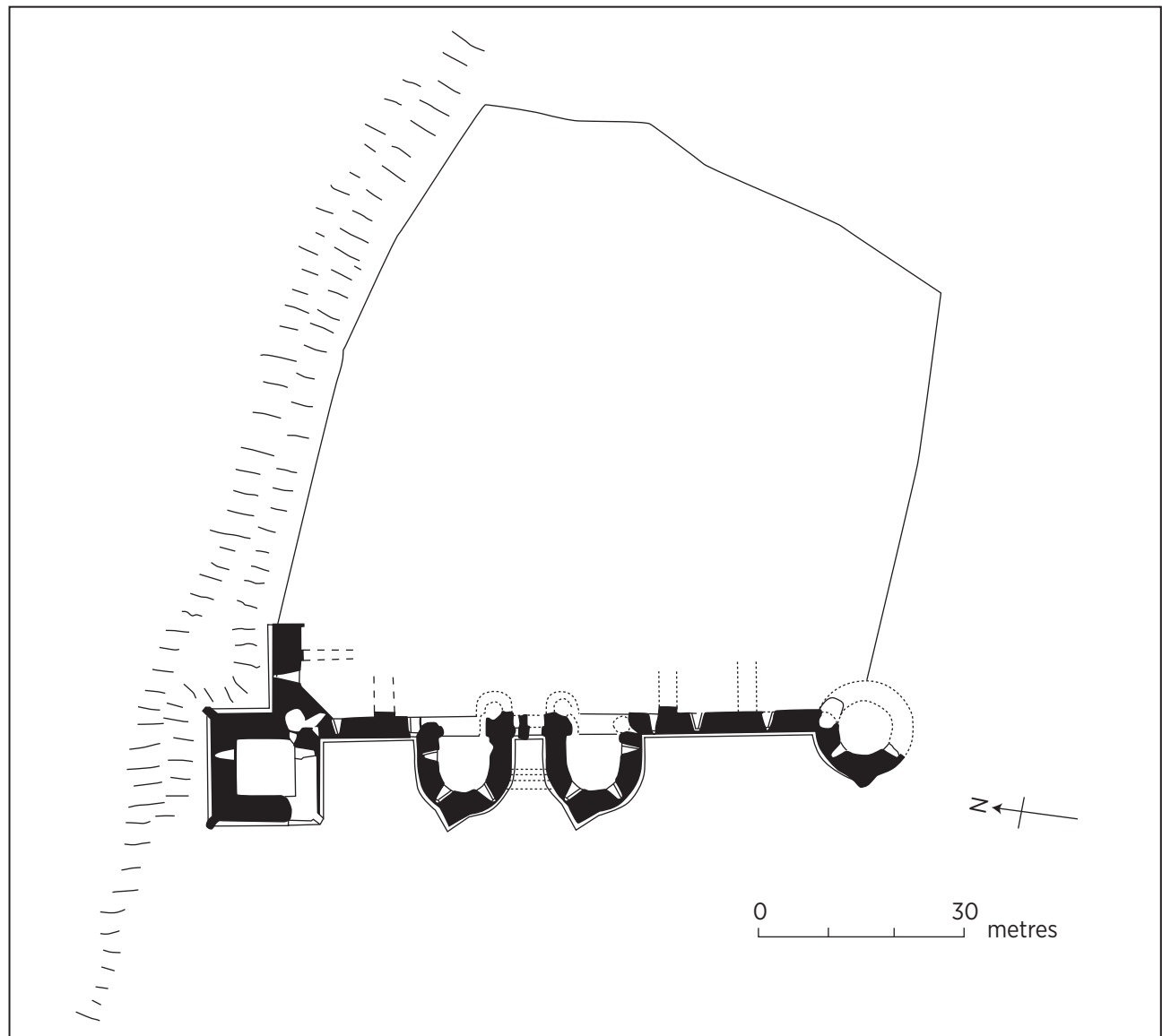


Fig. 50 La Ferté-Milon Castle: ground plan

Continuous machicolations along curtain walling are comparatively rare in northern Europe. It was not needed in either of Louis' two castles to cover blind spots at the base of the curtain wall as this function was served by the flanking towers. By the close of the fourteenth century, this defensive feature had tended to become an expensive fashion statement. It also helped to add lightness and a vertical sensitivity to the summit of a castle as the several castle representations show in the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*.

It was probably financial difficulties after 1403 that were responsible for little more of Louis' castle being developed before his assassination in 1407. The internal stonework of the entrance range shows two types of stone truncation – toothing left by the builders for further extension, and stonework deliberately broken away. The former indicates non-completion in 1407 when all work abruptly ceased, while the second was the result of destruction attributable to mining by Henry IV in 1594. Furthermore, hardly

any foundations were laid of the ranges round the courtyard which was otherwise simply marked out. La Ferté-Milon was clearly intended to be residential as well as militarily valuable, for the tower-house was able to hold out for a considerable time when it was besieged during the late sixteenth-century Wars of Religion.

Notes

1. The place is named after the blockhouse (*ferté*) erected by Milon. The earlier castle lay outside the round south tower of Louis' fortress.

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THE DUCHY OF BURGUNDY

JOHN THE FEARLESS, DUKE OF BURGUNDY

The antagonism between Louis of Orléans and his uncle, Philip the Bold in their struggle to dominate and control the king whilst protecting their own interests, degenerated into hatred after Philip was succeeded by John the Fearless in 1404.¹ Both John and Louis were in their early thirties. John plotted the assassination of his rival and succeeded in November 1407. Anarchy followed but the advantage initially lay with John the Fearless who aggressively posed as the injured party and a liberator for the common good. The civil war that broke out in 1411–12 between the Orléanist party, now led by Bernard VII, count of Armagnac, and the Burgundians centred on the control of Paris rather than control of the king and queen who recognised John as regent in all but name. John's purpose was not to ascend the throne but to exploit it to his own benefit and to establish Burgundy as a more independent region within the kingdom of France.

He skilfully exploited the political situation to his own ends by claiming to head the reforming party that would re-organise the royal household, the administration of the royal lands, and the law courts to the benefit of the populous. An ordinance implementing many of these reforms made the duke of Burgundy the idol of Paris. The fact that most of the new appointments were filled with his supporters enabled the duke to defy the royal princes, Berry, Anjou, and Charles of Orléans. They shrank from open rebellion while Burgundy stoked the flames of support from the burgesses of Paris by appealing to Henry IV of England for military support.² After negotiation with both parties, Henry sent 2,000 men under the earl of Arundel to support the duke who made a brief foray in October 1411 to relieve the siege of Paris by the princes.

Henry sent a larger force in May 1412 in support of the Armagnacs but with the collapse of their interest, the English army simply marched from the Cotentin peninsula across Anjou and left from Bordeaux in return for 150,000 crowns. A solemn reconciliation that promised peace and good will in August 1412 strengthened the controlling interest of John the Fearless. But the burgeoning interest of the fledgling dauphin combined with the zeal of some of the reforming followers of the duke forced John the Fearless to flee from Paris to Flanders. With this reversal of fortune, the monarchy was suddenly under the mailed fist of the Armagnacs who gathered in force in Paris, while John licked his wounds to take the military initiative that essentially degenerated into civil war.

It was at this point that the extended but desultory negotiations with England since 1411 sprang into life. Discussions had been held with the Armagnacs and the Burgundians, with Henry IV and the

dukes of Clarence and Gloucester inclined towards the former, and the future Henry V and Bedford favouring the latter. Both French sides were horrified by the scale of the English demands leaving the way for the newly-crowned Henry V to seize by conquest after Agincourt what he had been unable to achieve by negotiation. As the Armagnacs sought to defend the royal domain, John the Fearless sulked 'in an attitude of hostile neutrality'.³

Henry's battlefield success reopened the Hundred Years War with shattering consequences for England and France but it had little effect on the internal civil war which continued with unabated bitterness. John the Fearless sought a meeting with the English king in October 1416 but their aims were quite different. John wanted to recover power in France whilst Henry V was seeking an active ally in his conquest of France. Each pursued their separate agendas. Henry initiated his conquest of Normandy in 1417 whilst John encircled, besieged and captured Paris (May 1418). With the French king now in Burgundian hands and Bernard VII count of Armagnac murdered, the sixteen-year-old dauphin fled to Berry.

It was the need to check the English advance across Normandy that brought the Armagnacs and the Burgundians together. An outline agreement was signed in July 1419 but the follow-up negotiations were abruptly terminated by Armagnac retribution for the assassination of Louis of Orléans twelve years earlier. At a meeting between the dauphin and John the Fearless at Montereau, John was stabbed to death by the Armagnac negotiators in what is reasonably seen as a premeditated crime (September 1419). The consequence was to hand his twenty-three-year-old son, the new duke of Burgundy the long sought opportunity to become the pre-eminent counsellor to the king and ruler of the royal domain in all but name.

The rule of Philip the Good opened with the Treaty of Troyes, a high-water mark in Anglo-Burgundian relations (May 1420). It was agreed that the dauphin would be disinherited and that Henry V would be heir to the throne of France. Charles VI's unmarried daughter Catherine of France was betrothed to the English king, solemnised a month later, while Henry retained Normandy as his appanage pending the death of the mad king of France. Philip the Good assumed that Henry would leave him in control of the royal lands while Philip would help the English king to overcome any dissension in his new kingdom. The young duke had achieved what his father had sought but never attained. As a whole, the country saw an end to the protracted civil war and the prospect of a firm ruler in place of the mad king and his weak son, the dauphin. Paris was glad to have the court back in its city, while the wider countryside looked forward to a period of stability and unity. The reality proved totally different.

Notes

1. In 1396, John came to the aid of King Sigismund of Hungary during a crusade. He was defeated by the Turks at the battle of Nicopolis, taken prisoner, and only released upon payment of an immense fortune. The barbed appellation 'Fearless' followed.
2. Despite the Anglo-Flemish trade truce, there had been a number of raids and reprisals during the first years of the century between England and Burgundian Flanders such as the raid on Sluis by Henry IV's son Thomas in 1405 and John the Fearless' half-hearted attempt to attack Calais in 1406.
3. E. Perroy, *The Hundred Years War* (1951), 238.

PARIS, TOUR JEAN-SANS-PEUR

Close to the intersection of the rue Étienne-Marcel and the rue Turbigo, stands the Tour Jean-Sans-Peur.¹ This strange-looking tower was the shorter arm of an L-shaped building at right angles to the principal residential block, now replaced by a primary school. The tower projects towards the street and abutted the early thirteenth-century city wall of Philippe Auguste. The tower broke through the city wall with the existing decorated entry, giving rear access to the former countryside. The exterior was crowned by a large pediment carrying the boldly carved arms of the duke and duchess of Burgundy.

The hôtel built by Robert d'Artois in c.1270 had been purchased by the house of Burgundy a century later, and had been extended in 1371–75 following Philip the Bold's marriage. The hôtel was demolished in 1543 on the orders of Francois I except for this tower built by Robert of Helbuterne between February 1409 and May 1411 at a cost of nearly 10,000 royal pounds.²

This tower signalled the triumphal return of the duke of Burgundy to Paris within a year after fleeing from the capital following his responsibility for the assassination of the duke of Orléans in November 1407. This reversal in his fortunes was consolidated by his gaining control over the twelve-year-old dauphin at the close of 1409. It was at this point that the Armagnac party came into existence. As some of its supporters threatened to destroy the duke's residence in Paris, this dominating addition asserted John the Fearless' authoritarian return.

The tower is five storeyed plus an attic and basement where the lower courses of the city wall have been revealed. The ground floor is featureless except for the wide stair in the angle where the tower abutted the main residence. There was initially no entry to the next floor which rose through the equivalent of two floors with tall open arches on three sides and a modern forced doorway in the blank fourth wall. This construction served as a vaulted bridge supporting the two residential rooms above. These were similar in scale and fittings with square-headed windows, a close beamed ceiling above a moulded stone plinth, fireplace, and latrine (furnished in one instance). Part of a tiled floor has been recovered but the machicolated parapet and roof are reconstructions. The most highly decorative



Pl. 85 Paris, Tour Jean-Sans-Peur

feature is the head of the stair which terminates in a multi-branched leafy bower of considerable power – oak for Philip the Bold, hawthorn for Margaret of Flanders, and hop for John the Fearless. From here, a blocked doorway formerly led to the principal residence with a subsidiary stair to the two upper rooms, one above the other. The grand stair – an *escalier d'honneur* – followed the precedent of Charles V at the Louvre while architecturally; the tower gave height combined with privacy for the duke.

The uppermost rooms extended the width of the structure allowing surveillance and an overview of the residence and its immediate neighbourhood. The contemporary chronicler Monstrelet stated that at night, the duke slept in this strong, masonry-built tower.³ For John the Fearless trusted no-one, was always afraid of assassination, surrounded himself with a bodyguard, and retreated to this tower for safety. It therefore combined a political statement of the duke's success against his adversaries with a precautionary measure against possible retaliation by the fickle citizens.

While John the Fearless spent much of his time in Paris before his flight from the capital in 1413, the duchess spent much of her time at her favourite castle at Rouvres in Burgundy protecting the duchy and the county from its Armagnac enemies. Because of them, she added a tower at the castle in 1411 similar to that built for her husband at the Hôtel d'Artois in Paris so that she and her family had an effective retreat at times of danger. The castle was destroyed during the Thirty Years War and no longer exists.⁴

Notes

1. 20 rue Étienne-Marcel.
2. Documents provide the names of some of the other leading craftsmen including the master carpenter, ironsmith, glassmaker, and the quarry owner who was still waiting to be paid ten years later. Exhib. Cat., *Art from the Court of Burgundy* (2004), 158–59.
3. *Chronique*, ed. L. Douet d'Arcq, vol. 1 (1857), 177.
4. G. Frignet in Exhib. Cat., *Art from the Court of Burgundy* (2004) 152–53. R. Vaughan, *John the Fearless* (1966) 180.

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PART THREE

1415–1480

ENGLAND

SURPRISE, SUCCESS AND FACTIONAL BITTERNESS: 1415–1453

1415–1422

Upon his accession in 1413, the twenty-six-year-old Henry V continued his father's policy of negotiating with both political rivals in France, the Burgundians and the Armagnacs. But Henry's aim in renewing the war was not because he needed to do so but because he wanted to do so. He intended to expand the long-held duchy of Aquitaine and to 'reclaim' the long-lost duchy of Normandy. Negotiations with the factional dukes in France were quietly paralleled in England with preparations for war.

Henry's army landed at Harfleur at the mouth of the Seine in August 1415, possibly hoping to march towards Rouen and Paris. Disease prevented any such plan so that an escape route through Normandy to Calais was adopted. The French army advanced to cut them off but was instead cut down at the battle of Agincourt. This surprising success prompted a renewal of the war two years later but this time it was on quite a different basis. The purpose was to follow the conquest of Normandy with its permanent occupation and settlement by Englishmen. The nobility was in favour of the war but this time, it was intended to embrace the English gentry and potential landowners in the occupation of these overseas territories. After Rouen was taken (January 1419), the rest of Normandy quickly submitted to Henry. Confiscated land and properties were granted in measured terms to reward his captains and supporters and to encourage aspiring gentry and merchants to settle permanently in Normandy. Property ownership meant civil or military responsibilities but there was also the possibility of handsome profits, though few achieved much success in financial terms.

Meanwhile, Paris was surrounded by the Burgundian troops of John the Fearless which fell in May 1418 with the dauphin only just escaping in time. The Armagnac leaders now began to consider an alliance with England. A meeting between Queen Isabella, John the Fearless, and Henry V proved barren but the follow up of a meeting between the duke of Burgundy and the dauphin ended in the duke's murder by the dauphin's retainers on the bridge at Montereau-sur-Yonne (1419).

The Burgundians were now far more willing to negotiate with the English for they appreciated that Henry's determination to win the French throne would lead to an alliance with the Armagnacs if they did not agree with his terms. The treaty signed in the royal residence at Troyes by Henry V, Charles VI and the new duke of Burgundy agreed that Charles would retain the crown of France for his lifetime but that Henry V and his heirs would succeed him. The anticipated dual monarchy would unite the

thrones of France and England. Charles VI disinherited his own son so that Henry could be responsible for the government of France with almost immediate effect. At the same time, Henry was betrothed to Charles' daughter and sealed the occasion by formally entering Paris with Charles VI and the duke of Burgundy at his side (December 1420).

Initially, the treaty of Troyes appeared to be a triumph for Henry's ambitions and seemed to promise peace, but the problem with this treaty was that the dauphin was not party to it, nor were several leading members of the nobility such as the duke of Brittany. It was quickly recognised in England as well as in France that this was primarily an Anglo-Burgundian agreement centred on the future of the French crown and therefore of unclear stability. The major English defeat that followed at Baugé was offset within a year by the successful siege of Meaux that had held out for the dauphin. But during this siege, Henry was struck down with dysentery and died at Vincennes Castle (August 1422). Charles VI followed him seven weeks later.

The war had put a heavy strain on English resources which the treaty of Troyes had exacerbated. To maintain its terms, the duke of Bedford, now Regent of France and many leading nobles had to devote much of their effort to continuing the war with France. At the same time, their financial needs and physical support were mired in the political controversies of the long minority of the nine month old Henry VI of England. Nor was their Burgundian partner willing to commit the troops and financial support necessary to fulfil his alliance commitments.

1422–1453

The early years of Bedford's regency brought a number of successes. His happy marriage to the duke of Burgundy's sister became a cornerstone of the Anglo-Burgundian alliance. The dauphin had retreated to Bourges but although the country south of the river Loire (except Gascony) was loyal to him, it was in northern France that the battle lines were drawn. Paris stayed loyal to the Anglo-Burgundian cause while the dauphin's forces were defeated at Cravant on the upper Loire (1423) and again at Verneuil where they had been joined by a strong Scottish contingent. The English consolidation of Normandy, followed by Maine, had been completed by the close of 1428. The English kingdom of France now extended from the coast of Normandy to the valley of the Loire, bounded by its nominal allies – Brittany to the west and Burgundy to the east. Bedford's policy of staying on good terms with Philip of Burgundy underpinned all that he and his elder brother had achieved in France over the past eleven years.

Bedford's cautious proposal to take Anjou and its capital Angers was rejected at the insistence of the earl of Salisbury who favoured an attack on Orléans, followed by a strike into the heart of the dauphin's territory. Unfortunately, Salisbury was killed during an early skirmish whilst the arrival and determination of Joan of Arc, broke the seven-month siege so that the English lost control of the bridges over the Loire (May 1429). The relief of Orléans was immediately followed by a further sequence of setbacks for the English culminating in their defeat at Patay in June 1429. The English army was annihilated and nearly all the senior English commanders were captured so that the way was now clear for the dauphin to be crowned Charles VII in Reims Cathedral (July 1429).

None of the Burgundian towns on the route to Reims tried to stop the dauphin's triumphal progress and within a few weeks, other towns nearer to Paris were supporting the Armagnacs including Beauvais, Compiègne, and Senlis. Charles VII's attempt to take Burgundian Paris in September 1429 ended in failure despite Joan of Arc's support. But in the middle of the siege of Compiègne, a sidelined Joan of Arc slipped in and was almost immediately captured by the Burgundians and sold to the English. Eight months later, she was tried, found guilty, and burnt at the stake at Rouen (May 1431). At the

same time, the psychological impact of Charles VII's coronation that had given him royal authority had to be negated. The English therefore countered by crowning and consecrating the young Henry VI as king of France but as the English had lost control of Champagne, the ceremony had to be held in Notre Dame, Paris and not in the coronation cathedral of Reims (December 1431). Nor did it have the same emotive impact, though it underlined the English commitment to the dual monarchy.

The war became one of attrition with gains and losses by all parties, though it became increasingly clear that the future of the English kingdom of France was under threat. Philip of Burgundy was more interested in his own duchy's problems than those of Bedford, while political dissensions in England were tearing the country apart. They centred on the bitter antagonism between the belligerent duke of Gloucester and the over-reaching ambitions of his uncle and nemesis Cardinal Beaufort, bishop of Winchester. Bedford sought to placate the vicious tensions during the royal minority and succeeded in diminishing Beaufort's political role but it proved difficult to raise sufficient funds to continue the war and command the forces necessary in France. Negotiations between the French and English at Arras in 1435 came to nothing, but the subsequent discussions between Charles VII and the Burgundians enabled duke Philip to replace his support to uphold the treaty of Troyes with neutrality in the event of any further Anglo-French conflict. There is no doubt that this agreement at Arras was a triumph of manipulation by Philip of Burgundy. He had extracted himself from the English alliance confirmed at Troyes, had gained immeasurably at the expense of Charles VII, and had become a leading figure on the European stage. Yet Charles VII played an even more subtle game with bribery, leaving the proud English to retreat empty-handed. Their isolation was fundamentally compounded by the death of the duke of Bedford at Rouen a week before the treaty was signed (September 1435).

The gap was filled by the one person who was not competent to do so – Henry VI. In May 1436, the earl of Warwick gave up his guardianship of the fourteen-year-old monarch, followed by the king taking a personal role in government now that he had come of age. Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort continued their bitter personal obsessions. The war-loans extended by the cardinal at usury rates essentially kept the war afloat, but the pole political position of the duke of Gloucester crumbled in the scandal centred on accusations against his wife so that the peace party was now firmly in the ascendant.

The renewed attempt to hold Normandy in the mid- to late 1430s began with some modest successes but the duke of York (1436–37) and subsequently the earl of Warwick (d.1439) did not have the resources to maintain the impetus. Nor were the settlers in Normandy willing to contribute financially or militarily. The political will in England to maintain Normandy gradually withered and the same attitude predominated in discussions about Gascony. This was particularly so after the fiasco by the English army across the lands between Normandy and Gascony led by an incompetent relation of the king, John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, 1443. The need to negotiate with France now became a reality. Discussions about the English sovereignty of Gascony and Normandy were pushed to one side in favour of a two year truce and the betrothal of Margaret of Anjou to Henry VI at Tours, despite the absence of any dowry or popular support for the marriage. Maine was surrendered in 1446 under the secret terms of Henry's marriage agreement with no compensation paid to the English settlers who were as disgruntled as those losing out in beleaguered Normandy. In both territories, the borders of the English kingdom in France were ever-diminishing with worse to follow.

In 1449, a foreign mercenary seized Fougères castle and town close to the Normandy border with Brittany. The English disclaimed any knowledge of the event, though it had long been planned in London. The attack brought an immediate reaction from Duke Francis of Brittany. As the English government took no notice, Charles VII as Duke Francis' suzerain enthusiastically assembled an army

to take retaliatory action. Normandy's collapse came swiftly. Verneuil fell, then Rouen after a two week siege. Many of the walled towns and fortresses surrendered without resistance, and the English settlers were forced to return to England. The force sent to prevent the collapse of Normandy was totally defeated at Formigny near Bayeux, followed by the surrender of Caen and Cherbourg (1450), the last English stronghold in Normandy.

Charles VII promptly turned his attention to Gascony which was unable to prevent a similar collapse to that of Normandy. Bordeaux and Bayonne surrendered together with the strongholds lining the Dordogne and Gironde estuary (1451). As in Normandy, an attempt was made to rescue the situation. The possibility of the king leading the army was considered but it was the faithful John Talbot who was appointed lieutenant of the duchy. The recapture of Bordeaux in July 1452 initiated a campaign of reconquest but it collapsed at the battle of Castillon and the death of Talbot (July 1453), followed by the final surrender of Bordeaux (October 1453). The long-held English occupation of the duchy died as did the English crown's pretensions to a dual monarchy. England was no longer a victor but totally mired in civil war as the French had been fifty years earlier.

ROUEN CASTLE

For thirty years, Rouen was the base for the English forces occupying Normandy during the second phase of the Hundred Years War. It was the capital after Henry V captured the city in 1419 until forces supportive of Charles VII opened the gates of the city in 1449. During that period, the castle was the home of the English governor, particularly John, duke of Bedford, Regent of France. At first, Bedford and his government were based in Paris but in 1429, he moved to Rouen. As a consequence, the city became an important political and cultural centre serving the ducal court and administration.

Henry V had intended to build a new ducal palace at Rouen from which he would govern the duchy. Work on the chosen river site near the present Place Henry IV was begun in 1419 but had not proceeded very far before Henry's death. Work continued under Bedford and his successor until 1449 but little is known about its plan or internal layout.¹

Two centuries earlier, Rouen Castle had been developed on a substantial scale by Philippe Auguste between 1204 and 1210 immediately after his conquest of Normandy. It was sited on the north side of Rouen as part of the circuit of the city walls. It consisted of a large polygonal court broken by a twin-towered entry gate and seven round or half-round towers, with a rebate on the north-east side to accommodate a free-standing keep built outside the circuit walls. Covering an area of two acres,



Pl. 86 Rouen Castle: keep

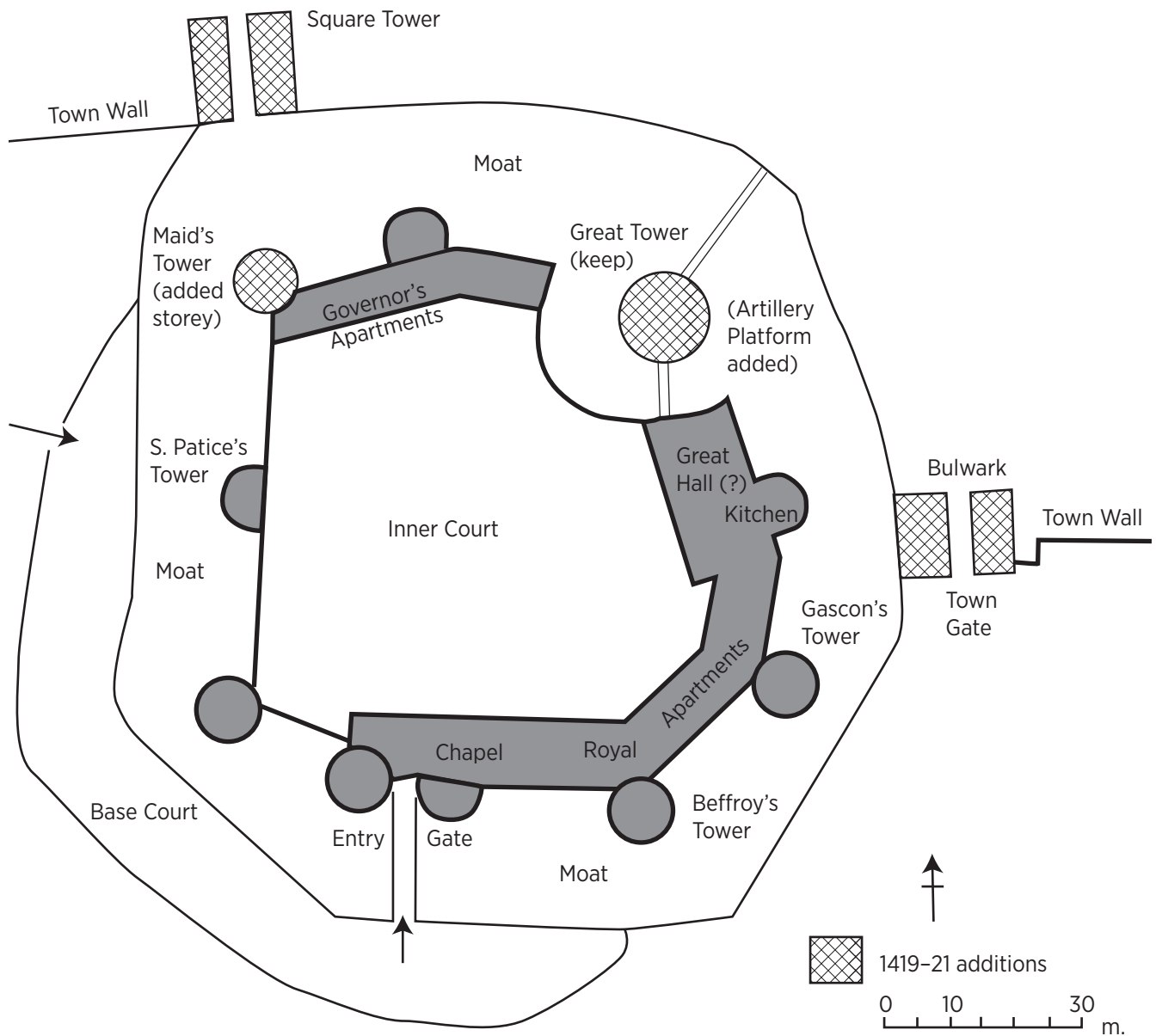


Fig. 51 Rouen Castle: site plan

Rouen Castle was one of the largest of Philippe Auguste's undertakings in France. Little of the structure survives apart from the keep which equally stands to symbolise Bedford's occupation of the city and the five month imprisonment of Joan of Arc in one of the castle's towers (December 1430 – May 1431).²

Today, the early thirteenth century keep stands cheek-by-jowl with mainly nineteenth century streets, houses and business premises completely destroying any earlier – never mind any medieval – character or atmosphere. The keep's vertiginous walls rise from a prominent batter to a height of 115 feet. The moat-enclosed tower is three storeyed, with each floor marked externally by a line of lighter stonework. The whole is crowned by an overhanging pepper-pot roof. The thirteen feet thick walls are

barely interrupted by thin arrow slits in wide splays while the mural newel that rises from ground to roof cannot be identified externally.

The drawbridge protected entry used today initially led from the area outside the city walls, while the opposite entry (now blocked) was from the courtyard and therefore the principal entry into the keep. The tall ground floor chamber is rib vaulted and has a substantial fireplace. There was a further fireplace on the floor above which was formerly rib vaulted (not restored), but there was no heating evident on the rebuilt uppermost floor. The roof is entirely a reconstruction of 1868–88.

Henry V ordered the castle's defences to be strengthened with a new gate-tower (The Square Tower) protecting the approach from outside the town and a huge bulwark to protect the town gate. A further storey was added to the tower subsequently used for Joan of Arc's imprisonment, while the roof of the keep was converted into an artillery platform.³

The royal apartments had been developed during the first half of the fourteenth century and were altered by Charles V in c.1375. They consisted of five chambers of increasing privacy at first floor level, extending from the chapel of St Romain to the king's inner chamber. The principal approach was from the stair by the chapel opening into the great chamber. The stair at the upper end of the range was for the king's private use. Several changes were made during Henry V's short rule. The principal approach continued to be by the great square stair next to the chapel which was used by the king as his oratory,



Pl. 87 Rouen Castle: from *Le Livre des Fontaines*, 1525

while the great chamber had become a dining room with a partitioned kitchen. The *chambre de parement* was panelled, heated, and approached by a second stair from the courtyard also accessing a great gallery (possibly projecting into the courtyard). The panelled king's chamber followed with three fireplaces and a separate garderobe, with the range terminating in the king's retiring chamber. There is no mention in the documentation of the hall and two chambers previously used by the queen.⁴

The castle ceased to be a royal residence and administrative centre with Louis XII's decision to build the new (and present) courts of justice in 1506–07. The castle was badly damaged in the late sixteenth century Wars of Religion, was dismantled in 1591 and used as a local stone quarry until the site was gradually covered with private mansions and a Benedictine convent. Though Bedford died in the castle in 1435⁵ and was buried in the cathedral, the sole standing tower retains no evidence of his occupation. Nor does anything remain of his private house, Joyeux Repos, near the Porte Saint Hilaire. It was a former hunting lodge of the dukes of Normandy and was Bedford's retreat from the many pressures of being the virtual king of northern France.

Artistic activity in Paris did not collapse because of English occupation after 1415 but it became more dispersed. It was still the centre for luxury goods, illuminated manuscripts, jewels, metalwork, and elaborate clothes serving the courts of Burgundy, Berry, Anjou, and Orléans, but to these was added a new one – that of Bedford at Rouen. Bedford was very aware that the city had suffered badly during the siege of 1418–19 and he encouraged local artistic workshops, but the most lasting survivals are a group of leading monuments of the late Gothic period including the church of St Maclou begun soon after 1432, perpendicular-style additions of 1422–41 to the abbey church of St Ouen, and the additions to the west front of Rouen cathedral influenced by contemporary English facades. While Rouen (and Normandy) flourished throughout the remainder of the fifteenth century, artistic activity had moved from Paris to Bruges, Brussels and Antwerp.

Notes

1. H.M. Colvin *et al.*, *History of the King's Works*, 1 (1963), 461–62.
2. The footings of this tower are now preserved in the basement of 102 Rue Jeanne d'Arc.
3. D. Léost, *Le château de Rouen (1204–1591) de la construction au démantèlement* (2001).
4. D. Léost, *The castle of Rouen and its keep* (2004), 30–34.
5. Richard, earl of Warwick, Governor of France and Normandy also lived here in 1439, while Cecily Neville, duchess of York, gave birth to the future Edward IV here in 1442.

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THE DYING EMBERS OF THE WAR: 1453–1475

War with France was not in the forefront of any political minds during the first phase of the civil war in England that concluded with the accession of Edward IV in place of the mentally unstable Henry VI (1461). Edward's foreign policy was underpinned by his keenness to re-establish good relations between England and Burgundy before any possibility of renewing the war was considered. Edward's efforts culminated in the marriage of his sister Margaret to Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy (1468).

The forty-five-year-old Louis XI of France believed that England was preparing to go to war again and sought to undermine Edward's plans by tempting the king's principal supporter Richard, earl of Warwick ('the Kingmaker') to oppose the crown's foreign policy. Warwick's rebellion against the king was initially successful but it proved transient (1470). For a time, Warwick had to flee to the French court whilst Edward fled to Burgundy creating a period of total political instability. Henry VI's restoration to the throne was equally brief for with Burgundian help, Edward returned with a force that defeated and killed Warwick at the battle of Barnet. Most of the queen's leading supporters (including her son) were killed at the subsequent battle of Tewkesbury, and Henry VI was quietly murdered in the Tower of London (1471).

Edward's second reign was more incisive than his first for his authority was more secure. This stability led him to embark on a military expedition that seemingly threatened to reopen the war with France, particularly as his army was the largest since that of Henry V. It is probable that Edward's intention was to exact territorial concessions from Louis XI, but as the duke of Burgundy again proved his unreliability through failing to give England the military support he promised, Edward settled for a financial agreement with Louis. The treaty of Picquigny (August 1475) not only provided a seven year truce but also granted Edward an immediate payment of 75,000 gold crowns and an annual pension of 50,000 gold crowns thereafter. Many of Edward's supporters also received pensions or gifts from the French king. The Hundred Years War was truly concluded by this agreement in 1475 rather than by the English withdrawal from Aquitaine in 1453.

Edward IV's second reign initiated an era of stability that laid the foundations for the succeeding Tudor dynasty. In France, the monarchy was similarly growing in power and authority, particularly as the death of Charles the Bold in 1477 was followed by the dismemberment of the Burgundian duchy and the rapid expansion of the Valois monarchy across the whole of France, politically and financially.

ROYAL RESIDENCES: 1400–1485

Compared with the fourteenth century, there was far less royal building in the following century prior to the advent of the Tudors. Edward I had inherited twenty houses from his father, but though this rose to twenty-five early in Edward III's reign, it had fallen to seventeen houses by the close of the century, twelve under Henry VI and ten with the advent of Henry VII. This reduction arose from a number of factors – the alienation of the royal demesne, more imperative calls on the crown's financial resources, higher living standards which made early houses financially prohibitive to update, less extensive court travelling, and the centralisation of government at Westminster. This last was particularly important in determining the more limited number of royal houses and their geographical distribution. Not

surprisingly, some houses became particular favourites, such as King's Langley under Edward II and Edward III, Kennington and Sheen under Richard II, and Eltham under Edward IV. Some fell out of favour such as Banstead and Gravesend, while those in the duchy of Cornwall including Cheylesmore and Beckley in the Midlands could be occupied by the king in the absence of an heir to the throne.

The principal differences in the planning of royal houses from major baronial houses lay in three areas. The first was the creation of a separate group of lodgings for the queen, distinct from those for the king. This had occurred as early as Henry II's time at Windsor and was firmly established by Henry III at Westminster and Clarendon and subsequently by Edward III at Windsor. The second was the diminution of the hall for communal life in favour of its ceremonial function, with a smaller hall for the king's and queen's use, in association with a withdrawing chamber as at Westminster. The third was the establishment of separate lodgings for the principal household members as at Windsor and Eltham during the second half of the fourteenth century. To these should be added the growing popularity of a regular quadrangular layout, usually a double courtyard as at Rotherhithe under Edward III and Sheen under Henry V where brick was first employed in royal works on a major scale. Sheen also reminds us that timber-framing was far more common than has usually survived, though a late example from the outer court still stands at Eltham.

Henry IV's reign during the early years of the fifteenth century was essentially divided into two halves. The first part was dominated by rebellions against the throne, and the second half by differences with his thrusting son, Prince Hal, including their attitudes to the pursuance or otherwise of the French War. Repairs and additions were made to Eltham Palace and to the regional palace at Clarendon but no major building project was undertaken by the cash-strapped monarch.

This contrasts with the substantial palace initiated by Henry V at Sheen near Richmond. The earlier manor at Sheen had been expanded by Edward III and much used in his later years as it was by Richard II and Queen Anne. Richard had added a timber-framed pavilion on an island in the river Thames which he and his wife had used as a summer retreat until Anne's death from the plague there in 1394.¹ According to Holinshed, this provoked Richard to demolish the whole palace and level the ground to assuage his grief. Henry V chose the same site to build a new palace which would help to confirm the legitimacy of the House of Lancaster. Initiated in 1413–14, this work was fortuitously financed from the profits of the Agincourt campaign and Henry's subsequent conquest of Normandy. This project however, not only encompassed a palace built over the gardens of the earlier one but also a charterhouse nearby.

Speed was of the essence to complete 'the King's Great Work'. Part of a timber-framed royal manor was transported from Byfleet twelve miles away to provide temporary accommodation, supplemented by a new chapel and two stone towers erected between 1419 and 1422 with virtual completion by the king's death that year. This work ran in parallel with the construction of the main palace which was far less developed and was suspended in 1422 until the young Henry VI was crowned in 1429 and ordered that the work should be completed. This took nearly twenty years with the work developed in a sequence of separate units.

The river-facing residence, brick-built on foundations laid in 1414, was a rectangular lodging block round a small central courtyard with its outer face broken by corner towers and bay windows, not unlike the still visible exterior of Herstmonceux Castle (c.1438–49) but repeated on all four sides.² The Byfleet building, a complete royal complex in itself, lay east of this imposing unit, separated from it by an orchard, while north of Henry V's new 'privy lodging' block was Henry VI's middle court flanked by the hall and chapel on opposing sides. In 1444–47, the complex was expanded further northwards with

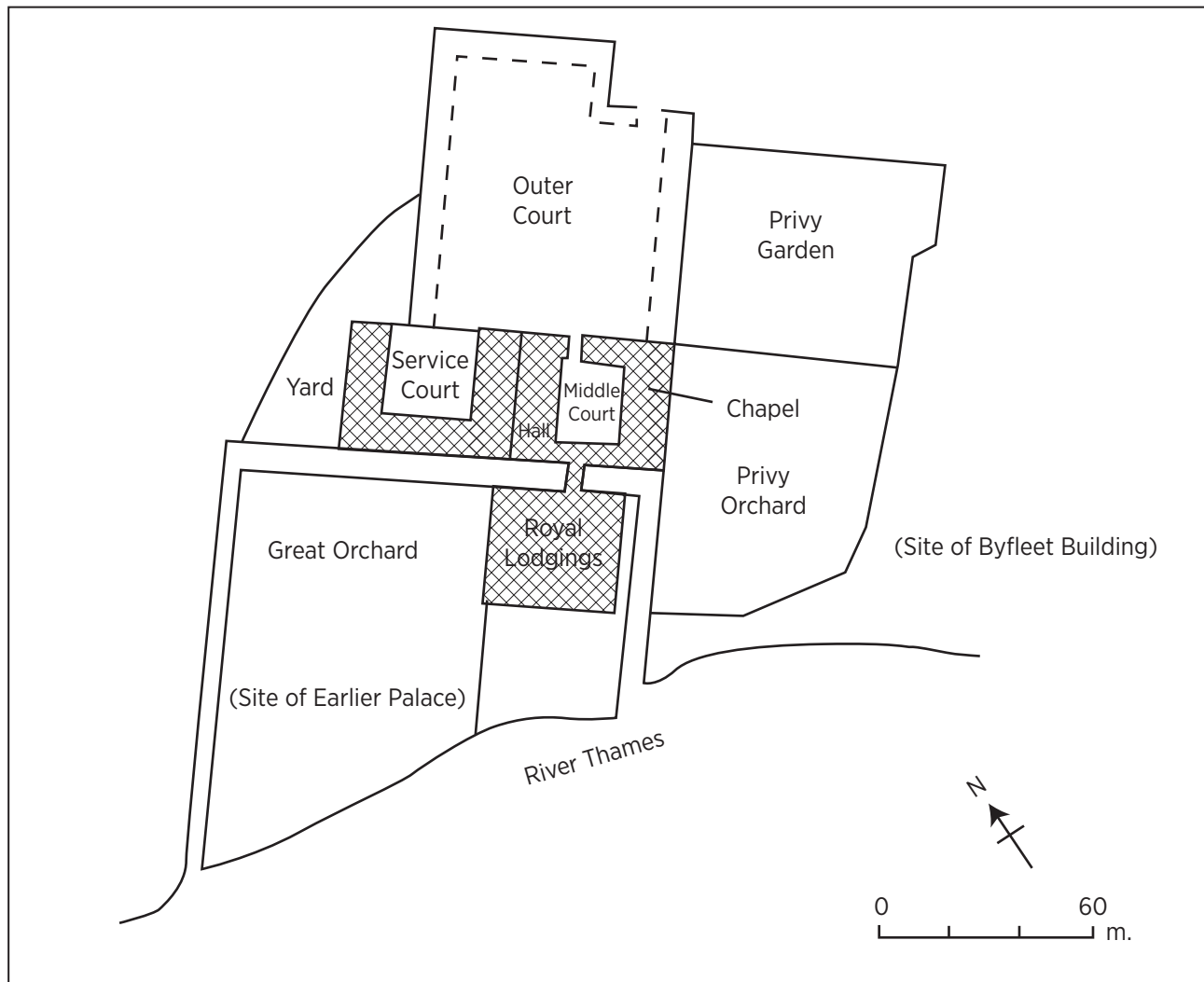


Fig. 52 Sheen Palace: schematic site plan c.1450

a gated outer court lined with lodging ranges.³ A disastrous fire in 1497 necessitated a total rebuilding by Henry VII of which only the Old Palace Gateway and part of the Base Court at Richmond Green survive, together with elements of Henry V's charterhouse within and close to Syon Park, the London home of the present duke of Northumberland.

Architecturally, the extended reign of Henry VI is noteworthy for the royal institutional buildings at Eton College and King's College, Cambridge. Still functioning, these twin educational foundations took precedence over all other royal activities in a reign beset with failure in its war with France, civil war at home, desperate financial problems, and an economic recession. Residential building was modest and essentially undertaken by two of the king's uncles. John, duke of Bedford, regent of France, made Rouen the centre of his court bringing temporary prosperity to the city. His only work in England was at Penshurst Place in Kent which he purchased in 1429 and added a three storey residential range to the mid-fourteenth century hall and withdrawing chamber. The tall first floor windows of Bedford's range with their deep encircling splays betray a French influence as does the probability that there was always a line of attic rooms lit by gable-headed windows.⁴

Humphrey, duke of Gloucester was regent of England during the early years of Henry VI's reign. He obtained the manor of Greenwich in 1436 and was granted a licence to crenellate the house in 1433. It was his favourite residence and proved equally popular after his death in 1447 with Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou. This country palace was built of brick and timber with separate courtyards for the two monarchs and their households and a garden close to the river Thames. Greenwich Palace was enlarged by Edward IV and rebuilt by Henry VII.⁵

Edward IV restored the royal finances, helped by negotiating a large payment from France for not invading that country. By the secretly-negotiated treaty of Picquigny (1475), Edward promised to abandon his support for the Burgundians against Louis XI. The payments that sealed this agreement helped to fund the one surviving royal residential unit of the fifteenth century, the great hall of Eltham Palace (1475–83). Just as important was Edward's rebuilding of St George's Chapel at Windsor Castle begun in 1473 with further work on both buildings – palace and chapel – continuing under the early Tudors.

Only a few foundations survive of Edward's other major residential project. Between 1476 and 1480, he spent £3,000 at Nottingham Castle erecting a four storeyed, multangular residential tower integrated with a two storeyed range of apartments built against an earlier curtain wall. The apartments were stone built at ground level but the upper floor was elaborately framed in timber. The design was particularly notable for its line of seven full height bay windows with end staircases rising through both storeys. Internally, the range was divided into separate suites for the king and queen, with those for the king linked to his most private apartments in the new tower. With a machicolated head, the single apartment on each of its upper floors commanded wide views over the plain of the river Trent.⁶

Notes

1. In 1417–18, Henry V built a similar 'pleasance' as a retreat at the further end of the mere or artificial lake at Kenilworth Castle. Its late twentieth century examination revealed substantial high-status timber-framed buildings including an extensive banqueting house, within gardens that were surrounded by a double moat with a harbour. The scale of this site was as large as that of the stone castle circuit at the other end of the lake.
2. An important plan of the palace of 1611 by Costantino de Servi in the State Archives of Florence, suggest that Henry VII's royal lodgings block may have incorporated the fire-damaged shell of the earlier lodgings block. *Post Medieval Archaeology* (2001). See also Wyngherde's palace view from the river of 1562.
3. J. Cloake, *Palaces and Parks of Richmond and Kew*, 1 (1995), 29–34.
4. A. Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses*, 3 (2006), 391–92.
5. *Hist. of the King's Works*, 2 (1963), 949–50.
6. C. Drage, *Nottingham Castle – A Place Full Royal* (1989)

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ELTHAM PALACE

In August 1475, Edward IV accepted Louis XI's financial proposal for withdrawing his army from northern France. Edward IV's second reign was becoming more stable politically, but whether Edward's military invasion of 1475 was a meaningful one in support of his Burgundian ally or a colourful gesture to squeeze financial benefits from the French is an open question.¹ The consequence was that Edward's already improving finances were substantially enhanced.

It is no coincidence that work on a new great hall at the royal palace of Eltham in Kent began shortly afterwards. An account for the roof survives from late September 1475 suggesting completion by about 1480. The property had been in royal hands since 1305 with accommodation and services expansion under several monarchs in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In 1475, Edward had the earlier out-of-date hall demolished and the foundations laid for a larger one at right angles to it. 101 feet by 36 feet and 55 feet high to the roof apex, it is among the largest halls in medieval England and forms the principal early feature of the site today.²

It is brick-built, faced with stone on the north side and ragstone beneath the hall window sills on the south side. The windows, buttress separated, are limited to the upper register with blank stonework below. The entrance is enlivened by Edward IV's *rose en soleil* and led directly into the cross passage. The dais is lit from each side by bay windows while the magnificent roof is of false hammer-beam construction, finely traceried.



Pl. 88 Eltham Palace: Edward IV's hall within the moated residence of bishop Bek, c.1300



Pl. 89 Eltham Palace: hall bay window of 1475-81

Several elements of this hall warrant further consideration.

- On the entrance front, the bold bay window lighting the dais is not offset by a matching porch, while the entry is surprisingly modest.
- The hall depends for its external impact on massing, not decoration, which is limited to buttress stepping and modest gargoyles to the parapet string course. The parapet is a 1930s replacement of the original embattled one shown in the Buck engraving of 1735. The window tracery is plain, tall cinquefoil lights with a small quatrefoil head.
- The two square dais bays were an afterthought, set back from the line of the hall outer wall which partly covers one light in both cases.
- The south wall is of poorer-quality stone as it faced the narrow kitchen court, not the open sward of today. The south cross passage doorway is similarly modest, with continuous simple moulding to a two-centred head. The two service entries, centrally positioned with continuous mouldings to four-centred heads, are also plain.
- The absence of a porch, the lack of ornamentation and the modest roof corbels – embattled rather than figured – suggest that money was tight. The restrained style of Edward's hall is particularly marked compared with Sir John Crosby's ornate hall at Bishopsgate (1466).
- The generous dais bays introduce a more exotic note internally with a tall, broad opening reaching almost to wall-plate level. The three two-light windows extend to ground level and both bays are crowned by a two-bay stellar-type vault with bosses at all rib joints.
- The hall bays have doors to the king's apartments (south) and the queen's apartments (north). Above the doorways is blind panelling mirroring the windows. However, both bays have high rear arches with the north side retaining a two-light first floor window. It is probable that the upper blind arcading was originally open, serving as a view-point looking down on to the hall scene.
- The six-bay roof is literally and metaphorically the hall's crowning glory. Because the hammer posts are morticed into the end of the hammer beams rather than resting on the beams, architectural historians have dubbed the construction a 'false' one. This is regrettable and gives the unjustifiable connotation of fakery. It is a gloriously robust structure. The wall plates and trusses are richly moulded and generously proportioned. The lack of stone decoration in the hall is amply rectified by this roof with gorgeous deep pendants,³ two lines of open tracery above the collar beams, and three lines of cusped wind braces, the lowest in counter-curves, the next in opposing curves, and the uppermost in regular form. Unlike the much admired roof at Penshurst Place hall, the purlins at Eltham are chamfered, while the roof corbels commence at a much higher level than at Westminster Hall for the weight borne by the hammer beams is not very great owing to the low pitch of the principal arches. This gives a less lowering effect at Eltham than at Westminster. Some of the woodwork was at one time gilded, for traces were found in the 1930s on the under surfaces of the yellow pigment which formed the base for gilding.
- The apartment is a classic example of high-status, late medieval hall design – blank lower walling for tapestries, a well-lit upper register (markedly so in this case), and a spectacular roof. This is an extremely spacious and generously proportioned hall, well fitted for receptions and entertainment. The reinstated hangings give a reasonable impression of royal use, as does the replacement cross-passage screen. The dais panelling, stone floor and minstrel's gallery are early twentieth century antiquarian inventions.

Edward IV favoured Eltham above all other royal residences (after Westminster) listed in John Skelton's eulogy on his death.⁴ The palace was large-scale, conveniently close to London, suitable for entertaining important visitors, and extensive enough to hold the whole court. Edward's work created a new and spacious courtyard approach and with a hall that set a new standard in architectural magnificence – astringent externally, imposing internally. It was also the last residential structure in England that can be ascribed to the 'benefits' of the Hundred Years War.

Notes

1. C. Ross, *Edward IV* (1974), 223–38.
2. Colvin, *H.K.W.* II (1965), 930–37.
3. Restored in 1934–35 on the evidence of the single survival drawn by Buckler just before it fell down in 1817.
4. *The Complete Poems of John Skelton*, ed. P. Henderson (1948), 2.

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THE CASTLES OF RETURNING COMMANDERS AND CAPTAINS OF WAR: 1340–1460

For victorious armies, the ‘benefits’ of war included bounty, plunder, and ransoms, but also the possibility of political influence, personal honour, and social advancement by men on both sides. Fame meant the esteem of a person’s peer group, and it increased his standing in society. The most obvious way of demonstrating this – be he a duke, magnate or knight – was to prove his prowess on the battlefield, display his coat of arms on every public occasion, and build a palace-fortress, castle, or fortified house commensurate with his position. The ‘benefits’ of war were uneven in scale and not necessarily fairly distributed, but they helped to resource a number of major building projects by commanders and captains, which symbolised their relationships and standing, not only with their peer group, but with others of higher or lower status.

In their different ways, it has recently been appreciated that Edward III and Richard II used language and imagery to emphasise their majesty, as Henry V similarly did, and to encourage pride in nationhood. While building was only one of the options open to the monarchy, it was a primary tool for magnates and gentry alike as a statement of authority and military success. English houses had no more outward or specific identification of the martial achievements of the owner or the war-funding of his property than the funerary monuments of the commanders and captains of the war.¹ The apparently original enamelled copper plate on the machicolated outer gate of Cooling Castle is unique in its declaration that the castle was ‘mad[e] in help of the cuntre’. The heraldic displays such as those at Hylton, Lumley, or Bodiam castles were a declaration not of battlefield success but of the builder’s status, descent, and affinity. But by their construction, they made an immediately recognisable proclamation of success as much as did Hardwick Hall, Burghley House, Audley End, Wentworth Woodhouse, or Waddesdon to later generations.

Almost before the first phase of the war had finished Edward III was seen as embodying the ideals of kingship and valour, and this was stressed when Edward IV went to war with France in 1475. The many deeds of valour by captains of war, particularly those achieved during the earliest phase, were popularised so that by the mid-sixteenth century the war was being perceived as a chivalric-inspired



Pl. 90 Warwick Castle: gatehouse, barbican and Caesar's Tower

romance, with the victories highlighted and the ultimate disastrous defeat brushed aside.² The Tudor topographer John Leland was not part of that movement but during his travels across England between 1539 and 1545, he noted that eight properties were built *ex spoliis nobilium bello Gallico captorum*. Five of them were castles and three were houses. Leland's source for three of these properties were the owners at the time, Sir William Berkeley for Beverston Castle, Lord Stourton for Stourton House, and Mr Hakluyt for Eaton Hall in Herefordshire. To these Mr Tracy of Toddington added his authority to the claim for the nearby castle at Sudeley. The remaining four properties were given their ascription by Leland without any named source – Amptill, Farleigh Hungerford, and Streatham castles, and Hampton Court near Leominster. Such statements were based on tradition rather than original documentation and Leland was sometimes sceptical of their accuracy.³ Fortunately, his comments are supplemented by a number of other sources to give a more balanced picture.

Building brooked no delay and certainly did not wait upon truces or peace before returning magnates began investing their gains during the 1340s. According to Knighton, Henry duke of Lancaster (d.1361) made so much money from the prizes at Bergerac in Aquitaine in 1345 that he was able to rebuild the Savoy Palace in the Strand at the cost of 52,000 marks.⁴ Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, one of the pre-eminent commanders of the first phase, developed the imposing entrance frontage of Warwick Castle between the late 1340s and 1369, while a recent authority on that structure agrees that the seventeenth-century tradition may well be true that Caesar's Tower was built out of the £8,000 ransom of the archbishop of Sens captured at Poitiers.⁵ After his Scottish war service and as admiral, William Clinton, earl of Huntingdon, built a totally new castle at Maxstoke in his late thirties (c.1342–6), while the earl of Stafford who was sent to Gascony as seneschal in 1345–6 and defended Aiguillon,

rebuilt the keep at Stafford Castle (1347–c.1368). Leland noted that Thomas, 3rd Lord Berkeley ‘taken prisoner in France’ later recovered his losses by taking French prisoners, including some from the battle of Poitiers. Consequently, he was able to extend Beverston Castle including the residential tower and the west wing (c.1330–50).⁶ More fundamental was the new castle with unusual design features built at Mettingham (1343–c.1350) by Sir John Norwich who had fought extensively in Gascony.

Not surprisingly, some of the largest building projects at this time were undertaken by the crown and the royal princes. Edward III and the Black Prince, in particular, enjoyed the benefits of ransoming notable prisoners. The Black Prince rebuilt Kennington Palace in a two-phase development of c.1340–52 and 1353–63, overlapping Lancaster’s activity at the Savoy between 1350 and 1357, while the rebuilding of the residential apartments and upper court at Windsor Castle (1352–c.1377) was the most expensive royal building project of the later middle ages.

Most of this first-phase activity was magnate led (Sir John Norwich was ennobled in 1360). The structures varied considerably in scale and form, reflecting the attitudes and financial resources of their builders. They ranged from the modest tower-house at Beverston Castle to the crowning one at Stafford. The spectacular frontage of Warwick Castle, possibly influenced by the field experience of Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, is one of the most formidable defences in England, while only a few miles away the new-build at Maxstoke by William Clinton, earl of Huntingdon is more a reflection of the image of war. Low lying with a visually attractive but defensively weak moat, the overpowering gatehouse ill protected the low walls and corner towers of its fashionable quadrangular courtyard plan. The contrast between John of Gaunt’s regal redevelopment of Kenilworth Castle in 1372–80 and the work at Warwick and Maxstoke, all within a 14 miles line, is an extremely instructive summary of three differing residential peaks of mid-fourteenth century England – for guests and household officials at Warwick, entirely personal at Kenilworth, and for both aspects by the newly ennobled family at Maxstoke.

Yet the profits of war were not the only factors pertinent to these developments. The heiress daughter of Sir Thomas Leybourne brought an estate of forty manors to bolster the modest patrimony of William Clinton when she married him in 1328. The failing Stafford fortunes were reversed by the conjunction of war service with marriage to the Audley heiress. The remodelling of Beverston Castle was at least the result of Lord Berkeley’s extensive sheep rearing activities and astute estate management as much as any funding from France. Most of these projects had been initiated – and in some cases completed – before the Black Death with the attendant collapse of land value and baronial incomes. The Warwick and Stafford castle programmes were delayed, but the impact of the plague on such projects can be overstated.⁷ In particular, it failed to affect the redevelopment of the keep at Windsor Castle preparatory to the conversion of the upper ward into a vast palace-complex as befitted a monarch finally recognised as one of European standing.

The reversal in English fortunes and the loss of hard-won lands did not diminish building fervour in England between the 1360s and the 1390s. The wealth of the 3rd earl of Arundel had been almost doubled by the acquisition of the Warenne inheritance in 1347, but it was enhanced still further by the earl’s long participation on the battlefield, from Crécy until his death in 1372, and by his diplomatic missions. This treasure chest was the basis for his rebuilding of Arundel Castle in emulation of Edward III’s work at Windsor Castle, although virtually none of the earl’s work has survived. Twenty-five years’ war service, particularly under the Black Prince and Gaunt, funded Lord Scrope’s land acquisitions early in his career and the subsequent construction of Bolton Castle (c.1377–c.1396). Ralph, Lord Neville (d.1367) was probably responsible for initiating Brancepeth Castle (c.1360–80), completed by his son. The ransoms obtained in Gascony by John, 3rd Lord Neville contributed to his development of Raby

Castle (c.1367–1388), claimed by Leland as the largest inhabited castle in northern England.⁸ He also initiated Sheriff Hutton Castle (1382–c.1410) with its impressive hall and massive corner towers. These northern palace-fortresses were more formidable than most magnate projects of a generation earlier and were as much a political statement of semi-independence from a weakened crown as an updating of residential apartments.⁹ The same period also witnessed the construction of several smaller castles by returning soldiers such as Sir Warin Lisle at Shirburn (1377–c.1382) who fought under two dukes of Lancaster, Sir Richard Abberbury at Donnington (c.1386) who served under the Black Prince, and Sir Edward Dalyngrigge who served under Sir Robert Knollys and included the latter's shield on the postern gate of Bodiam Castle (1385–c.1391). Despite the claim in Dalyngrigge's licence to crenellate that Bodiam was built for the defence of the neighbourhood, its construction – as with its fellow castles – benefitted from the spoils of war. Their superficial military character essentially emphasised their builders' social position consequent upon battlefield success overseas.

The returns from Henry V's initial subjugation of Normandy helped him to continue with, though not to finish, the new palace at Sheen that he had initiated in 1414. Sir John Cornwall, who had married Henry IV's sister in 1400 and received 21,375 crowns through being bought off by the French in 1412, developed Ampthill Castle, possibly in the 1420s.¹⁰ Sir Walter Hungerford probably expanded his father's castle at Farleigh Hungerford at this time after a period of distinguished war service under the king, though his treasurership of England (1426–32) and his father's services as Gaunt's steward rather than the ransom from the ascribed capture of the duke of Orléans at Agincourt mentioned by Leland were more probably responsible for funding the development of this fortified house.¹¹ William Worcester claimed that the capture and ransom of the duke of Alençon by Sir John Fastolf at the battle of Verneuil (1424) paid for Caister Castle, but as part of the debt of £18,000 was still owed to Fastolf by the crown thirty-one years later, its contribution to the castle's construction is doubtful.¹² In any case, Caister was built between 1432 and 1455, during the later stages of Fastolf's long military career, principally resourced from his substantial landed income, from the sale of lands in France before his last visit there in 1446, and by the acquisition of a considerable amount of building materials without charge.¹³

The deteriorating situation abroad from the 1430s onwards was not reflected in building at home. A wealthy marriage and the return from local offices rather than war service in Normandy enabled Sir



Pl. 91 Sudeley Castle: engraving by S. and N. Buck, 1732



Pl. 92 Hampton Castle: entrance frontage and chapel (left)

William ap Thomas to initiate the rebuilding of Raglan Castle (1432–45), though it was his son who was responsible for converting it into the formidable palace-fortress that stands today. Leland makes no reference to Raglan but he accords several contemporary projects to the funding of war spoils. Sir William Bowes, chamberlain to the duke of Bedford for seventeen years, ‘grew so rich that when he returned home, he increased his estate and his standing by rebuilding the manor house at Streatlam from its foundations’ during the 1430s.¹⁴ Sir Richard Lenthall ‘took many prisoners at Agincourt and with their ransoms, began to build Hampton Court [in Herefordshire] until he left off on the death of his son, with construction in hand between 1434 and his son’s early death in 1447.’¹⁵ Sir Ralph Boteler served under Bedford throughout his rule, but despite Leland’s attribution that Sudeley Castle (1441–58) was built on spoils won in France, his marriage to a wealthy widow and the returns from a sequence of crown offices were at least as important.¹⁶ Though nothing survives and there is little indication of its construction date, Leland identifies that ‘the excellent gatehouse and façade of Lord Stourton’s house at Stourton ... with the magnificent façade of the inner courtyard with high battlements like a castle’ was built ‘from spoils taken during the war with France’.¹⁷ Lord Stourton (d.1462) was deeply involved with the defence of Calais during the closing stages of the war, and his house was the temporary home of the duke of Orléans in 1438–9, but the house was just as likely to have been a consequence of Henry VI’s generosity.

All the houses in the last two phases of the war were built by professional soldiers and captains of war rather than by magnates. They reflected their achievements overseas and status at home as much as their predecessors, and similarly differed in form. Ampthill, Hampton Court, and Sudeley Castle were highly comfortable quadrangular houses, while Caister, Farleigh Hungerford, and Stourton were courtyard residences dressed in an outer coat of military pretension.

A number of houses lacking any martial face can also be identified as war-funded. They include The Savoy, the duke of Lancaster’s London residence, Penshurst Place, Sir John Pulteney’s country estate, and de la Pole’s houses in Hull and Wingfield.¹⁸ To these, we may also add others such as the first phase of Faulkbourne Hall (c.1439) by Sir John Montgomery who served under the duke of York in

the 1430s. An equally refined residence was that built by Sir Andrew Ogard at Rye, Hertfordshire, in 1443 and similarly of brick of the highest decorative quality. John Leycester (d.1398), a bully from Cheshire, built the timber-framed Tabley Old Hall, jutting out into a mere that eventually contributed to its collapse in the 1950s. Leland records that a house in Eaton near Leominster was built by William Hakluyt who had fought at Agincourt and taken a French nobleman called St George.¹⁹ Lower down the social scale, William Jauderel, an élite archer who served under the Black Prince during the early 1350s was rewarded after his return to England in 1356 with two oak trees from the royal forest of Macclesfield to repair his house at Whaley Bridge in Derbyshire.²⁰ There is little doubt that further research will reveal more houses that similarly benefitted in kind as well as from war gains through service abroad. None, however, are likely to exceed the additions to the royal palace at Eltham where the banners unfurled in 1483 marked a particularly striking ‘reward’ of war.

Notes

1. B. Kemp in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. Curry and Hughes (1994), 195–96, 210–11, notes that only four or five knights had any military achievements inscribed on their tombs throughout the length of the war.
2. Historical writings were markedly stimulated by the course of the Anglo-French struggle, as the chronicles of Froissart and Jean de Venette and the memoirs of Philippe de Commines testify. But enthusiasm for the war became far more didactic under the self-confident Tudors, honouring the great heroes of English chivalry culminating in the anonymous drama *Edward III* and the historical plays of Shakespeare. In houses, it is reflected in the Jacobean statues at Doddington Old Hall of knights who had fought at Poitiers. A. Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses*, 2 (2000), 531. See also P. Morgan, *War and Society in Medieval Cheshire* (1987), 3–8.
3. Ampthill, Farleigh Hungerford, Sudeley.
4. *Chronicon Henrici Knighton*, ed. J.R. Lumby, II (1895).
5. R. Morris in *England in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Ormrod 172 C. Given-Wilson and F. Bériac, ‘Edward III’s prisoners of war: the battle of Poitiers and its context’, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 116 (2001), 802–33. Also A. Parkyn and T. McNeill, *Archaeological Journal*, 169 (2012), 504–5.
6. *Itinerary*, IV, 133.
7. P. Lindley in *The Black Death in England*, ed. M. Ormrod and P. Lindley (1996), 136–44. P. Binski, *Gothic Wonder* (2014), 355–64.
8. *Itinerary*, I, 75.
9. In Leland’s view, no house in the north was so much like the palace of a prince as Sheriff Hutton Castle, *ibid.* I, 65. Recent research is suggesting that much of this castle may have been built by Lord Neville’s son, the earl of Westmorland (d.1425), who spent most of his career between 1389 and 1424 on the Scottish border.
10. *Itinerary*, I, 102–7. Leland was sceptical of the French spoils, preferring his marriage to the wealthy widow.
11. *Itinerary*, II, 137–9. M.A. Hicks, ‘Counting the cost of war’, *Southern History* (1986) 13–14, concurs. There is no proof that Hungerford captured the duke at Agincourt.
12. McFarlane, *England in the Fifteenth Century* (1981), 175–97.
13. 109 tons of freestone, 900 pounds of lead, and a considerable amount of plaster of Paris. Fastolf’s career and success is claimed to have been exceptional, but it was not *that* exceptional during the period. It is simply the best documented.
14. *Itinerary*, II, 11–19.
15. *Ibid.* II, 72.
16. *Ibid.* II, 56.
17. *Ibid.* V, 223. Leland’s source was Lord Stourton, with whom he may have stayed.
18. For these properties, see A. Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses*, 3 vols. (1996–2006).
19. *Itinerary*, II, 75. His source was the current head of the Hakluyt family. Also A. Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses*, 2 (2000), 532–33.
20. R. Hardy in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. Curry and Hughes (1994) 162–4, quoting *Register of the Black Prince*, III (1933), 264–65.

THE FRENCH CROWN: 1420–1453

WITHDRAWAL AND RECONSTRUCTION

1420–1429

In the years immediately after the death of Charles VI in 1422, France was primarily divided into three major zones. There were the lands recently conquered by the English and governed from Rouen. The second zone consisted of the patrimony of the duke of Burgundy including Flanders and Artois, together with the area ruled jointly by the English and the Burgundians governed from Paris. The third zone encompassed the territories held by the dauphin and his supporters. These last were limited to the central and southern parts of the country except for Gascony which continued to stand faithful to the English. Though the dauphin had been declared a bastard and disinherited by the treaty of Troyes, he personally held Berry and Poitou, previously ruled by the duke of Berry, and Touraine which he held in his own right as dauphin. Shortly after the death of his father, the dauphin had proclaimed himself Charles VII at Mehun-sur-Yèvre, but as Paris was in Anglo-Burgundian hands, Charles was forced to establish his court at Bourges in Berry.

He was supported towards the north by the flanking Valois duchies of Anjou and Orléans and the region to the south held by the duke of Bourbon. Languedoc was initially uncertain in its support as a consequence of the duke of Berry's extensive exactions, but a royal progress through the region during 1420 and the support of the count of Foix from 1424 achieved grudging support. One further region that the dauphin could count on was the Dauphiné near Lyon and close to Burgundy.

The prince rulers of Anjou, Orléans, and Bourbon had all changed since the turn of the century but their successors maintained their active support for the dauphin. Louis II of Anjou was followed by his imperious widow, Yolande of Aragon, the duke of Orléans was a prisoner in the Tower of London but his half-brother, John count of Dunois maintained the duchy's royal support as did duchess Marie of Bourbon in place of her husband who had died in captivity. It was the support given by these Valois princes that held the crown lands together and free from attack. The crown's abandonment of Paris meant that the administrative departments had to be transferred to Bourges where the dauphin's council met, while Poitiers was chosen as the centre of the legal department housed within the palace of the count of Poitiers. Fortunately for the dauphin, most of the royal officials continued to support him, facilitating the relocation and administrative continuation of government. At the same time, the river Loire helped to keep the English at bay to the north, as its upper reaches beyond Gien did to the Burgundians to the east.

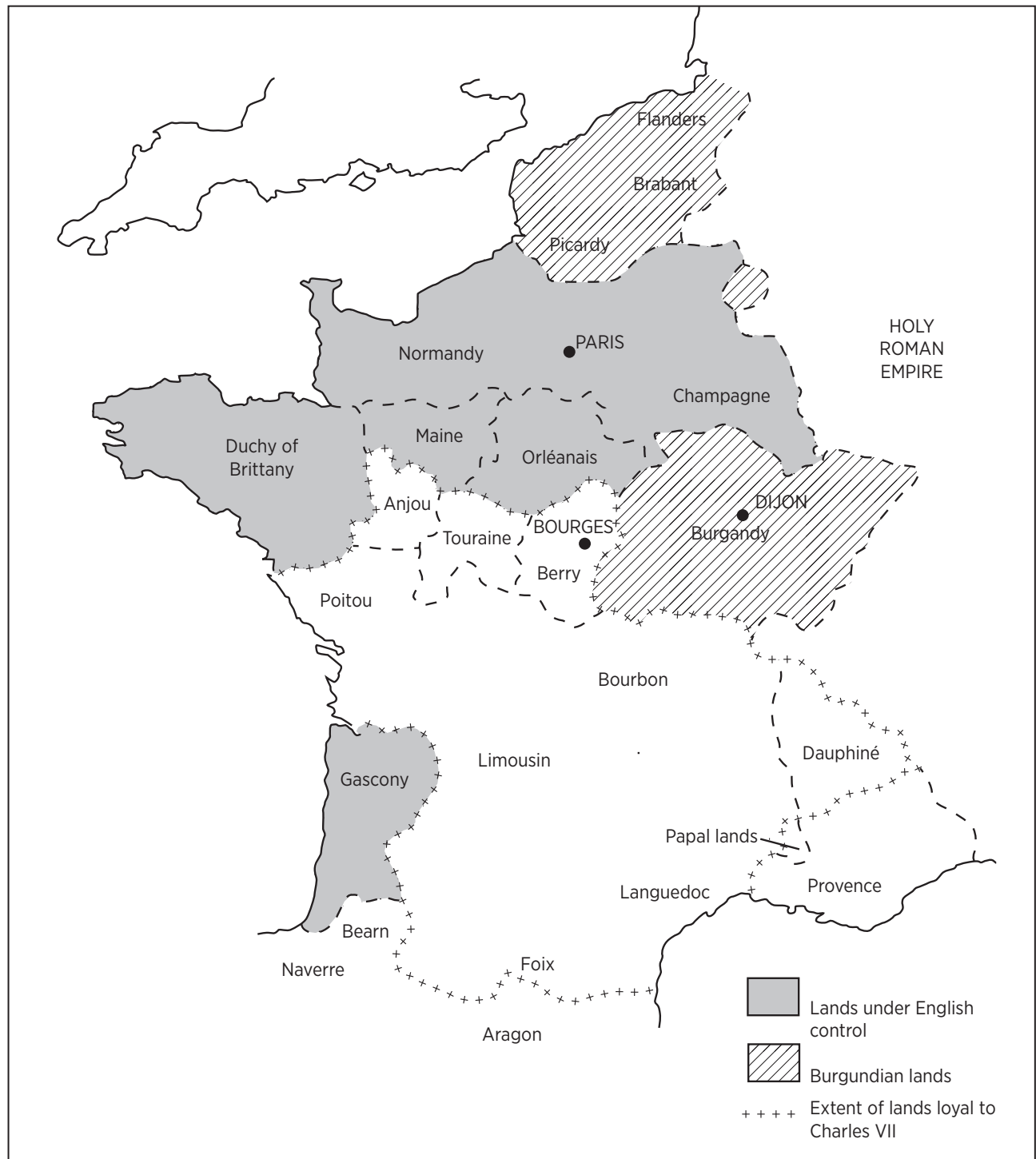


Fig. 53 France c.1428

Neither the dauphin's territories nor those of his supporters were subject to the fluctuations in political fortune and the threat of disturbances or raids as much as those held by the English or the Burgundians. On the other hand, the territory pityingly described as the 'Kingdom of Bourges', could not provide the financial resources that the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy were able to achieve.

Those of the dauphin may have seemed substantial on paper but he was not strong enough to prevent large-scale dishonesty by unworthy favourites. Only twenty years old on the death of his father, Charles grew up to be ungainly, with a large head, short legs, and small furtive eyes. He was timid but astute and could be charming when it suited him. However, his initial enthusiasm to pursue the war waned in favour of indolence and inscrutability. He and his entourage wandered aimlessly between Bourges, Tours and Chinon, unable to inspire enthusiasm and a prey to venal counsellors and unpaid staff until the 1440s.

Unable to afford a standing army, Charles relied on mercenaries to deal with English and Burgundian sorties. Although Albany, the regent of Scotland sent a substantial force under the earls of Douglas and Buchan, they were badly defeated at Verneuil close to the south-east border of Normandy (1424). The losses included the two Scottish earls and most of the Scottish army with the battle securing Bedford's reputation and the English conquest of France initiated seven years earlier. With a disheartened and indolent dauphin, the way was now open to extend the English kingdom to include Maine and Anjou. The campaign was led by John Talbot, later earl of Shrewsbury, who succeeded in capturing the capital Le Mans (1428). The dauphin continued to be let down by his constables and captains of war and by the leadership of the Armagnac party which at this time was forcibly held by the constable and royal favourite Georges de La Trémoille of Sully-sur-Loire until his botched assassination and exile in 1433. Consequently, Charles' rule was virtually non-existent as he was tossed about like a shuttlecock between whispering factions and treacherous friends.

It was at this point that the English spent several months gathering their forces to initiate their attack on the heart of the kingdom of Bourges by crossing the river Loire at Orléans (October 1428). Dunois' defence of the city was forceful but exhausting and it would have fallen had not Joan of Arc entered in April 1429, bolstered by her visit to the dauphin at Chinon a few weeks earlier. Success at Orléans and the retreat of the English were of little consequence to contemporaries in the maelstrom of war. It was essentially a setback for the English. It was only much later that Joan's success was claimed to be the turning point of the war in France's favour. More important at the time and for the subsequent consequences was that the dauphin could be taken in triumph to Reims cathedral and crowned Charles VII of France. His coronation within Burgundian territory quelled any doubts about his legitimacy as king of France.

1429–1453

A number of small military successes began to suggest that the tide was turning in Charles' favour until an attempt to take Burgundian-held Paris failed, despite the presence of Joan of Arc. Even so, the French revival undermined the English position which was not assuaged by the capture of Joan at the siege of Compiègne and her immolation at Rouen in 1431. In the same year, Bedford sought to annul the impact of Charles VII's coronation with that of the ten-year-old Henry VI of England in Notre-Dame Cathedral in Paris, but it was a pale imitation of Charles VII's and failed to enhance the legitimacy of the Lancastrian king.

During the early 1430s, the English made some recovery while the French attacks on the duke of Burgundy were desultory but helped him to consider changing sides. However, a decisive moment was reached in 1435 with the death of the extremely competent Bedford and Burgundy's long-term abandonment of the English following the treaty agreed at Arras. The attitude of the English and the Burgundians was totally irreconcilable. The English were not prepared to give up their claim to the throne of France. The French demanded it as the prerequisite to any other terms. Philip the Good seized

the opportunity to serve his own ends by coming to an agreement with the French and abandoning his support for the uncompromising English. This was the fundamental turning point in France's eventual success in pursuing the war. Within fifteen years, northern France would be cleared of all English forces and within a further three years, the same would apply to Gascony.

The resurgent French recovered the Île de France, followed by its capital, Paris (1436). For Charles VII, the unity of his kingdom was being restored with the house of Valois once again in control of Paris. He made a ceremonial entry there in 1437 but returned to his beloved Loire residences only three weeks later.

Further success was stalled by the determined resistance of the English to retain Normandy, part of Maine, and the remainder of Gascony. Both armies were exhausted though the balance of power was steadily moving in France's favour. Co-operation with Burgundy after Arras had overcome the dynastic rivalry that had festered since the murder on the bridge at Montreuil and seems to have given Charles a renewed sense of purpose. He found the energy to reorganise his political, financial, and administrative institutions so that he could build up a more reliable and permanent army, and one that was better equipped to fight the English. His reforms were not those of an all-embracing business plan but a number of piece-meal measures spread over more than fifteen years.

These reforms began to pay off as early as 1441 when Pontoise was recaptured and Evreux in 1442, revealing that the military initiative was moving in France's favour. Like the English court, the French court was similarly subject to conflicting proponents of continuing the war or attempting to seek peace. French successes continued in Gascony (1442) and at Dieppe (1443), but success completely eluded the earl of Somerset. Furthermore, it was obvious throughout the French and Burgundian courts that the English were mired in financial difficulties and bitter political controversies. With Henry VI now actively favouring the peace supporters, a two year truce was negotiated at Tours (1444). The marriage of Charles VII's niece, Margaret of Anjou to the twenty-three-year-old king of England was also agreed but little else.

Yet for Charles, the truce of Tours enabled him to re-organise and strengthen his army and pursue the recapture of Maine. For Henry VI had secretly conceded this in a private letter to Charles without seeking any compensation or practical advantage. This error of judgement led the exhausted unpaid troops to refuse to give up Le Mans enabling Charles to besiege the city and enforce its surrender (1443). For Charles as much as the English, the southern border of Normandy now lay fully exposed but with the advantage lying with Charles.

His newly established standing army moved into action in 1447 when an ill-advised attack on the well-defended town and castle of Fougères thrust the duke of Brittany into the arms of his suzerain, Charles VII. This gave Charles the excuse to attack the English in Normandy which took the form of a three-pronged assault – the duke from Brittany, the bastard of Orléans in central Normandy, and the counts of St Pol and Eu from Picardy. The garrisons were unable to hold out against the re-invigorated army, particularly as it was now well supplied with artillery. Rouen capitulated in 1449, followed by the Cotentin peninsula. Then came the annihilation of the refreshed English forces at Formigny near Bayeux (1450). Bayeux, Caen, and Cherbourg surrendered in turn in a campaign that witnessed the total collapse of English-held Normandy within twelve months.

The expulsion of the English and the cessation of hostilities by August 1450 started to bring a measure of calm and some prosperity across much of the French countryside. The towns on the Loire particularly benefitted from the continuing presence of the court, now governing most of France and not often favouring Paris with its presence. The most spectacular mid-fifteenth-century town house is

in Bourges, not Paris, where the financier Jacques Coeur was based, serving as Master of the mint to the king and where he swiftly built up his fortune before his fall from grace in 1451.

At the same time, French forces in the south-west, led by the count of Foix were subduing the remains of English occupation in Gascony. Bergerac fell, followed by Bordeaux and Bayonne (1451). Hopes for English success in Gascony became increasingly non-existent while Charles VII's improvement in his financial resources now gave him the necessary manpower as well as artillery superiority. Talbot's attempt to retake Bordeaux was doomed. The earl was killed and his force was annihilated leaving Gascony entirely in French hands. The reconquest of the English kingdom of France was completed by the surrender of Bordeaux in October 1453.

CHINON CASTLE

The early fortress at Chinon, stone built for the Plantagenet rulers, was a favourite residence of Henry II of England and his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine. Abandoned by King John in 1205, it quickly fell into the hands of Philippe Auguste and became part of the royal holdings within the duchy of Anjou.

This regal castle sprang into prominence in 1427 when it became the summer residence of Charles VII as Paris and the royal domains north of the river Loire were occupied by the English forcing Charles to make Bourges the capital of his reduced kingdom. Charles and his wife, Mary of Anjou, lived at Chinon almost continuously from 1427 to 1449 but then less frequently until Charles' death in 1461. They were responsible for remodelling the sequence of royal apartments against the earlier outer wall, though there are few firm dates for their activity.

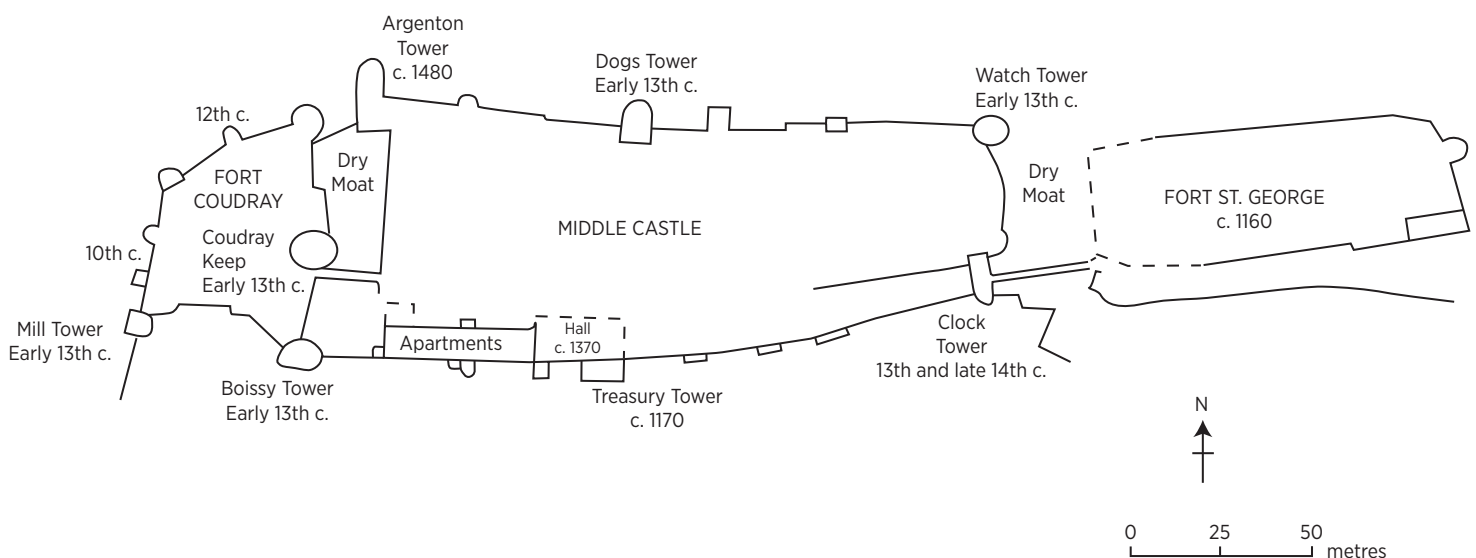


Fig. 54 Chinon Castle: site plan

The Royal Apartments

The castle that lines the rocky spur overlooking the town of Chinon divides into three distinct structures separated by dry moats. From east to west, they are Fort St George constructed by Henry II as a residence and administrative centre, the Middle Castle, and Fort Coudray or the inner Castle developed by Philippe Auguste. The royal quarters were initiated in the late twelfth century in the south-west corner of the Middle Castle. By the mid-fifteenth century, they had developed into a substantial courtyard group. The north side was lined by two buildings, the chapel of St Mélaïne's Priory and a priory building that had been converted into a hall for playing court tennis. The south side was filled with the late fourteenth century hall block and apartment range facing the river Vienne. The courtyard was divided into two with both courts entry-limited. The only structures that survive today are the ruined hall and the adjacent apartment range, re-roofed and floored in 2007–2009.

Only the gable end survives of the two storeyed hall block constructed by Louis I, duke of Anjou in c.1370–80. The imposing hooded fireplace at first floor level is indicative of that apartment's former height and splendour. The outer walls only stand two feet high but the seat-provided windows show that the ground floor, though low, was also residential with a second fireplace (in addition to that in the gable wall) indicative that the area was partitioned. That did not apply to the hall above which was approached by an external stair at the lower end of the block as shown in the view of 1699.¹ It also shows that the upper hall, 99 feet by 45 feet, was lit by three large casement windows in both outer walls and that the gables were surmounted by curved finials. It is traditionally claimed that it was in this apartment that Joan of Arc first met Charles VII in February 1429, though the more public audience in the hall is likely to have been the second occasion of their meeting.

The two storeyed apartment range was developed in two phases, c.1370–80 with an extension in the late fourteenth century or more probably in c.1425–30, marked by a break in the roof level. The range was divided into the kitchen and services at ground level with the royal apartments above.² Both floors followed the same pattern of room division and floor area of two smaller rooms followed by two more extended apartments. All four rooms at both levels were fenestrated in both outer walls, though more generously at the upper level, and heated by similar positioned fireplaces in the room divisions.

All ground floor rooms had direct courtyard access, undecorated fireplaces, flat ceilings, and the facilities appropriate to the room function. The staff room had direct newel access to the upper floor,³ the kitchen had a private room for the head cook, the first service room had a double latrine and wall cupboards, while the second service room had cellar access.



Pl. 93 Chinon Castle: remains of hall block

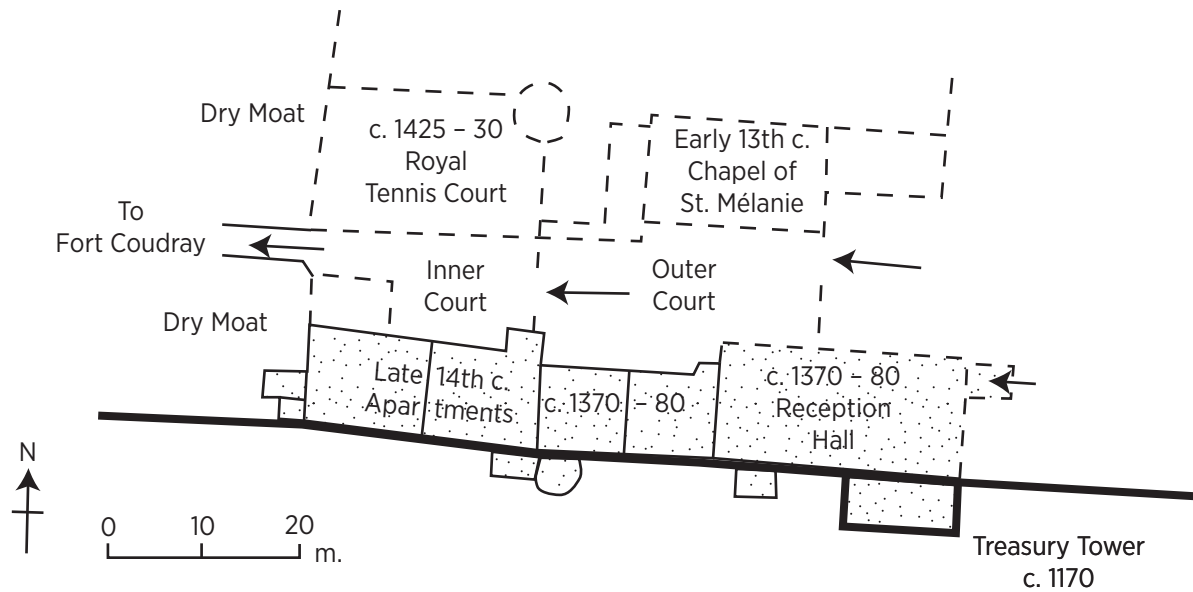
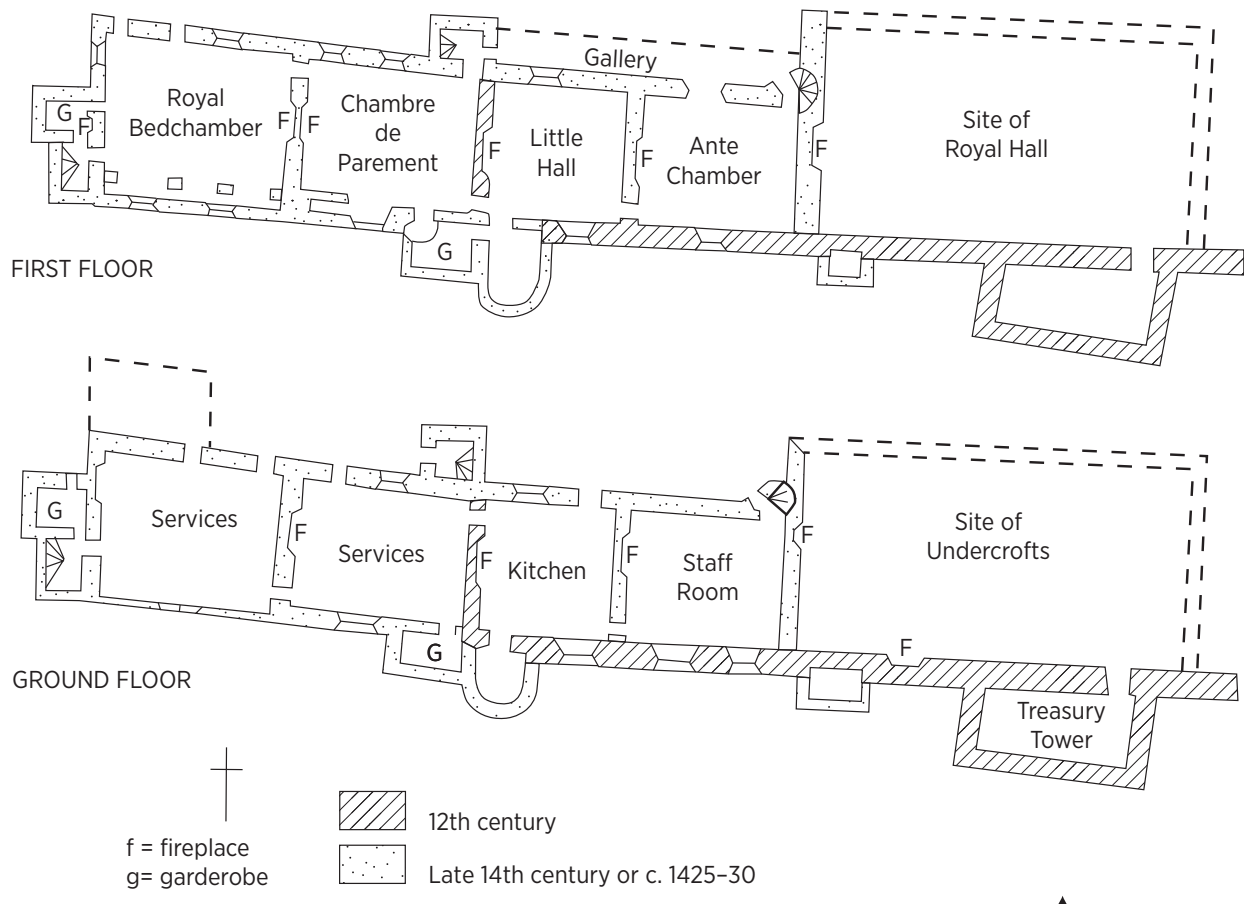


Fig. 55 Chinon Castle: site plan of royal apartments c.1430



Pl. 94 Chinon Castle: apartment range

A stair in the prominent courtyard projection was the principal approach to the royal apartments – the *chambre de parement* and the royal bedchamber. They were both open to the roof. The columned fireplaces were enhanced with leaf decoration but the bedchamber was also embellished with an aisle towards the river and an attractive end closet. The king also had the privileged approach from the first floor hall dais into an ante-chamber and a more private Little Hall. These two rooms, formerly with



Pl. 56 Chinon Castle: royal lodgings

attics above, were also externally approached from a timber-framed gallery overlooking the outer court, shown in the view of 1699. All four royal apartments were well lit with casement windows, well heated, and well provided with garderobes.

Notes

1. Bulletin des Amis du Vieux Chinon, *Chinon* (2011), 35.
2. Some further rooms were created in the late fourteenth century when the Clock Tower, the entry to the Middle Castle, was heightened and machicolated.
3. The twin Romanesque window in the outer wall is indicative of extended residential development in this area.

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LOCHES CASTLE

Whereas the royal apartments at Angers were built within the protection of the castle walls, those at Loches were built as far away as possible from the mid-eleventh century keep at the other end of this small town, though still within the safety of the encircling walls. This combination of fortress, royal residence, town walls and gates, collegiate church and historic streets, the whole rising above the river Indre, is one of the classic medieval survivals in France.

The Royal Lodging is a relatively modest residence in three contiguous parts. Construction dates are lacking but the tower was built as an isolated structure by Charles V (d.1380). It was subsequently linked to the *vieux logis* which is attributed to Charles VII (d.1461) and was subsequently doubled in scale by the *nouveaux logis* by Charles VIII (d.1498) towards the close of the fifteenth century. Their conjunction gives a rare opportunity to appreciate domestic architectural development within a single entity.

Both *logis* are two storeyed with steeply pitched roofs but the earlier work is protected towards the river by the four storeyed round tower, almost detached and standing on the line of the town walls. The *vieux logis* has a battlemented wall-walk, broken by three battlemented tourelles surmounted by pepper-pot turrets which are essentially decorative (as are the gable-end tourelles) though they give the range an apparently military character. In contrast, the *nouveaux logis* is in a more flamboyant style with the tourelles replaced by three decorative gablets rising from the carved corbel table that supports the slightly lower roof. Plain rectangular windows (heavily restored) with square heads are common to both blocks and though the later ones are decorated with head stops, it is restrained work lacking the effervescent qualities displayed, for instance, in the almost contemporary entrance range at Blois.

Internally, heavy restoration has been necessary with the ground floor rooms still retaining some of the divisions when it served as a sub prefecture. The royal apartments were on the first floor, a line of two mid-fifteenth-century and three smaller late fifteenth-century chambers opening out of each other. A modest (rebuilt) entrance in the gable opens directly into the outer chamber with a late fifteenth-century replacement wall separating it from the principal chamber. Both chambers have end wall fireplaces, but the vaulting of the larger room was replaced by a wooden ceiling in the nineteenth century.¹ The late fifteenth-century rooms are more intimate, ending in a small vaulted ante-chamber and oratory added in c.1500 by Anne of Brittany, wife of Louis XII, in the flamboyant Gothic style.²



Pl. 95 Loches Castle: royal apartment

Notes

1. These apartments were particularly favoured by Charles VII and his first mistress, Agnes Sorel (d.1450) whose alabaster tomb is now housed in the castle.
2. The emblems of the duchy of Brittany (ermine) and St Francis (girdle cords) were formerly painted in gold and silver against azure blue walls.

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RAMBURES CASTLE

Initially, the castle at Rambures strikes the visitor as an anomaly in the plateaux and gentle valleys of Picardy. It is positioned in a verdant landscape far from any major settlement. It is mainly brick-built, dramatically rising from a wide dry moat, and with no other castle or fortified house nearby. Today, it is seemingly unconnected with any past turbulence. The reality is very different for though it is not a royal or semi-royal property, Rambures Castle is a fitting conclusion to military architecture at the close of the Hundred Years War.

The castle is among the earliest brick buildings in France but its period of construction has usually been covered by the phrase ‘from the early to the late fifteenth century’. It has been ascribed to David, Lord of Rambures who was Charles VI’s ‘master of the crossbows’ and whose death is mentioned by Shakespeare.¹ Rambures is first noted as one of the castles of the Vimeu/Ponthieu region in 1421 and could architecturally be the present structure. But as Rambures is an innovative *château-fort*, it is unlikely to have been constructed in this form while there was still peace with England prior to the war breaking out again in August 1415. Two months later, David was killed at Agincourt together with three of his four sons. The sole survivor, André (d.1465) may have initiated construction during the next few years but he was captured by the English in 1430 and held in an English jail for ten years. On returning from England, André and his son Jacques fought with the French crown until the expulsion of the English from the region in 1445.

It is not clear from the early references whether the castle at Rambures is the present one or a previous one on the same site. There are no specific architectural details to help establish this, nor are there any obvious indications of different building phases. Rather, the existing structure suggests construction in a single ongoing campaign. Moreover, a terminal date by 1470 is certain when Rambures is described as ‘un merveille fort’.

Construction was determined by the possibility of attack from two opposing directions. Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy was anxious to expand his territories west of Ponthieu and therefore a Burgundian attack could come from the north. At the same time, the English army was pushing north and east from Rouen so that the castle could also expect an attack from the west. Rambures was therefore in a particularly precarious position. Attacks came from both sides. In 1428, it was within English-held territory but not for long. Five years later, it was attacked by a Burgundian force that had taken St Valery eleven days earlier. Charles Desmarets, an Armagnac supporter captured the castle on his way to besiege Dieppe.



Pl. 96 Rambures Castle

Rambures' vulnerable position and the need to face forces with powerful artillery capability suggest that it was the present structure under siege and captured in 1433. Construction between 1415 and 1430 is more likely than after the departure of all English forces from the country by the mid-fifteenth century.²

The castle is a compact block, 96 feet square that rises dramatically from a deep dug, dry moat, between 30 and 60 feet broad, lined with vertical brick walling. It was never water filled. The castle is of a less unconventional plan than initially seems to be the case. Whereas late fourteenth-century castles were often of quadrangular shape with bold circular corner towers and smaller mid towers enclosing a central courtyard, these elements have been pulled together on all four sides to create a continuous curving façade to a compact block but still with the boldest towers at the four corners. The central courtyard has been reduced to little more than a light-well.

The outer walls rise uninterrupted without batter or buttress support for five storeys to the enclosed machicolated wall-walk. This last is in a contrasting creamy stone – the one elegant features of the castle – and is surmounted by a further storey topped by steep conical turrets and a higher watch tower rising above the bevy of steeply pitched roofs. The machicolated wall walk, originally forming a continuous circuit, was one of the traditional military elements which also included loopholes fitted with cannon openings as well as the gatehouse with its drawbridge and portcullis. The gateway was destroyed in the seventeenth century on the orders of Richelieu leaving an abrupt gap in the brick flanking walls.³ The innovative defensive features include burying nearly half the castle in the bottom of the dry moat leaving

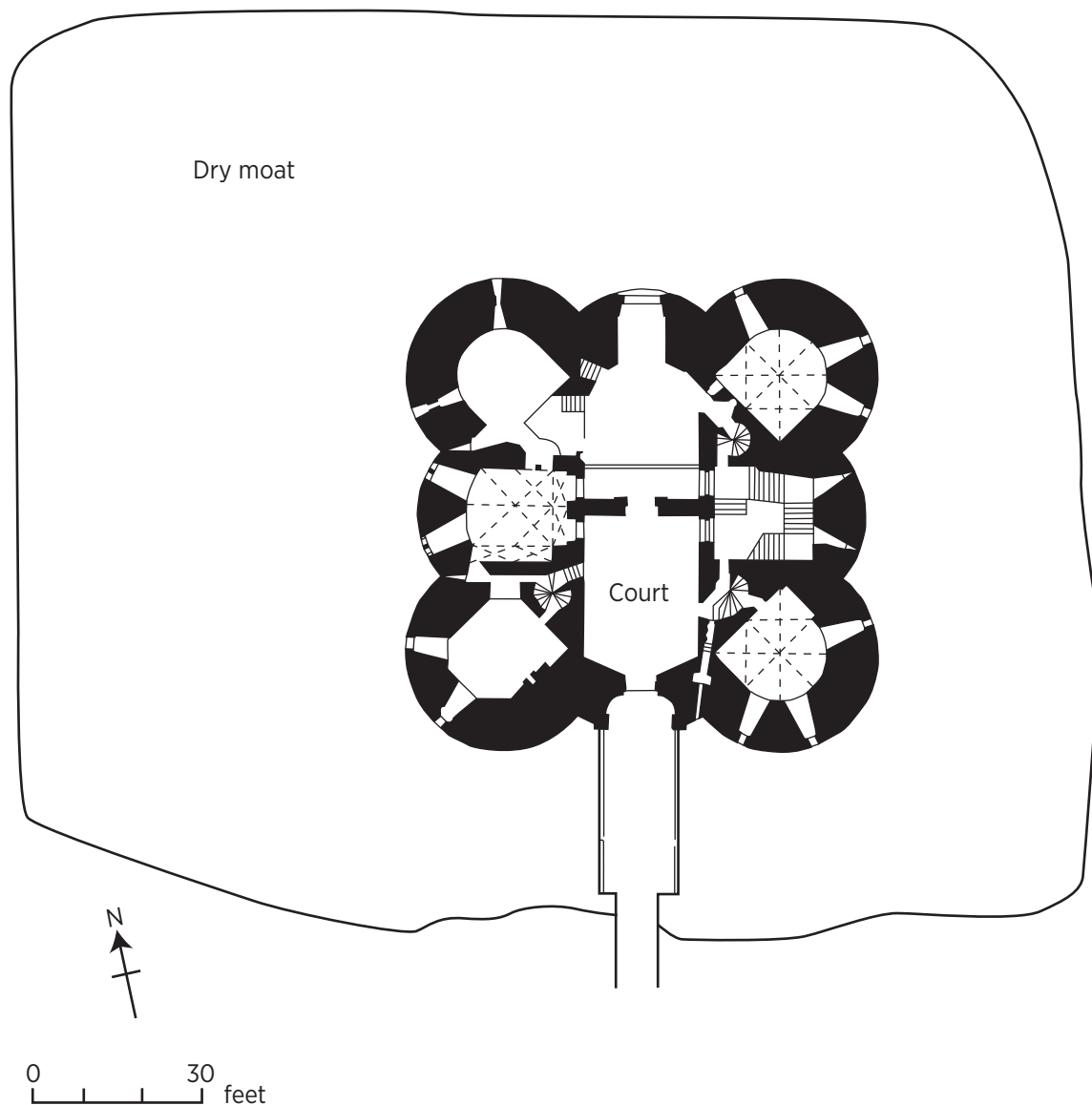


Fig. 57 Rambures Castle: ground plan

only about forty feet of superstructure above the surrounding plateau. This not only made it possible to keep assailants at a distance from attacking the upper walls but it lowered the line of fire from the castle more directly towards the assailants. The walls were thicker than usual, varying from 7 feet to 16 feet, improving its resistance to cannon fire. The curvature of the walls enhanced their ricocheting effectiveness from cannon balls while brick had the additional benefit of quickening construction and completion. Rambures rather than Langeais is a fitting conclusion to military architecture at the close of the Hundred Years War, looking forward to its further development as at Perpignan (1475) and Salses (1497–1503).⁴

The internal plan consisted of four D-shaped rooms at the corners on five floors with the two lowest below the outer ground level. At their rear were four tight newels, positioned to avoid weakening the

outer walls but enabling all levels of the castle to be reached quickly. The entry was in one of the four mid towers with the great hall opposite running north to south and internally on the third floor though externally at ground level. This initial interior plan was left untouched until the seventeenth century when it became more residential through the insertion of larger windows (repeated in the eighteenth century). The large pine staircase was inserted at the same time where a half tower (with chapel) had stood but the last and most severe phase of alterations was initiated in 1880. This was under the direction of Samson, an uninspiring pupil of Viollet-le-Duc who removed the fireplaces in the hall, altered room divisions and inserted wooden and plaster ceilings to create the depressing interiors seen today.

Just as the earliest pyramids which dominated the Egyptian landscape were succeeded by tombs hidden below the ground, so the earlier high profile castles in Europe were succeeded by forts inconspicuously low in the landscape. Rambures marks a stage in this development which occurred earlier in France than in England and was developed much further in south-west France. Rambures was designed entirely to resist the recently developed forms of artillery. Any residential needs were secondary and the rooms were ill lit. A few enjoyed windows looking into the tight courtyard with the rooms above the *chemin de ronde* given slightly more generous openings. Regrettably, the original interior is barely discernable beneath the more recent habitation which terminated in 1923. Some of the lower rooms retain their original features including their fireplaces, vaulting, and single light windows with shouldered heads but the apartments on the three upper floors retain little medieval character outside the rampart walk. The creation of an arboretum close to the castle has also eliminated the castle's former relationship with the immediate countryside.

Notes

1. *Henry V*, Act 4, Scene 8. In 1392, David Rambures had been one of the twelve knights charged with helping to maintain government in the king's name.
2. Between 1456 and 1459 Jacques Rambures built the brick Burgundian Tower at Duurstede Castle, Wijk bij, in the Netherlands, similar to those at Rambures. In 1472, Charles duke of Burgundy, invaded and devastated Picardy as part of his campaign to recover lands on the borders of his duchy. Rambures Castle surrendered and was held by the Burgundians until it was recaptured by Louis XI who retained it for three years before returning it to Jacques Rambures.
3. The entry on the opposite side of the castle is a later nineteenth century insertion breaking the security of the castle.
4. Contemporary brick castles in England include Caister in Norfolk (1432–45) and Herstmonceux in Sussex (1438–49). Both are of considerably more extended residential character than Rambures.

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THE FRENCH CROWN AND COURT: 1453–1483

RECOVERY AND EXPANSION

No peace treaty or truce signalled the end of the Hundred Years War until the treaty of Picquigny between Louis XI and Edward IV (1475). Before then, hostilities simply ceased between the two countries, although squabbles between the combatants continued such as the French attempt to take Calais (1456) and the English reprisal on Harfleur. Charles VII died at Mehun-sur-Yèvre in July 1461 and was followed by Louis XI whose reign until his death in 1483 was a coda to the Hundred Years War. His key concerns were the reparation of a distressed country, the re-invigoration of the crown's administration and organisation, and the exploitation of any opportunity to expand the royal domain.

For nearly a century, different areas of the country had been pillaged and raped by the English, French and private armies, marauding soldiers and mutinous garrisons, while the population had been substantially reduced by plague and epidemic. But some regions suffered considerably less than others. Ducal control had kept the excesses from Brittany and Burgundy while the Auvergne and Languedoc regions in the south recovered relatively quickly. On the other hand, Normandy and the Île de France had been devastated by freebooters as well as by a succession of English and French armies so that it took those regions decades to recover.

The revival was not helped by the heavy burden of taxation imposed by Louis XI until after his death. The towns revived more quickly, thanks to the demand for trade and commerce, while the crown kept improving the machinery of effective government. The monarchy grew in strength, helped by its greater dependence on the lesser nobility and laymen rather than on the church. The court of Charles VII never attained the cultural heights of its Burgundian counterpart, despite using the services of Jean Fouquet. Louis XI's court was far more sombre. He distrusted intellectuals and had no interest in art or culture. Louis was determined to be a statesman – authoritarian, distrustful and a practitioner of intrigue – invaluable qualities when dealing with his many opponents.

Normandy and Gascony both chafed at the ever-tightening Valois yoke for they preferred the more relaxed rule of their earlier ducal rulers. Brittany was still an autonomous fiefdom as were Burgundy, Artois, and Flanders. Therein lay the danger for the French crown, for the state of Burgundy was at the peak of its power. It had virtually become a separate kingdom between France and the Holy Roman Empire, though it was still divided into two halves by the duchy of Lorraine. To defend his scattered territories, duke Charles the Bold had to build on his predecessors' strengths to establish a full-time

army, a permanent standing force with its own artillery train. He used it to attack some towns in the Somme valley (in Artois and Ponthieu) and south of Paris (1463) followed by Liège and was able to force a treaty out of Louis XI (1468), though the French king was able to recapture his towns.

Louis continually sought to prevent an Anglo-Burgundian coalition that might reopen the war with England. Charles the Bold's marriage to Edward IV's sister, Margaret of York (1468) was a setback to the French. Far worse occurred in 1475 with Edward IV's invasion with an army to support his Burgundian ally. The substantial bribe proffered by Louis persuaded Edward to abandon the alliance with Burgundy and he withdrew from any further involvement in French affairs.

Unfortunately for Charles, he held imperial ambitions and decided to execute them with the support of his army. His attack on the Swiss Federation brought him up against greater forces than his own with the consequence that Charles was killed at the battle of Murten (June 1476). Seizing this unlooked for opportunity; Louis XI quickly embraced the Valois duchy within the other territories of the French crown. However, Flanders escaped from Louis' tentacles through the marriage of Charles' daughter, Mary of Burgundy, to Maximillian I of Austria (1477). René of Anjou was less fortunate. When he died in 1480, Louis immediately annexed Anjou and Bar. Though René left Provence to his nephew, the count of Maine, on his death in 1481, he bequeathed both regions to Louis. Only the duchy of Brittany was left as an autonomous fief and steps were taken to overcome that situation by the marriage of Charles VIII to Anne of Brittany which achieved the sought-for annexation forty years later. Never before had France been so united or so powerful. Nor had the government of the annexed regions been so tightly regulated – far more so than when they had been great feudatories.

THE APPEAL OF THE LOIRE VALLEY

The crown held no castles in the Loire valley until the collapse of the Plantagenet kingdom in 1205. Initially, the region had been divided between the warring counts of Anjou, Tours, Blois and Orléans. When Henry Plantagenet, count of Anjou, succeeded to the English throne in 1154 and extended his leadership and land-holding through his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine, nearly half of France was under his control. Chinon was one of his key fortresses and administrative centre, but it fell into the hands of Philippe Auguste following the collapse of the Plantagenet kingdom under King John in 1205. The long-established fortresses at Loches and Langeais with their eleventh century keeps by Foulques Nerra also fell into royal hands and they were joined by the formidable towered fortress built by Louis IX at Angers between 1230 and 1240. But they were only held until the mid-thirteenth century when Louis IX granted Maine and Anjou as an appanage for his brother Charles, later king of Naples. However, they came once more into royal hands in 1481 when the duchy of Anjou was re-absorbed into the royal estates.

It was not until the second quarter of the fifteenth century that the Loire region became an integral part of French history. Political circumstances had forced Charles VII to live in the royal fortresses at Chinon or at Loches, as Anjou lay outside the limits of English-held territory agreed by the Treaty of Troyes in 1420. It was in the great hall at Chinon that the spark was lit in 1429 by Joan of Arc that had fired the will of Charles VII to help expel the English. With war ceasing in the Loire valley by the late 1430s, in Normandy by 1450, and in Gascony by 1453, the peace and stability that followed brought about a resurgence in building activity to make good the devastation. This new-found vigour, centred on the expanding court life in the Loire valley, was furthered by the rehabilitation of the French monarchy and its increasing determination to control the remaining semi-independent fiefs.

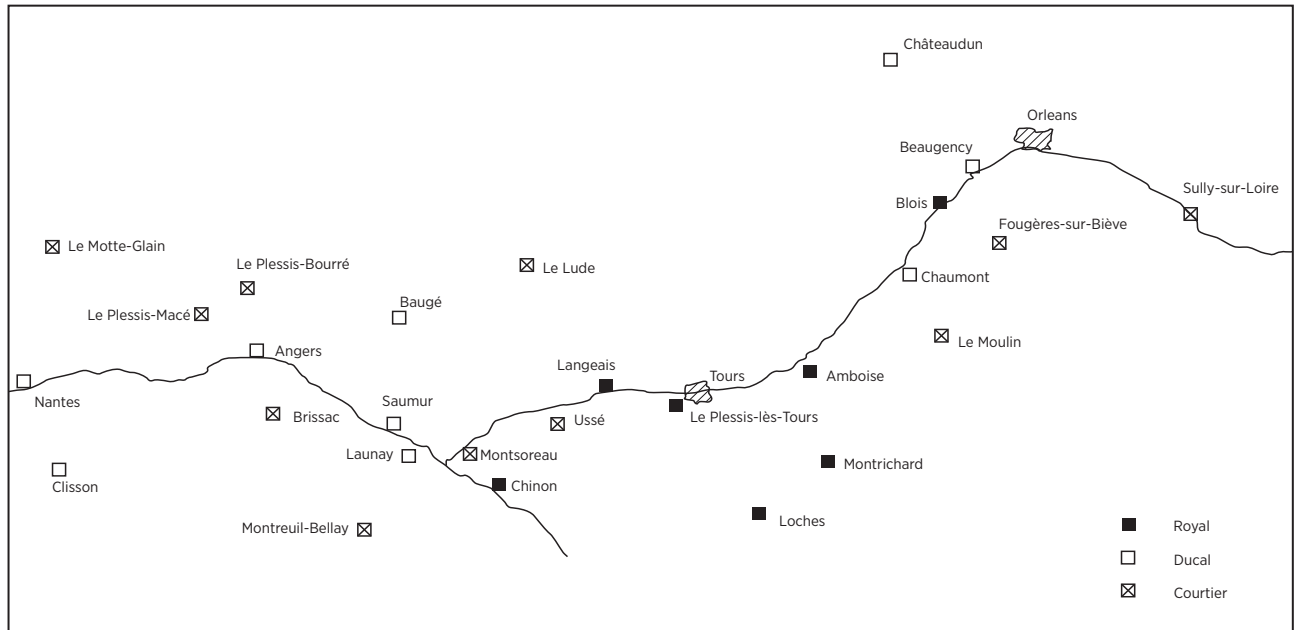


Fig. 58 Loire Valley: major castles in the later fifteenth century

At the same time, the two factors of calmer military circumstances following success against the English invader and the evolution of artillery demanded a new attitude to defence. A change in the character of castles occurred which expanded their residential character at the expense of their increasingly out-of-date defences. Still imposing structures, this transformation became increasingly dominant before the close of the century, though the trappings of defence with its hereditary implications persisted for some decades. This particularly applied to parts of southern France such as Languedoc and Aquitaine where the older forms continued to prevail as at Castelnaud, Commarque, Berzé-le-Châtel, and Bonageuil.

The change is typified by the development of Chaumont Castle which, like many residences in the Loire region, has a dual personality. The regionally important Amboise family had made an enemy of the king by their support of the revolt against royal policies (*Ligue du Bien Public*). Louis XI ordered the destruction of their fortress at Chaumont in 1465 but subsequently permitted Pierre d'Amboise (d.1473) and his eldest son Charles (d.1481) to rebuild the residence four years later after the family had fallen from favour. Chaumont is therefore one of the many Loire castles built during the reign of Louis XI but more importantly, it reflects the change in architectural styles. The more military west range and the lost north range were erected in 1469–73¹ while the more elegant east and south ranges with their incorporation of Italian decorative features and elegant décor were built about thirty years later by Charles II d'Amboise (d.1511) between 1498 and 1511 when the family were at the height of their friendship with Louis XII.²

But the preliminary stages of this development can be seen in the earlier royal castles. Louis XI (1461–83) was responsible for the muscular fortress at Langeais in the grounds of the eleventh century keep but the residence enjoyed elegant interiors. In 1461, Louis acquired the castle at Montrichard and built some lodgings there though only a round tower survives today. However, the future can best be appreciated by the surviving fragment of his manor at Plessis-lès-Tours, built for Louis shortly after 1464 and where he spent his closing years in fear for his life. A manor house and not a fortress, brick-built with stone dressings, and only two storeyed, these characteristics and the several tall windows to

the ground and first floor apartments and the decorated dormer windows were a foretaste of changes to come. The fortress of the past was being replaced by the country house that openly faced the countryside.

In 1431, Louis' father, Charles VII had confiscated Amboise Castle for conspiracy against the crown and it was there that Louis had installed his wife and children. Between 1492 and 1497, Charles VIII (1483–98) converted Amboise from a military stronghold into a palace and filled it with furniture, tapestries, and paintings until his sudden death there after hitting his head on a door lintel. His successor, Louis XII (1498–1515) preferred Blois where he had been brought up and moved the court twenty five miles upstream at the same time that he transformed the medieval fortress into a luminous royal residence.³ Though only the entrance range survives of the three he built round the courtyard (1498–1501), it heralded a new architectural concept without battlements, towers or drawbridge, and in brick rather than stone. Within fifteen years, it was followed by a more monumental residential range wholly in the Renaissance style.

Where the king lived determined where many courtiers and financiers settled. Consequently, the Loire region became an extended building site of country residences dressed up as castles of increasingly chivalric character. It began with the construction of the castle at Montsoreau by Charles VII's chancellor, Jean de Chambes between 1440 and 1445. At about the same time, Pierre de Brézé (d.1465), Charles VII's leading minister initiated the building of Brissac with its two massive medieval towers squashing the classical façade between them. The pace quickened under Louis XI. His treasurer, Jean Bourré was not only responsible for the construction of Langeais but built one of the finest castles in the region in 1468–73 at Le Plessis-Bourré.⁴ Louis' chamberlain, Louis de Beaumont, developed the calmer Le Plessis-Macé nearby, while another of Louis' chamberlains, Jean de Daillon (d.1482) began to transform the earlier castle of Le Lude (1468–82) which was continued by his son. The castle at Ussé also reflects the dual personality of military and a less aggressive residence. Ussé was a long established fortress held by the Bueil family who had distinguished themselves in the wars but in 1485, Antoine de Bueil sold the property to the Espinays who were cup-bearers to Louis XI and Charles VIII. Louis' chancellor Pierre de Refuge built the more aggressive Fougères-sur-Bièvre between 1475 and 1506. In contrast, Philip de Moulin, Charles VIII's chamberlain constructed the attractive red brick castle at Le Moulin from about 1490 to 1500 with its trappings of defence entirely conceived for their picturesque qualities.⁵

With peace, some of the most devastated areas gradually began to prosper particularly in Normandy, Picardy, Champagne, and the Bordeaux region. This encouraged the crown to think of the court returning to Paris so that although some of the most imposing and renowned châteaux were developed in the Loire valley during the reign of Francois I (1515–47), the court stayed increasingly longer and more frequently at the Louvre Palace in Paris.

Though the war had restricted expensive ducal residences during the first third of the fifteenth century, churches, civil buildings, and houses had never totally ceased to be built, particularly in the towns. The flamboyant gothic style had gradually developed during the early years of the century and was well established in towns by the mid to later years. This is particularly true of Rouen, Troyes, and Bourges where the house of Jaques Coeur is a large-scale survival of 1443–c.50, with Paris following rather later as exemplified by the mansion built by Jacques, abbot of Cluny (1485–c.1500).

Notes

1. The north range facing the river but destroyed in the later eighteenth century included a substantial gateway and the great hall of the castle.

2. Charles II of Amboise was also responsible for the redevelopment of the castle at Meillant in Berry between 1500 and 1510. Four of his brothers were also builders, including Louis, bishop of Albi who added the rood screen and choir enclosure to the cathedral of Albi in flamboyant style.
3. The county of Blois had been acquired by the duke of Orléans in 1391 and absorbed into his duchy. It became part of the crown estates after Louis of Orléans inherited the crown from his cousin, Charles VIII. In addition to Blois, his patrimony now included the castles at Châteaudun and Beaugency.
4. Jean Bourré was also responsible for castles at Vau and Jarsé.
5. Pierre de Rohan-Guemenée, another of Louis XI's counsellors similarly built anew, a red stone castle at La Motte-Glain before the close of the century.

MONTSOUREAU CASTLE

Within two years of the cessation of the Hundred Years War, John II of Chambes, one of Charles VII's counsellors, had initiated the total rebuilding of his castle at Montsoreau. It is the only castle in the Loire valley built directly on the river bank so that the seigneur of Montsoreau could continue to benefit from the sizeable tolls that he had charged on the cargoes of river traffic since the twelfth century. The castle's construction from 1455 was one of the consequences of the relative peace gradually experienced in Anjou after the battle of Baugé (1421) and enjoyed rather earlier in that region than elsewhere in northern France. Therefore was Montsoreau Castle a harbinger of future developments in residential planning or would it prove to be a throwback to tried and tested military features?

Design and Layout

Built of the local creamy limestone, the body of the castle is made up of an oblong central block, flanked at each end by a tall square tower from which short southerly wings project.¹ The internal layout consisted of a central reception chamber served by two courtyard-projecting stair turrets. The original one of 1458 was at the south-west angle but a second stair was added at the south-east angle in 1510–20 to provide better internal circulation. A basement extends under the whole building with the same layout enjoyed by all four upper floors (ground to third) though with some room loss at roof level.²

The river façade looks particularly impressive because it rests on the basement with several narrow openings and an entry set in the sloping wall.³ This and the courtyard façade are generously fenestrated with casement windows at ground and first floor levels while the second and third floors are lit by dormer windows all in line to give formality to the façades. Moreover, the lower dormer windows at wall-walk level are in line with the attic windows above and though the latter are set back, they are conjoined by a sloping ledge. There was clearly a desire to give as much light to these two upper floors as possible and to do so in an aesthetically pleasing manner, even though this had consequences for the machicolated wall-walk.

The wall-walk encircled the body of the main building as well as the end towers, carried on triple corbel projections between blind trefoil rebates. There was no impediment round the towers but its path round the main building was interrupted by the lower dormer windows and therefore had to be broken into segments. The windows took precedence over the functional sentry walk pointing to their initiation as a symbolic rather than a defensive element of castle architecture – a sign of seigneurial status rather than military necessity.

The polygonal staircases also point to a major architectural development. The earlier one of 1455 at the south-west angle accessed the principal chamber in the main building and its attendant three rooms. The façades are plain and the tower terminates in a pepper pot roof (rebuilt). The south-east stair of sixty years later leads only to bedchambers and is more obviously 'showy'. The façades are decorated with early Renaissance ornamentation; a balustraded terrace surmounts the roof, while the stair terminates internally in a palm vault as at Baugé.

The internal layout is totally different from the *grand logis* of Sully Castle only sixty years earlier. Although Sully now lacks any early wooden partitions that may have divided its two residential floors and ignoring Montsoreau's barrel-vaulted basement for storing river borne provisions, the four residential floors at Montsoreau were made up of two stone-divided suites of rooms at each end of the principal residential chamber. The movement for privacy and more restricted accommodation had grown apace. And the position and function of the two newels indicate that the rooms to the west were of lower status than those to the east.

It is difficult to accord function to these various rooms as they lack the fittings which may have helped us, and their function may well have changed over the years. However, two sets of latrines were installed at three levels in the north-west angle of both towers discharging into the river, and a further set were incorporated in the slightly later east wing.

The principal chamber at ground level was well lit with five casement windows with seats and benefitted from end wall and side wall fireplaces. Possibly the latter were to overcome wall dampness from the river. The two smaller rooms at the lower end were vaulted, perhaps for services, but the upper end rooms lacked fireplaces. The first floor chamber with its higher ceiling was particularly generously



Pl. 97 Montsoreau Castle: from the north-east towards the river Loire



Pl. 98 Montsoreau Castle: upper façade towards inner court

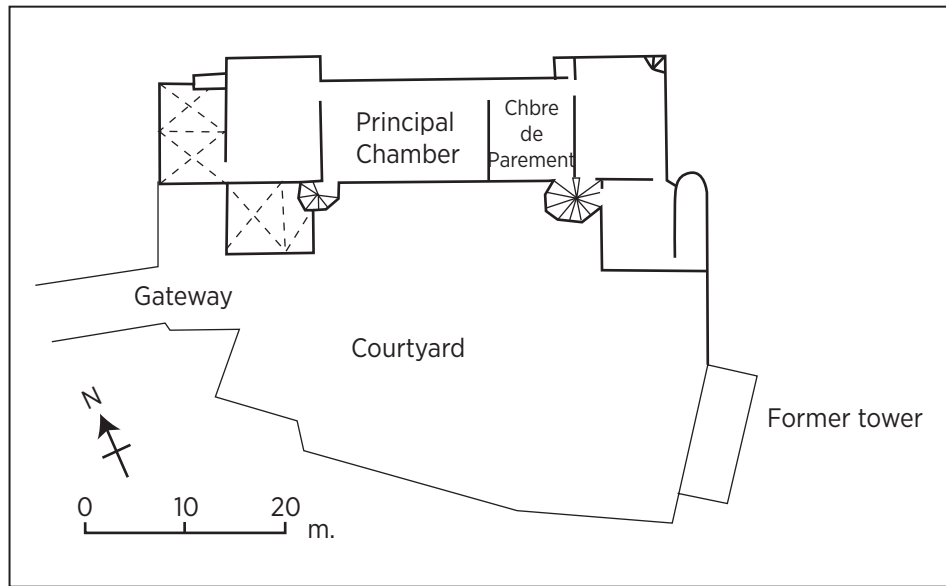


Fig. 59 Montsoreau Castle: first floor plan

proportioned and with its several windows, window seats, and two hooded fireplaces, it was the most prestigious reception room in the castle. The room opening from each end may have been a withdrawing chamber or lobby prefacing the substantial bedchamber in the end towers. In these rooms, the position of the windows and the fireplaces in relation to the blank wall for the bed mark the subordination of architectural design to room function. The north-east bedroom also benefitted from a private newel stair in the corner to the rooms above and below. This suggests that the seigneur occupied the first floor and his wife part of the floor above. As the principal chamber at this second floor level has hooded fireplaces at both ends, it may have originally been partitioned. Regrettably, the attic roof is necessarily a twentieth century replacement. The two towers formerly possessed a further floor, and while the location of the kitchen has not been established, it may have been a detached structure in the courtyard.⁴

Montsoreau's Importance

The layout of Montsoreau Castle is similar to that of the contemporary castle of King René at Baugé (1454–65), both precursors of architectural planning in the late fifteenth century. Together with Jacques Coeur's spectacular house in Bourges (c.1443) and Châteaudun Castle (c.1460), Montsoreau is one of the earliest examples of a residence built essentially for leisure rather than defence. The form of the internal layout and the priority given to light over effective defence circulation points to the balance moving in favour of interior comfort and aesthetic considerations. The large scale casement windows and the decorative gables underline this approach. The double dormer windows were repeated at the now demolished Le Verger Castle, while dormer windows at the same level as the machicolations occur at Saumur and Le Plessis-Bourré castles. But it is the integration of the dormer windows into the façade and their priority over the functioning of the machicolated wall-walk that makes Montsoreau stand out from its peers. Furthermore, the window patterning of the principal façades show aesthetic considerations for Montsoreau bore little relation to the earlier fortresses at Chinon and Sully. Instead, the modest scale of the rooms and the several fireplaces and latrines show that the emphasis was now on comfort and luxury, no doubt with portable furnishings to match. Montsoreau Castle was not markedly aggressive but a harbinger of the peace and prosperity that soon spread across France after the conclusion of the immensely debilitating war.

The early Renaissance newel turret reflected current fashion rather than anticipating it but there were extensive links between Italy and John II and John III of Chambes (d.1519). This may account for some uncommon decorative features such as motifs within frames and the balustraded roof terrace. The survival of this and the earlier newel within the same environment eloquently testifies to architectural changes within two generations.

The Chambes Family

Two documents of 1455 gave tax exemption to the transport of lead and timber from Lyon and Forez to Montsoreau. The material was probably used in the construction of the castle roof, dendro-dated to between 1453 and 1463. John II of Chambes was Charles VII's steward who was charged with several diplomatic missions to Italy. He had pursued a financial career, initially as an associate of Jacques Coeur in a shipping company from 1440 to 1445. He benefitted from a share in the properties confiscated after Coeur's disgrace in 1451 and continued to build up his fortune through several royal gifts including the seigneurial rights for Argenton before his death in 1473. Like the residences built by another financier John Bourré twenty years later, Montsoreau was a mansion fit for the reception of royal and prestigious guests. For it was members of Charles VII's entourage who initiated the preference for staying in the Loire valley rather than returning to Paris, followed by the king and his immediate successors.

Notes

1. The south-east wing is a secondary development of 1460–61 but it was probably always part of the original plan.
2. The remainder of this moat-enclosed site included a gatehouse and a square tower on the opposite side of the courtyard, both almost destroyed, and a late fifteenth century chapel in the outer court, now residential.
3. The river road in front of the castle was only built in the nineteenth century.
4. Situated at the confluence of the Loire and Vienne rivers, the interior of the castle is darkened for a multi-media display about the history of the Loire and its traffic.

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LANGEAIS CASTLE

In the simplest terms, the royal castle at Langeais is a massive block-house with a twin towered extension which forms the dominating gatehouse, and a similar tower towards the end of the block. A short but truncated wing extends from this tower to create an L-shaped structure. The three towers and the range between them (formerly moat protected) present an overwhelming defensive cliff towards the town, topped by a machicolated *chemin de ronde* (rebuilt but among the finest in France), rebated pepper-pot turrets, and steeply pitched roofs interrupted by numerous tall chimneys. However, the courtyard façade bespeaks comfortable living quarters. Those in the principal range are four storeyed whereas the state apartments in the short wing are only three storeyed to give greater internal height to the apartments. Langeais Castle is therefore an early reflection of apparently contradictory façades – a forbidding fortress



Pl. 99 Langeais Castle: the entry façade dominating the town

facing the town but a well-windowed dwelling towards the courtyard and garden.

What is not visible from the exterior is that the castle was divided by a solid thirteen feet thick wall (with later break-throughs) separating the entrance from the remainder of the castle. The former was for the guards and staff lodgings, the greater part was for the constable or for the king if necessary.

This classic late medieval fortress was initiated by Louis XI in 1465 under the immediate direction of his secretary Jean Bourré whom we shall meet again at Le Plessis-Bourré. This long-established military site¹ was redeveloped to prevent a possible attack from the duke of Brittany, for the Loire region was no longer under threat from the English. The defensive frontage had already been completed when the king gave the castle to his cousin Dunois, the bastard son of the duke of Orléans, as a wedding present in

1466 and it was he who erected the wing with its more generous reception rooms in 1466–67. Though swiftly built in under three years, the intended chapel was never constructed.

There is an extremely potent difference between the aggressive character of this royal castle at Langeais and the calmer quadrilateral structure built by Bourré at the same time (1468–73) for himself at Le Plessis-Bourré. Langeais' elongated shape was determined by the rocky site and the immediate presence of the earlier motte and stone keep, and its outward facing character by the need to overpower the town and surrounding countryside by a royal statement of authority. Le Plessis-Bourré was built by Louis' secretary for his own domestic needs.



Pl. 100 Langeais Castle: the relaxed courtyard façade

Langeais Castle is not a particularly vast one for the accommodation is of one room thickness only and follows a common plan on each floor. There are four rooms in the range facing the town and a single apartment in the wing at an acute angle to it. However, this wing has been shortened so that the kitchen and offices (among other elements) are now missing. The outer and inner façades are regularly fenestrated with square-headed windows so that the rooms are generously lit on both sides with the larger state rooms dignified with end wall fireplaces with hoods up to the ceilings.²

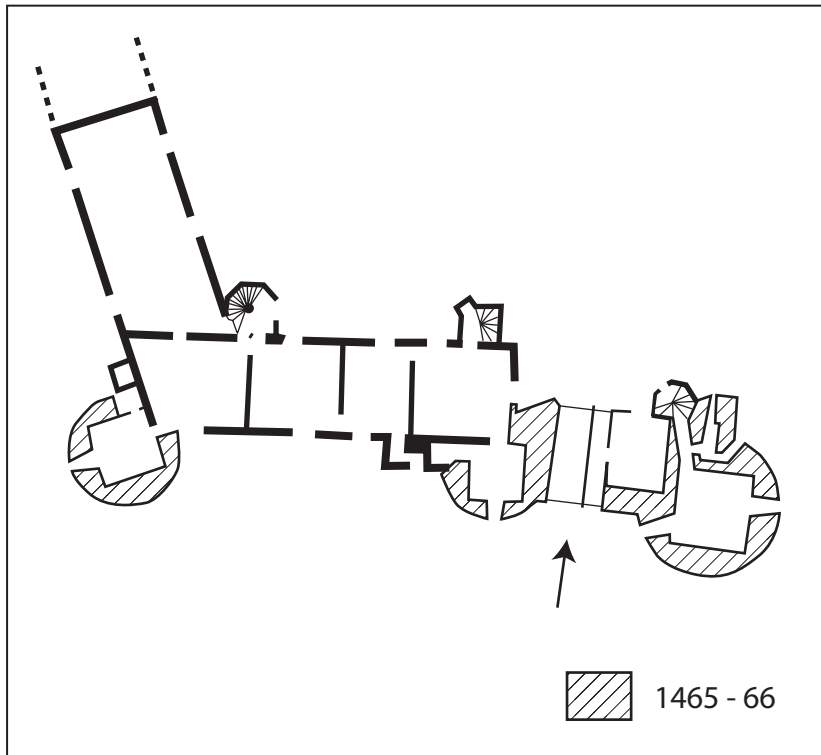


Fig. 60 Langeais Castle: ground plan

Notes

1. Langeais is well-known for retaining one of the early group of keeps built by Foulques Nerra (987–1040). The castle changed hands several times during the Hundred Years War but it was regained by the French in 1423 who pulled down all fortifications except the stone *donjon*.
2. The castle was restored and furnished in medieval style between 1886 and 1904 and this adds considerably to its character, but be warned. Much in the rooms is reproduction including the glazed floor tiles, the painted walls and ceiling beams, while some of the large stone fireplaces have been ‘improved’. The furniture includes some genuine items, many made-up pieces, and some reproductions. There are several fine though faded tapestries.

FOUGÈRES-SUR-BIÈVRE CASTLE

Fougères-sur-Bièvre Castle should be visited before Le Plessis-Bourré for although it is on a smaller rectangular scale, more immediately defensible, and more roughly built of coated rubble stone with Fontlevoy limestone and Bourré stone for all dressed work, it has many elements in common including a not dissimilar plan. Le Plessis Bourré retains the moat that needs to be reinstated at Fougères but the latter’s empty interior is closer to the original character as befits a monument of the Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques.

Even without its water defence, the frontage of uniform height looks formidable with a dominating round corner tower and machicolated *chemin de ronde* with gunports extending across the almost windowless façade to the unbroken wall of the early fourteenth-century keep at the further (north-east) angle.¹ Yet turn to the sides and rear and the more domestic character of the residence becomes

apparent with the walls no more than between two and three feet thick.

Fougères is contemporary with Le Plessis-Bourré and was similarly built by a treasurer to Louis XI, Pierre de Refuge (d.1497). In 1475 he purchased the earlier castle destroyed by the English in 1356 and replaced it except for the keep.²

Narrow twin towers (one filled with a stair) flank the single drawbridge with vertical chases above protecting the low portcullised entrance, opening without any passageway direct into the courtyard, 70 feet square. The lower and upper hall lie opposite the entrance with a three storied residential range at right angles, and an open gallery opposite with a corridor above leading to the chapel – two replacements of a plain curtain wall in 1510–20. External severity gives way in the courtyard to a more decorative character with some ornamentation including an elaborate doorway to the lower hall with ogee head and angels carrying shields. The doorway opens directly into the apartment which, like the upper hall and some of the lesser chambers retains an end wall fireplace and lintel rising to the ceiling.

A cross passage with rear portcullis defence separates the lower hall from the residential range extending from the lower end of the hall. The apartments are lit by stone windows of simple mullion and transom form with window seats generally on one side only, but the half octagonal stair turret to the courtyard with modest early Renaissance replacement windows presages the great stairs at Chaumont and Blois. The chambers, separated by timber-framed partitions, have fireplaces and sometimes garderobes. The kitchen was on the ground floor.

In its final form, Fougères-sur-Bièvre Castle is an uneasy alliance between defence and domesticity, provincial in feeling and construction once access has been gained into the courtyard. The private rooms are modest and rather cramped, while the added chapel has only single lights and was never vaulted.



Pl. 101 Fougères-sur-Bièvre Castle: entry façade

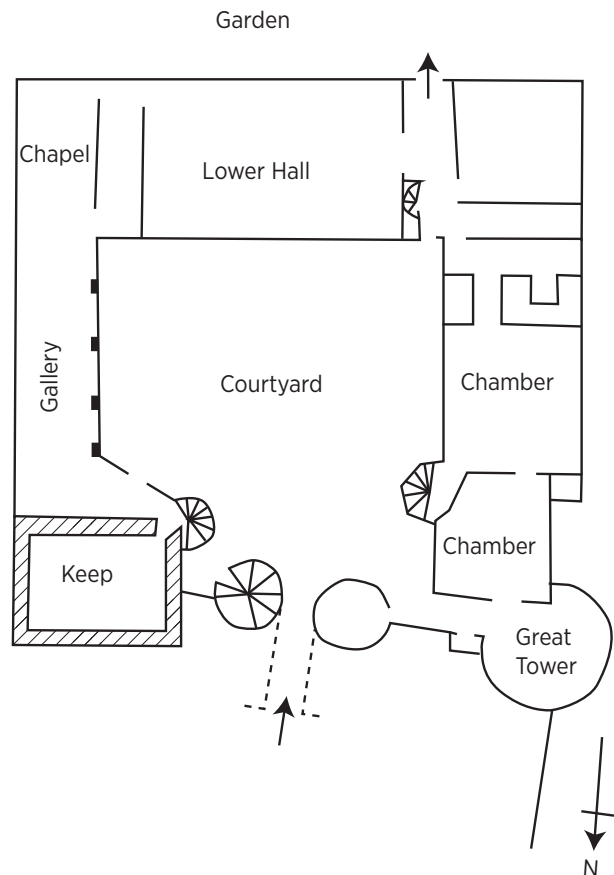


Fig. 61 Fougères-sur-Bièvres Castle: ground plan

Notes

1. The battlements of the keep have been replaced by a steeply pitched roof.
2. The castle was retained by the Refuge family until the late seventeenth century when it passed through several hands, became a spinning mill in 1814 when a water wheel was inserted through the chapel, and was subsequently divided into tenements until 1932.

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LE PLESSIS-BOURRÉ CASTLE

Ten miles north of Angers, the castle of Le Plessis-Bourré is the epitome of the quadrangular semi-fortified house of the third quarter of the fifteenth century. It was built for Jean Bourré (1424–1506) who had entered the service of the dauphin in 1443 and became his first secretary. His financial expertise was also appreciated by the duke of Burgundy but in 1461 he became one of Louis XI's leading counsellors and subsequently treasurer of France. He also held key positions in several castles including captain of Langeais, governor of Amboise, and captain of Angers.

Bourré acquired the Plessis estate in 1465 and his successors held it until 1751. This residence was constructed in only five years between 1468 and 1473 though a thousand men were employed to achieve this speedy completion. Pierre Hardouin was the master carpenter and Ian Belotin was responsible for the glass. High interest in Le Plessis-Bourré stems not only from its completeness and unity but also from the absence of later alterations except for the pretty forecourt outbuilding of the later seventeenth century and some internal redecoration during the eighteenth century.

Constructed of a warm, creamy limestone from near Saumur, Le Plessis-Bourré like Baddesley Clinton in Warwickshire is low lying in the countryside so that it is hardly visible until the visitor is almost upon it. Le Plessis-Bourré is a transitional residence – part fortress, part domestic – combining the elements of defence with many-windowed ranges betokening comfort and internal elegance. This quadrangular structure does not rise direct from the clear, wide moat but stands on a narrow platform – a rare example in the Loire valley.

The defensive elements are limited. The circular corner towers are three storeyed to the front and four storeyed to the south, but only the south-east tower rises higher. At nearly 150 feet, it serves as a strong tower crowned with a double machicolated head. The enclosing ranges are surmounted by a *chemin de ronde* with keyhole gunports but the wall-walk is not machicolated and fails to extend along the east side. The off-centre rectangular gatehouse with its restored double drawbridge and machicolated parapet is more immediately severe but machicolations are limited to this gatehouse and the strong tower.¹ The castle's most effective protection is the extremely broad moat, over 140 feet wide and still filled from several ground sources.

The courtyard, 240 feet by 200 feet, is enclosed by ranges with seven feet thick walls and steeply pitched roofs. They are two storeyed with an attic floor on three sides but the importance of the south range opposite the entry is emphasised by its generous fenestration and additional residential floor.



Pl. 102 Le Plessis-Bourré Castle: entrance range and chapel tower (centre)



Pl. 103 Le Plessis-Bourré Castle: strong tower flanked by the south range (left) and the east range (right)

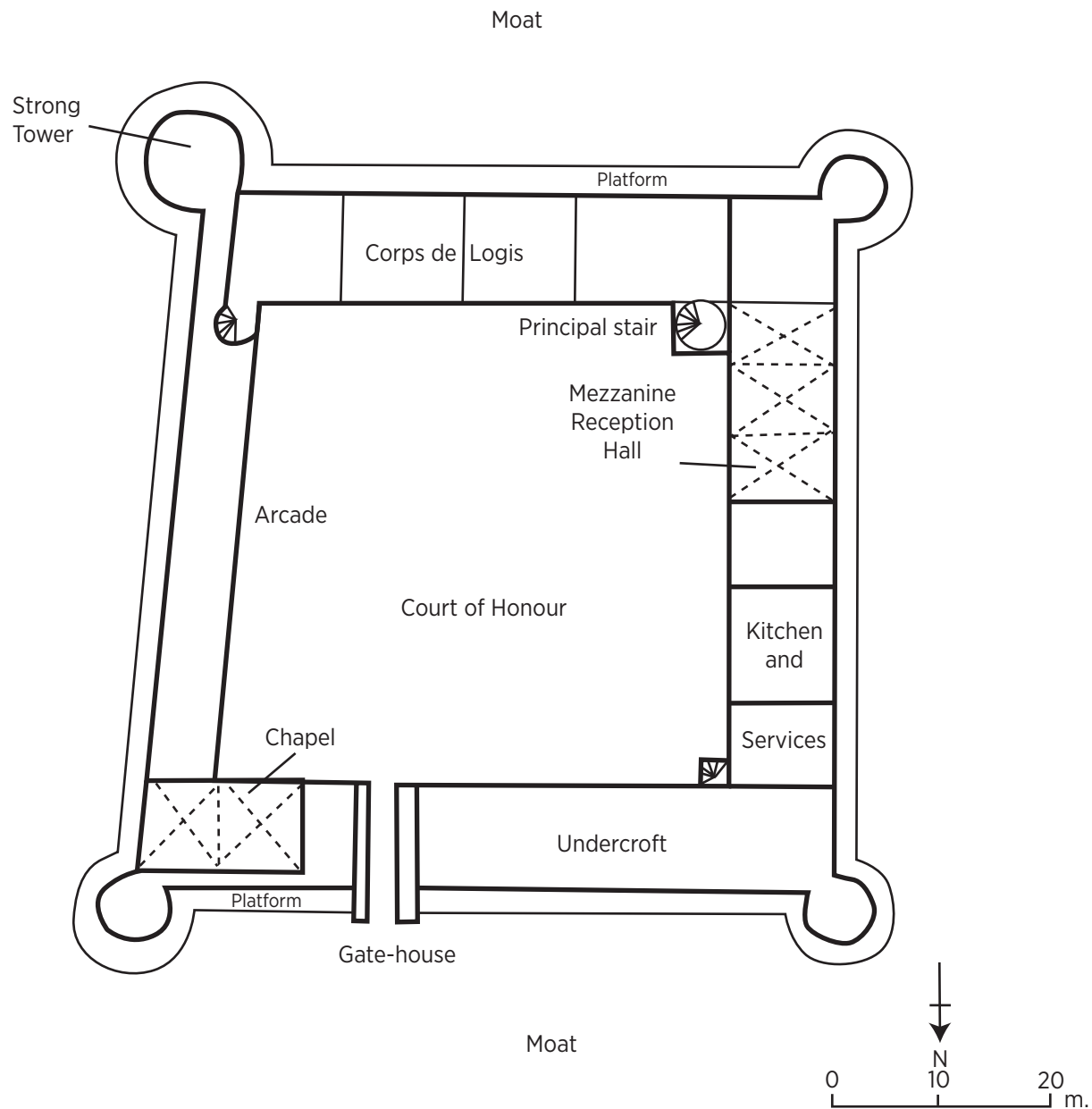


Fig. 62 Le Plessis-Bourré Castle: ground plan

Within the courtyard, windows have square hoods with stops though the chapel windows hold Gothic tracery, door frames are decorated with coats of arms, the *corps de logis* is surmounted by gablets, and the arcaded walk on the east side helps to create a less austere character.

All the ranges are of single room thickness and in planning terms, the sequence of apartments is clear. Moving in an anti-clockwise direction, to the right of the entrance is an extended vaulted undercroft with a guard chamber above, followed by the kitchen and domestic quarters in half of the west range. A solid wall separates these offices from the mezzanine reception hall rising to a vaulted



Pl. 104 Le Plessis-Bourré Castle:
'Parliament' chamber

roof. The commanding south range of residential apartments on three floors holds an enfilade of four chambers per floor with the principal apartments at first floor level, terminating in the strong tower. A gallery above the arcaded ground floor walk leads to the chapel rising through two floors adjacent to the entrance. Stairs to roof level were positioned in the corners of the courtyard with the principal one projecting from the south-west angle.

Early engravings suggest that external alterations have been minimal while several apartments have survived unchanged with their original fireplaces, tiled floors, panelling (Justice Room) and heavily braced, high pitched roofs. To emphasise its importance, a handsomely decorated Gothic doorway opens into the reception hall divided into three bays of quadripartite vaulting with the ribs dying into the walls. The tiled floor is original while the end-wall fireplace has a brobdignagian moulded and decorated lintel and a hood sloping to the roof. The windows, as in all the principal apartments are tall, transom and mullion divided into two smaller above two principal lights, and with window seats in the larger openings. One of the prime first floor apartments retains its original coffered ceiling, divided by moulded timbers into 24 hexagons painted with French legends and scenes from Aesop's fables.² The strong tower of private rooms at the upper end of this range is almost detached from it as at Gainsborough Old Hall. The seigneurial apartments and the chapel near the entry are linked by an early example of a gallery, in this case above an open arcade. King René had built a similar but shorter corridor at Angers Castle (c.1450). That at Le Plessis-Bourré, nearly 120 feet long and 13 feet wide (and now converted into a library), has two fireplaces. It gave access to a private pew and to the two bay high vaulted chapel built on a scale unknown outside royal and episcopal circles. As at Maxstoke Castle over a century earlier, the chapel's striking three light east window defies any defensive function the castle might claim.

Le Plessis-Bourré is a country mansion posing as a castle, but fundamentally differs from its counterpart in England through its scale, particularly when compared with Kirby Muxloe Castle, initiated a few years later by Edward IV's great friend and chamberlain of the household. Le Plessis-Bourré displays a stately grandeur, uses the highest quality materials and workmanship, eschews flamboyant decoration, and reveals a gravitas all the more striking when compared with contemporary work under King René

or that of Louis XII a generation later. Le Plessis-Bourré is of a scale and a standard appropriate to royal receptions and was so used by Louis XI in April 1473 and by Charles VIII in 1487.

Notes

1. The corbels supporting the machicolated parapet are trefoil decorated though less elaborately than at Nantes Castle (1460–87).
2. Though the ante rooms at each end are little altered, the three principal ground and first floor rooms in the *corps de logis* are furnished with eighteenth-century boiseries and furniture.

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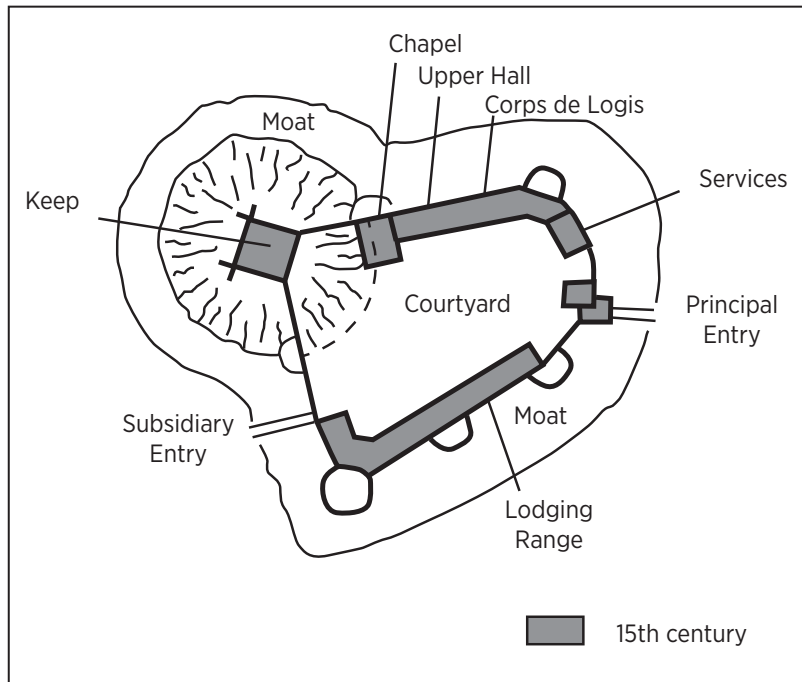
LE PLESSIS-MACÉ CASTLE

The contrast between the contemporary castles at Plessis-Macé and Plessis-Bourré could not be greater. Only ten miles apart, they were both built by officials of Louis XI. Le Plessis-Macé was developed by Louis II de Beaumont, initially chamberlain to the duke of Anjou and subsequently to Louis XI, whilst Le Plessis-Bourré was built by Louis XI's treasurer. Bourré was built anew while Macé was developed within the walls of an earlier fortress on the border between France and Brittany.¹ The work of Louis' finance minister was formal in design and architecturally balanced, while that of Louis' chamberlain was architecturally irregular. And while Macé was rubble-built in dark slate with contrasting dressed stonework, Bourré was totally built in white limestone.

Le Plessis-Macé was originally a motte and bailey castle with a stone keep surmounting the motte. This was destroyed during the Hundred Years War but after the castle was acquired by the Beaumont family in 1427, the duke of Anjou gave Louis II permission to rebuild the keep. Constructed during the 1460s in an extremely mannered style, the balconies and tourelles are made more bizarre by the massive buttresses added later. This was an archaic addition with the machicolated frontage to the courtyard built in freestone to harmonise with Beaumont's new domestic ranges.

Beaumont retained the earlier moated curtilage with four of its six round towers (though now reduced for artillery) and two opposing gatehouses. Within this thirteenth century framework, Beaumont rebuilt the domestic quarters from the 1470s onwards in two ranges filling the north and east sides of the courtyard. These hid the earlier defences as did the extended lodging range opposite. The two storeyed residential ranges were not the tall balanced façades that were becoming fashionable in the Loire valley but two storeyed vernacular ranges in rubble-built schist rather than freestone. They only became more formal with two gables marking the principal apartment and the chapel with its flamboyant Gothic east window. Between them is a projecting stair tower with a top-heavy gable cap rising above the roofs. It is an unsophisticated element adding to the homespun character of the castle. The lodging range opposite, over 260 feet long with several doorways to the individual rooms, provided accommodation for staff and servants.

Though adjacent, the two domestic ranges were originally detached with the east range for the kitchen



Pl. 63 Le Plessis-Macé Castle: site plan

that terminates the range. With its re-instated four light east window like that at Le Plessis-Bourré and similarly rising through two storeys, it is notable for its barrel-shaped panelled ceiling and the triple level wooden gallery that fills the chapel's west end. With its several tiers of open tracery lights serving the sacristy, the seigneurial pew, and the assembled staff respectively, this beautiful and rare late Gothic survival is complete with its projecting hexagonal stair to first floor level.

and services, and the north range for the principal apartments. This latter range has lost its stair turrets to the upper floor leaving blocked doorways in the courtyard walling. Internally, these ranges were substantially altered for nineteenth century habitation and this has reduced their value. This work included inserted windows, corridors, a reception hall and stair. However, two elements have survived little altered. Beaumont added the multi-corbel supported balcony to link the two ranges at first floor level. This highly decorative gallery in creamy limestone is in stark contrast with the schist walling that it spans. In its flamboyance, it looks like a much later addition.² But the most important survival is the chapel



Pl. 105 Le Plessis-Macé Castle

Le Plessis-Macé is a valuable survival because it highlights the contrast between the scale and standards of a residence by a royal official and crown servant ten miles away with one of more limited financial resources. Le Plessis-Macé showed two faces. Externally, it was entirely defensive: internally, it was informal and thoroughly domestic. Yet both faces were overseen and dominated by the keep, deliberately rebuilt to attest to the high standing and pedigree of the Beaumont family until it passed out of their hands in 1510. While Le Plessis-Macé was the informal home of a retired soldier and royal counsellor, Le Plessis-Bourré was the more imposing and innovative home of an aggressive financier of modest stock.

Notes

1. In 1472, this castle was used by Louis XI as a base for the siege of Ancensis on the border with Brittany.
2. There is a similar but smaller balcony of uncertain date spanning the middle of the lodging range.

PLESSIS-LÈS-TOURS MANOR

This manor originally stood in the countryside three miles west of Tours, but the city has developed so extensively since the late fifteenth century that it has spread to the manor entrance. Suburbia now surrounds its grounds but has not completely overtaken them.

Louis XI purchased the property, formerly the manoir des Montils, from his chamberlain, Hardouin de Maillé, in 1464. Construction of the present building took place shortly afterwards. There is no relevant documentary evidence but the name Plessis-lès-Tours first occurs in 1473 when the manor had already become Louis' favourite residence and retreat from his enemies.

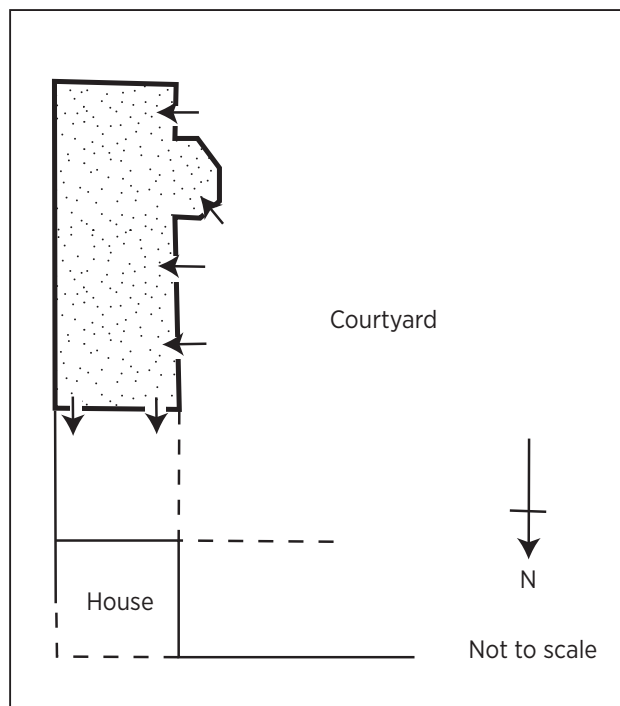


Fig. 64 Plessis-lès-Tours Manor: site plan

The manor remained in royal hands throughout the sixteenth century before being taken over by military governors who neglected it. The property was sold during the Revolution and partially demolished leaving the remainder to be used as a lead shot factory and for warehousing. It was restored for occupation at the close of the nineteenth century.

What survives is less than a third of the original residence which was made up of three ranges in a U shape. What still stands is the left-hand range – brick built with stone dressings, two storeys high above a stone basement, and with an attic floor. The north end of the range has been truncated leaving two blocked doorways at ground and first floor level but the basement continues northwards, in part supporting a nineteenth century house before it turns westward. The remainder of the site is gravel and grass covered.

The courtyard façade is broken by an octagonal stair with ogee-headed lights rising to the pitch of

the main roof and with a supplementary turret at roof level. There are windows only at first floor level. Below a stone string course, the walling is blank except for two entries and evidence of a pentice. In contrast, the outward-facing façade is broken by two lines of casement windows of two smaller upper and two longer lower lights at ground and first floor level. Though the principal apartments may have been on the first floor, the ground floor windows are the more impressive with square hoods terminating in corbels and elongated lower lights. The attic windows are also bold with fleuron surmounted gables.

The interior was heavily remodelled in the later nineteenth century. Three chambers were created on the first floor when old panelling and furniture were installed. The fine fireplace of c.1525 was brought from a town mansion in Tours bombed in 1940.¹

As he approached his sixtieth birthday, Louis XI suffered from a wasting illness and spent the last two years of his life almost entirely at Plessis-lès-Tours. Philippe de Commines, a favoured counsellor and biographer of Louis records that the outer circuit of the manor was formidably protected by a moat, a spiked wall, four movable iron watchtowers, and 400 archers patrolling the grounds night and day. Louis feared assassination or capture by disaffected magnates.² Within this confinement, Commines records that the manor was simple but gay with colour, decorated with paintings, and with an imposing windowed gallery overlooking the court and the open countryside beyond. It was here that Louis breathed his last on 30th August 1483, a ruler who the Three Estates declared left France 'the testament of peace'.³



Pl. 106 Plessis-lès-Tours Manor: stair turret and courtyard façade



Pl. 107 Plessis-lès-Tours Manor: east façade

Notes

1. The property is currently used by a theatrical company for their rehearsals and outdoor performances.
2. Philippe de Commines, *Mémoires*, Book VI (1498)
3. Philippe de Commines, *The Universal Spider: The Life of Louis XI of France*, ed. P. Kendall (1973), 261–63

THE DUCHY OF ANJOU

KING RENÉ: 1434–1480

There are several phases to the long career of René of Anjou. Born at Angers Castle in 1409, he had been adopted at an early age by his great uncle, the duke of Bar and had held that title since the age of ten. In 1430, he had married Isabel, the heiress of Lorraine but in the following year, the twenty-two-year-old René had been captured by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, who had designs on the duchy of Lorraine. René's mother, Yolande of Aragon, continued to run his French estates until her death at Saumur in 1442 while René's wife, now queen of Naples and Sicily, had to attempt to secure and retain Naples for her husband until he was released from prison in Dijon in 1437. René ruled in Naples for only four years until 1442 when he was forced into exile by Alfonso of Aragon. René abandoned any further military ambition and retired to his French estates.

From the mid-1440s, René devoted his efforts to running his extensive property portfolio – the duchies of Bar and Lorraine, the duchy of Anjou and Maine, the county of Guise, and the county of Provence and Forcalquier. Initially Anjou and Provence were the most favoured and it was in these regions, in turn, that he undertook a sequence of major building projects, castles and manor houses. Attention should be drawn in particular to René's manor house at Launay of c.1450 as it was a precedent for the equally domestic country house of his nephew, Louis XI at Plessis-lès-Tours of c.1465.

The mid-stage of René's career was essentially spent in Anjou spanning the twenty years from 1449. He lavished considerable sums providing economic support after years of war, built dikes to prevent the Loire from flooding, and persuaded the king to reduce some of the taxes he demanded. René's court was a particularly splendid one, spread between the castles at Angers, Saumur, and Baugé where tournaments were held supporting René's approach to his chivalrous ideals. In this, he was supported by Isabel of Lorraine until her death in 1453, though he married, equally happily, Joan, the daughter of the earl of Laval in the following year.

Though René was not a leading player in the political intrigues that marked the conclusion of the Hundred Years War, his standing could not be ignored. In addition to his extensive French possessions, he was still the king of Naples, the brother-in-law of the king of France, and the father-in-law of the king of England who had married René's daughter Margaret in 1445. He was extremely wealthy with his income lavished on jewel-like settings for his multi-faceted court that reflected his prestige and propaganda.

The final stage of René's career began in the late 1460s when his wife persuaded him to settle

permanently in Provence. Initially resident in Tarascon Castle, René preferred to develop a sequence of country houses as he had done in Anjou. He also spent a great deal of time developing a residence in Avignon so that he could be close to the papal legates able to assist him in his unflagging but stillborn efforts to attain his Italian throne. His heir, his grandson Nicholas died in 1473, his unhappy daughter returned home after the death of Henry VI of England, while René's uncle, Louis XI gradually asserted himself over the estates and revenues of Anjou. René died in Aix on 10 July 1480 aged 71. As there was no heir, his nephew Louis XI seized Anjou in 1481 and annexed it to the crown lands. The death in the same year of René's second nephew, the last count of Provence and king of Naples, was followed by Louis XI's equally speedy custody of Provence and its absorption into France. All the possessions of the house of Anjou were finally back in crown hands.

René's court was as brilliant as that of the duke of Berry but it was more cosmopolitan with members from France (particularly Anjou) and Provence, Italy (Naples, Calabria and northern Italy) and Spain (Aragon and Catalonia). René had also been exposed to Burgundian and Flemish art early in his career, spoke several languages, composed music, and wrote courtly poems as well as three books on *The Rules of Tournaments*, a chivalric novel *Hearts and Desires*, and a religious meditation *The Mortification of Pleasure*. He painted but also supported leading artists including Bartholomy d'Eyck who spent four years in Naples absorbing Italian influences, Jean Fouquet, Nicholas Froment, and Enguerrand Charonton. René loved gardens, animals and illuminated manuscripts. He was easy-going and informal and a Renaissance man in the breadth of his interests.

KING RENÉ'S PROPERTIES

Anjou

It is fortunate that a substantial portion of René's portfolio of properties still survives, far more for instance than those for John, duke of Berry. René held four castles in Anjou, strategically sited to guard the duchy, with Angers overlooking the river Maine, Ponts-de-Cé and Saumur protecting the river Loire, and Baugé defending the duchy approach from the north-east. He was responsible for adding or remodelling all four structures. Ponts-de-Cé was essentially a defensive gatehouse on an island in the river Loire guarding the strategic crossing four miles south of Angers. René was responsible for remodelling the head of the gatehouse towers but his work at Angers and Saumur was more extended. He was responsible at Angers for the châtelet entry to the inner court and the elegant three storeyed gallery immediately west of the chapel (1450–55). At Saumur, his work was primarily internal, remodelling the east range to make it more comfortable with smaller rooms and a new stair approach (1454–72). Baugé was an entire rebuilding of the castle and his most substantial survival as it had been deliberately destroyed to prevent the English from using it in 1421. René built an entirely new residential range from 1454 to 1465. Two storeys high with an attic floor, it is principally made up of a line of royal apartments at first floor level of increasing privacy and comfort.

René held at least six manor houses in Anjou, four close to Angers and two not far from Saumur. There are substantial elements of his time at all six sites but that at Launay two miles from Saumur is the most complete. It was developed round two courtyards for René's first wife Isabel who was able to occupy it from 1450. The courtyards were developed either side an earlier central range with the

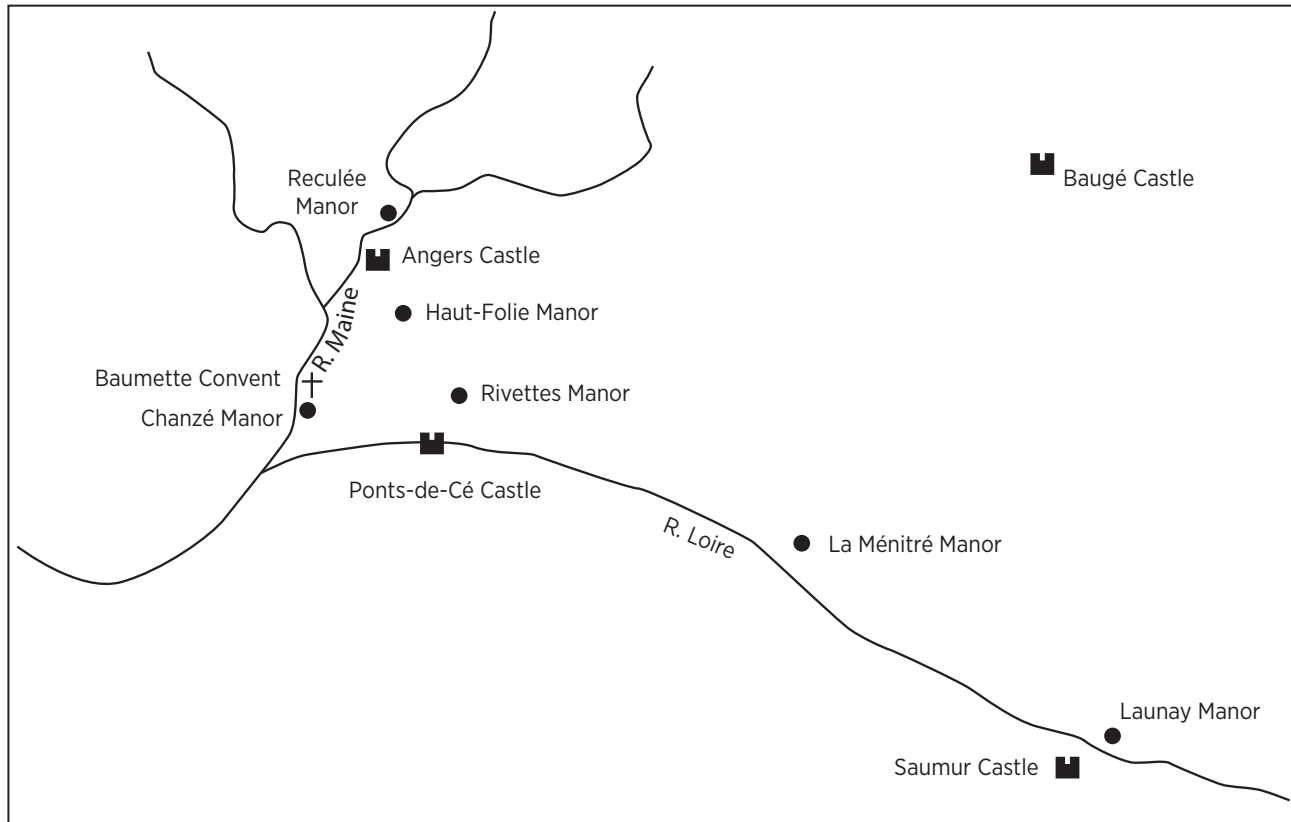


Fig. 65 Loire Valley: King René's properties

chapel tower as the least altered survival. The other nearby manor was La Ménitré. Initially a farm, a *logis* was built there for René in 1454. However a larger detached residence was developed for him between 1457 and 1460 with a separate chapel. The two units were linked in 1471. Both Launay and La Ménitré retain substantial evidence of contemporary painted decoration, trees with the royal arms suspended from the branches at La Ménitré, branches of broom and the rays of the sun at Launay.

As soon as Rivettes Manor had been purchased by René in 1455, the main wing was rebuilt with an upper chamber suitable for the king. The inclusion of timber-framing and an independent chapel reflect a later and more modest version of Launay Manor. The manors of Haut-Folie and Reculée are now within the suburbs of Angers with Reculée now a line of four houses on the bank of the Maine, purchased in 1465 so that René could enjoy fishing in the river. Finally, the much altered manor at Chanzé is next to the Baumette Convent which he had founded for the Franciscans in 1452 on the bank of the Maine. Constructed within four years, the convent retains its medieval chapel and refectory.

René's building activity was extensive but relatively modest in scale except at Baugé. He had inherited a rich patrimony from his parents with the castles at Angers and Saumur in good state. He therefore spent much of his income and time on his manor houses, reflecting his love of the countryside and country living.

Provence

René's earlier work in Provence was during the 1440s with activity on three structures; the fortress of St John (rebuilt) which protected the entrance to the port of Marseilles, the restoration of Louis II of

Anjou's palace at Aix, and additions to the castle at Tarascon. The only surviving evidence is at the last where the tiny chapel was built above the gallery between 1447 and 1449.

The palace at Aix had been developed by Louis II and Yolande with René purchasing nearby land to expand the enclosing garden. René developed the site into a large country estate where a number of single storey residences were set in gardens and orchards. It was a development from the manor house he had built for his first wife at Launay near Saumur. René also built a house in a rural setting at Gardanne (between Aix and Marseille). The quadrangular *logis* flanked by round turrets at the corners is currently used as a school of agriculture. Nothing remains of his further manors at Olivet, Le Pin, and Perignanne. During his later years, Tarascon Castle proved too austere for René's taste. He preferred his more modest manor houses and the house he had built at Avignon between 1476 and 1478.

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BAUGÉ CASTLE

Early in the eleventh century, Foulques Nerra established a castle at the confluence of the rivers Altrée and Couasnon. It was subject to expansion and stone-built enclosure development until 1421 when Baugé Castle was deliberately burnt down by Yolande, duchess of Anjou, to prevent the English from using it as a military base. Henry V had given his brother, the duke of Clarence, supreme command whilst he was in England, but Clarence impetuously intercepted a newly arrived contingent from Scotland marching to protect Anjou. On 22 March 1421, the armies faced each other at Vieil-Baugé where Clarence was killed and many English prisoners were taken. Though it was the psychological success for the French of their first victory against the English for a generation, they were unable to turn that success to their advantage.

In 1434 Yolande's son, René duke of Anjou inherited a ruin though his absence abroad meant that no rebuilding occurred for two decades. When he turned his attention to Baugé, he decided not to rebuild the towered fortress but to develop a substantial residential range on the north side of the courtyard. This last was replaced in 1817 by a large esplanade (now used as a car park) leaving René's range as the dominant survival.

René's architect, Guillaume Robin, built the present rectangular structure in the eleven years from 1454 to 1465. Constructed of the local creamy rubble stone with dressed work limited to the windows and doorways, it stands two storeys high with an attic floor. It is of single room width with two projections to the front, a high stair tower to the left and a chapel and stair projection to the right. To the rear is the much larger four storey north tower. The windows are of four or six lights with the gabled attic windows surmounted by fleuron decoration, but the chapel windows are identified by Gothic tracery. In overall form, the range is not unlike that at Montsoreau, though the larger windows are of six lights rather than four. All the casement windows to the front and rear now hold early seventeenth century glazing bars.



Pl. 108 Baugé Castle: courtyard façade

René used Baugé as a hunting lodge, benefitting from the abundance of game in the Beaugéois forests. But purchasing land outside the enceinte in 1465 allowed the creation of gardens there to add to the castle's attraction. In 1471, René's nephew, Louis XI, annexed Anjou and entrusted the castle to Pierre de Rohan, lord of Gié. His family held it until the Revolution when the castle was abandoned. In 1817, the towered enclosure was pulled down including the gatehouse, motte, keep and castle chapel. René's range was divided between the law courts and the police station until the twentieth century. By 2002, the structure was in parlous state which was rectified in a seven year restoration programme.



Pl. 109 Baugé Castle: head of great stair

The great stair was the principal access to all floors (though the present central entry is through a converted window). With broad steps and generous fenestration, the stair rises to attic level terminating in a palm-like fan of ribs with heraldic bosses including the arms of René, Anjou, and the cross of Lorraine.

Each floor consisted of a hall flanked by a single room at the lower end and a line of three beyond

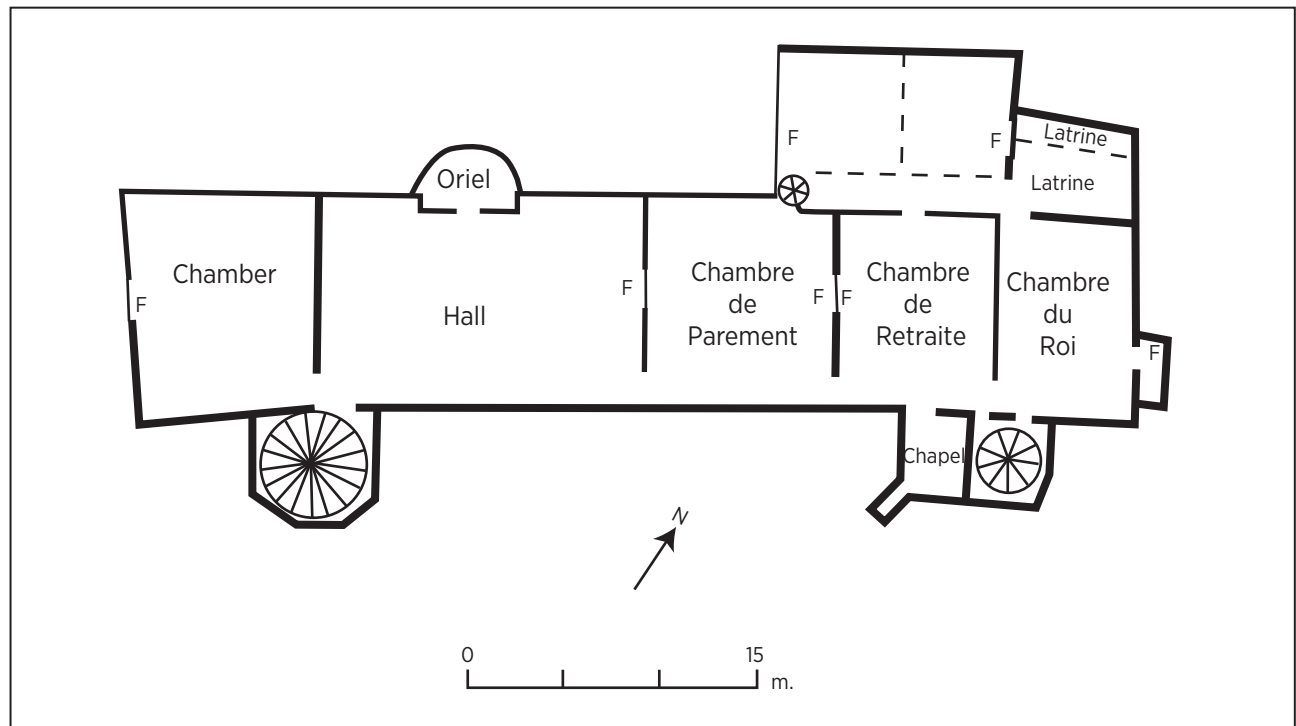


Fig. 66 Baugé Castle: first floor plan

the upper end. The royal apartments were at first floor level with the hall benefitting from a generous north-facing oriel. The first room beyond the hall, the *chambre de parement*, was a withdrawing room. It was followed by the *chambre de retraite* for the king with his chapel opening off it, while the third chamber was a more private room. It has a separate latrine and a small vaulted bay with a fireplace that may have been used as a bathroom. These more privileged rooms, including those in the north tower, have smaller windows than in the body of the range suggesting greater intimacy. The most immediately identifiable room is René's chapel, next to his private stair, with its two-light windows with quatrefoil heads. Small enough to be an oratory, the ribs of this single vaulted bay are decorated with delicate foliage.

The private apartments were served by two stairs, one used by René and the smaller by his staff moving between the reception rooms and the private lodgings in the north tower. The attic area was also used for domestic occupation with its partitions, fireplaces, plaster-covered walls and painted decoration. Today, the rooms at each level are used for a multi-media presentation and an exhibition on the life of king René.

The range is one of the most substantial projects undertaken by the king in scale and quality, and it is his principal building survival. The structure shows that there were several modifications to the masons' contract of 1454. The number of fireplaces was increased and some of the larger casement windows of six lights are taller than in the specification. With its large windows, decorative dormers, openness and recovered internal plan, Baugé is more of a country seat and hunting lodge than a fortress, though the courtyard enclosing wall needs to be reinstated in the mind's eye.

LAUNAY MANOR

The manor of Launay is situated on the north bank of the river Loire, two miles east of Saumur. It now stands tree protected in the centre of an agricultural estate with a late medieval barn close to the house still serving its original function. In 1433, the property was purchased by Etienne Bernard King René's treasurer, who sold it to René on 28 July 1444. Two years later, he gave it to his wife and initiated an enlargement programme. Two payments were made in September 1447, one of 500 florins and the other of 2,500 florins for 'building work at Launay'.¹ The work probably took above five years with the majority achieved by 1450 when Isabel of Lorraine moved into Launay on a semi-permanent basis. A further sum of 100 livres was spent on building work in 1453, the year that Isabel died.²

René gave the manor to Joan of Laval, his second wife, in 1454. The property was retained in Angevin hands until René's death when it passed to the king of France. In 1499, Louis XII sold the manor to Jean of St Amatour and it has been retained in private hands since then.

The manor essentially reflects a two phase development with none of the ranges more than two storeys high. The late fourteenth-century central range became the core of a two court plan laid out between 1444 and 1450. The manor entry to René's stone built outer court with its two terminal towers opens into a column-lined inner face supporting a timber-framed upper floor. The central range separating the outer from the inner court was remodelled by René who built a much more welcoming *logis* on its west side. This was remodelled in about 1830 and is still the owner's principal residence. The south range of this inner court was rebuilt in the mid-nineteenth century for outhouse use but it still terminates in René's Chapel Tower with his retreat above his private oratory. The moat that formerly surrounded Launay Manor has been partially filled but it still touches the Chapel Tower and the North-West Tower.

Only a pair of stout doors protected the north entry, now lacking the heads of the tourelles above it. The entry opens into the columned walk below the timber-framed gallery that lined two sides of the outer court. The capitals of these stone columns were formerly painted red. There were essentially two major upper rooms, both with large fireplaces, suitable for winter use as the shaded walk below was for avoiding the summer heat. Many of the floor tiles in these rooms and the roof structure of the towers are original, despite farm occupation until 1970. The range also retains a small oratory with a stone vault, a pascal lamb boss and painted wall hangings.



Pl. 110 Launay Manor:
entry approach and
chapel tower

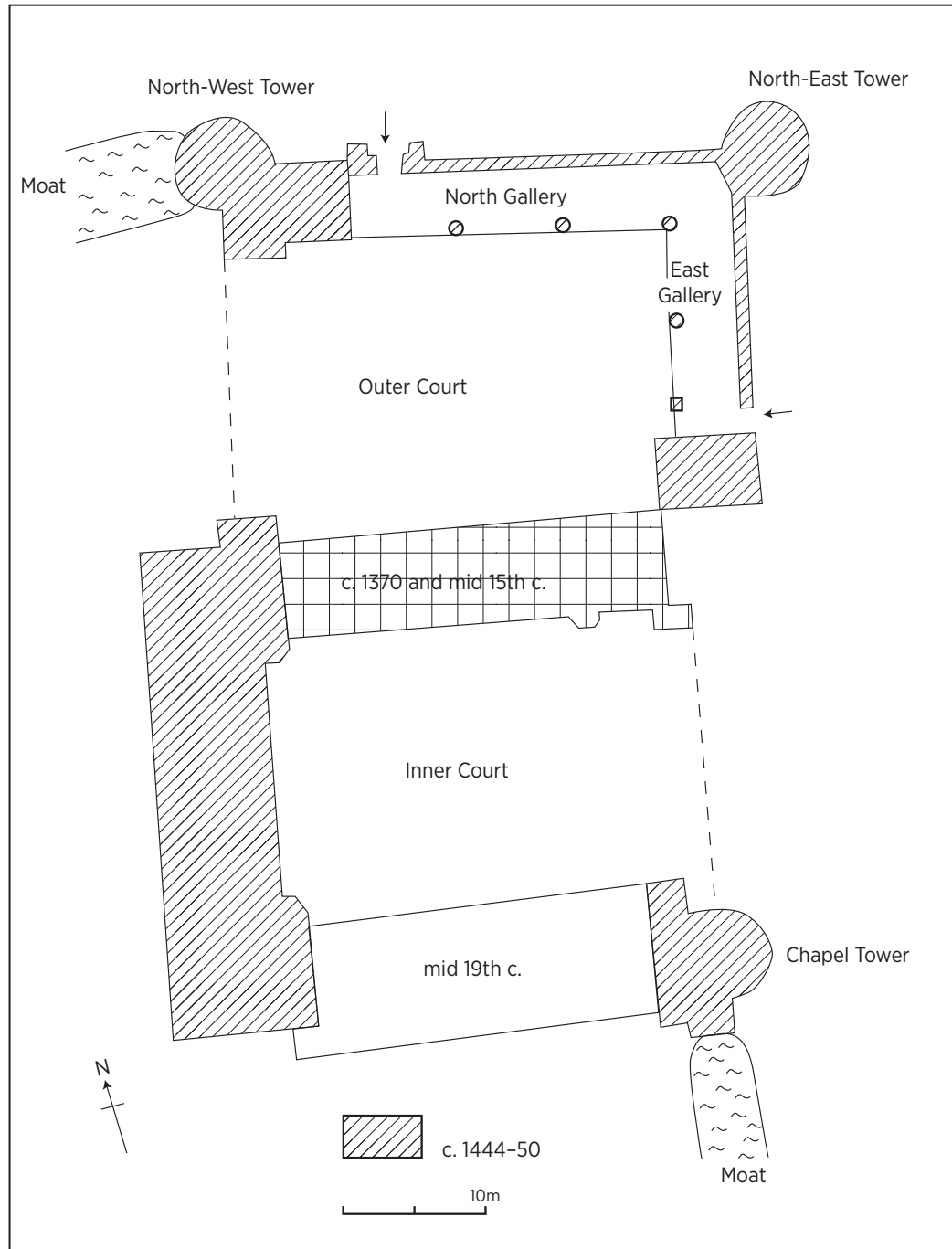


Fig. 67 Launay Manor: site plan

The central range holding the hall and the associated domestic offices of the manor is attributed to about 1370. It was re-roofed in 1408 and was remodelled forty years later so that the kitchen with its extremely wide hearth was now supplementary to René's adjacent residence. Filling the west side of the inner court, its two angle newels and prominent first floor gabled windows made an early statement of domestic form and fenestration in the future.

The Chapel Tower is the least altered element of the manor. The small apsed oratory retains its pinnaced sedilia and piscina flanking the altar, three two-light windows, and plain ribbed vault. This tower clearly shows that Gothic style windows with traceried heads were limited to religious structures



Pl. 111 Launay Manor: outer court

and that secular rooms such as that above warranted square-headed mullioned and transomed windows. This upper room, believed to be King René's retreat with its view into the oratory below, was a well heated room with generous casement windows with seats facing the Loire, and a boldly painted ceiling of a central sun with many radiating rays.³ This comfortable retreat also has a supplementary heated study with walls painted with broom branches, and a latrine discharging into the moat. This last has the very rare survival of its protective wood enclosures, seven feet high. The tower doorway is also reinforced with iron bands to safeguard the precious objects inside on both floors.

The wall and ceiling paintings are among many such survivals in this manor. Very often they are plants, particularly branches of broom or vines with grapes, but they also include imitation wall hangings, the 'ihs' monogram, shields (including one with the arms of Margaret of Anjou, René's daughter), and other armorial representations.

Despite the towers and moat, Launay is clearly a manor house and not a castle. Instead of the defensive elements of site and structure such as those at nearby Saumur, Launay stands open to the countryside. It is not only a markedly early example of the élite residential development favoured fifty years later but it reflects René's concept of humanism and nature. No wonder that Launay was his favourite residence.

Notes

1. Litoux & Cussonneau, *Demeures Du Roi René en Anjou* (2009), 52.
2. Ibid.
3. The ceiling was complete until 1940.

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THE DUCHY OF ORLÉANS

JOHN, THE BASTARD OF ORLÉANS

The assassination of Charles V's second son, Louis, duke of Orléans in 1407 was followed by the capture of his heir, duke Charles at Agincourt eight years later. Charles spent twenty-five years in various castles in England writing poetry (as did duke René of Anjou during his captivity), and had been joined by his younger brother John of Angoulême who remained in exile for thirty-three years. On his release in 1440, Charles retreated to Blois where he set up his court, enriched by the expensive manuscripts collected by his parents.¹

Responsibility for upholding the flag of the house of Orléans was willingly picked up by John, the handsome illegitimate son of duke Louis (b.1402) who had been brought up by Louis' wife, Valentina Visconti. Although a bastard half-brother, John more than fulfilled the role of defending the family's honour. Known to us as Dunois but 'the bastard of Orléans' to his contemporaries, he fought the English for more than thirty years. He was a leader of exceptional ability but also a talented diplomat – a combination that made him politically important throughout his career. He took charge of the defence of Orléans, became a faithful companion of Joan of Arc, and subsequently led the recovery of many of the territories previously held by the English. Charles VII appointed him Lieutenant-General of the royal army (1428) and subsequently Lord Chamberlain in 1436. He helped to liberate Normandy in 1449 and was primarily responsible for the recovery of Aquitaine after successfully besieging Bordeaux and Bayonne (1451). Among his many rewards was his appointment as the count of Dunois (1439), the count of Longueville (1449), and finally the royal removal of the bend sinister that identified his illegitimacy (1465). In the following year, his son married the queen's sister.

The duchy of Orléans passed to Louis XII on the death of his father, Charles duke of Orléans in 1465. However, Charles had donated the Dunois part of his inheritance, centred on Châteaudun, to his bastard half-brother in 1439. John had expanded his holding through royal and marital gifts so that he enjoyed a substantial income in his own right until his death in 1468. His family continued to enjoy its diminishing income until the Longuevilles died out in 1694.

Dunois had retired to Châteaudun in 1457, having initiated the redevelopment of the old castle there helped by the ransom of £20,000 he extracted after capturing the earl of Suffolk in 1430 and the series of offices he had received from a grateful monarch. His retirement lasted eleven years with Louis XI present at his funeral. His handsome redevelopment of Châteaudun castle was followed even more stylishly by the work of his son (d.1491) and grandson (d.1513). Dunois' work is among the earliest

totally residential projects after the conclusion of the Hundred Years War and was a harbinger of the domestic style that developed in France during the later fifteenth century.

Notes

1. Charles (d.1465) sought to renovate the medieval castle at Blois. The accounts for his last years refer to the construction of galleries and a stair but only half of a gallery survives, combining stone with brick. The total renewal of this castle was not initiated until a generation later when Blois became the capital of the royal kingdom.

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CHÂTEAUDUN CASTLE

Retirement is not a word that Dunois would have understood. For over thirty years he had been a leading presence on the battlefield, had besieged numerous castles and towns, and had experienced the inadequacies as well as the benefits of long-standing and newly constructed defences. At the point that the Hundred Years War was dying away after his capture of Bordeaux and Bayonne, Dunois had been considering retirement to one of the castles on his estates and chose Châteaudun, the former capital of the Dunois region, rather than Blois.

His plans for the redevelopment of the castle on its rocky eminence above the river Loir embraced three aspects – military precaution, imposing contemplation, and innovative residential. They embraced the mid-twelfth-century keep, a chapel modelled on the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, and a substantial residential wing for himself and his family with possibly the intention of adding a further wing at right angles to create a court of honour if his age permitted.¹

Dunois was aware that the war was not completely over so that before this work could begin in earnest, all earlier defences were pulled down except for the retention of the circular keep of Thibaud V, count of Blois.² Site clearance was followed by re-roofing the keep with a complex radiating roof frame commissioned on 3rd December 1450. This adaptation of a centuries old structure also marked Dunois' assumption of a long-established inheritance. His battlemented cap added another 28 feet to an already 76 feet tall structure with the conical roof adding a further 45 feet.³

The Sainte-Chapelle

Following in the footsteps of St Louis and supported by Dunois' receipt of a fragment of the True Cross from Charles VII, this chapel symbolised the right of the Valois dynasty to rule France.⁴ Its construction took precedence over any domestic developments, though Dunois had initially erected a timber-framed building in the outer court as a temporary residence as Henry V had done at Sheen.

Whereas the Parisian exemplar had been a magnificent first floor chapel above a lower vaulted one, Dunois' chapel reversed this arrangement. The three bay choir and apse, together with the upper chapel above them were constructed between 1451 and 1454. The short nave and south oratory followed from 1460 to 1464, with the north oratory and the bell tower added in 1493.

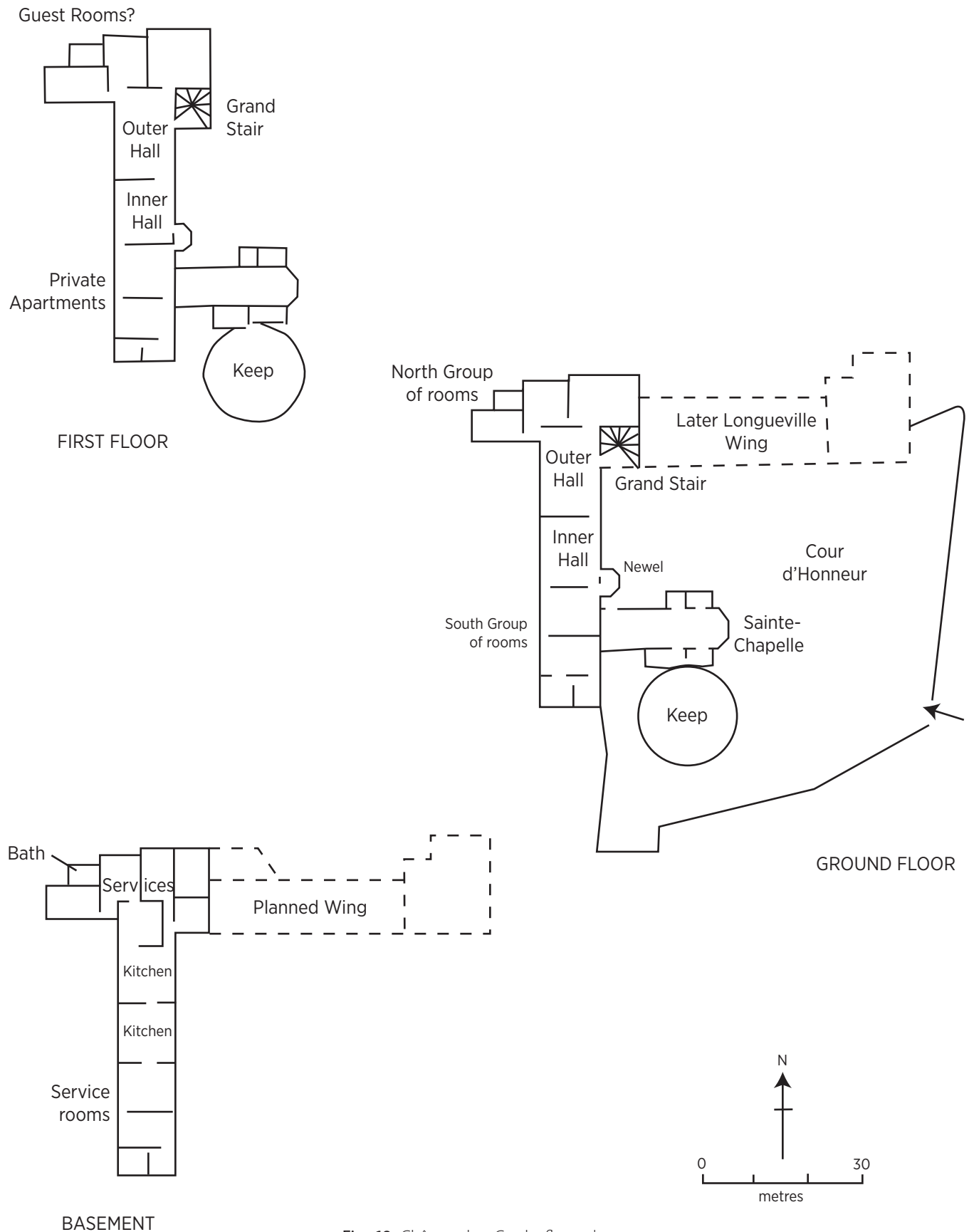


Fig. 68 Châteaudun Castle: floor plans



Pl. 112 Châteaudun Castle: keep (left), Sainte-Chapelle, Dunois wing and Longueville wing (right)

The chapel is vaulted throughout and well-windowed with trefoil and quatrefoil heads – calmly designed compared with the flamboyant tracery of the contemporary west front of the Vincennes chapel.⁵ Dunois' work was enhanced by a sequence of fifteen corbel-supported statues positioned above eye level. They are not the usual twelve apostles or prophets but the saints favoured by Dunois. They are particularly fine examples of mid-fifteenth century sculpture from the Loire valley workshops⁶ and include an aged soldier, traditionally considered to be a portrait of Dunois.⁷ They retain evidence of colouring as do the vault ribs. The apse is flanked by a chapel on each side, both with fireplaces, with that on the south decorated with a late fifteenth-century painting of Christ enthroned surrounded by the Virgin Mary and St John the Baptist.

The Dunois Wing

The Dunois wing was constructed between 1459 and 1468 under the direction of Nicole Duval from Rouen. It incorporates five floors rising from the rocky promontory with the two lower levels supporting the ground floor at courtyard level, and two upper floors. This range terminates in two contrasting staircases. The traditional hexagonal newel close to the chapel projected into the courtyard while the innovative stair of imposing and highly decorative form at the north end of the range was recessed to become part of the building line. The fact that the Longueville wing at right angles terminates in an even more spectacular early Renaissance stair of about 1509–18 illustrates that this leading feature of residential development over a fifty year period was heralded at Châteaudun.

The range between the two earlier stairs is an austere structure externally, broken only by two vertical lines of windows illuminating the two principal floors and the attics. The principal windows are transomed and mullioned set in moulded splay under a four-centred head, with the smaller attic dormers terminating in a decorative gable. The same applies to the west façade though the single attic level is replaced by a covered machicolated walk with smaller attic windows above.

The spiral stair leads to the kitchens and service rooms in the basement.⁸ There are two kitchens, both rib vaulted on a central support which divided each room into four bays. The south wall in both

kitchens is spanned by fireplaces with 13 feet hearths under low four-centred heads. In both rooms, the hearths are interrupted by a central opening communicating with three flanking service and staff rooms. The latter were well lit, benefitted from window seats, fireplaces with high hoods, and even a rib-vaulted bathroom to the north. This kitchen and service sequence is a particularly well preserved survival of late medieval domestic planning in France.

The approach to the ground and first floor apartments should be from Dunois' Grand Stair, not the subsidiary newel. This elaborate stair is divided into three planes with each one made up of paired features. From the ground, there are two open entry arches leading to the stair, two first floor windows with complex traceried heads in flamboyant style, and a pair of second floor windows below elongated gabled heads decorated with fleur-de-lis. The structure is flanked by mid-level pinnacled niches, now empty. The whole composition is filled with gossamer-like decoration including blind tracery up to the pinnacled heads of the gables and side niches. The elaboration is in direct contrast with the plainness of the Dunois wing and thereby draws attention to itself. The stairs are wide, the principal landing is rib vaulted, and the windows facilitate courtyard viewing. At night, the stairs were lit by candles set in decorative stone lanterns at each angle.

Internally, all the floors from the basement to the attics are of similar plan. Each one holds two larger apartments, possibly an outer and inner chamber, flanked by four smaller rooms in line (southwards) or as a group (northwards). It is no longer possible to identify the social or domestic purpose of the two principal floors. Dunois would probably have occupied the first floor rooms but those at ground level may have been a suite for his wife Marie d'Harcourt, or used for receptions, guests or senior household officials.⁹ The attics and basement would have been for staff. The principal floors have several features in common. They have heavy beamed ceilings, though one or two of the smaller rooms to the north have more elegant rib vaults. The ground floor rooms are well fenestrated on both sides but with window seats only towards the countryside. The form and decorative character of the fireplaces is indicative of the social standing of the occupants in the hierarchy of the house.

The first floor rooms should be approached from the principal stair, entering the first room through the higher and more elaborately moulded doorway than its colleagues. This outer reception room retains its fireplace but that formerly heating the inner reception room has been destroyed. The succeeding smaller and more private rooms used by Dunois were beamed and fenestrated like those below but with the windows on both sides seat-provided and the tiled floor reinstated with a copy in 1938.



Pl. 113 Châteaudun Castle: Dunois stair from the Court d'Honneur

Summary

Only a generation separated the father from his bastard son but how different was Châteaudun Castle from Pierrefonds. Whereas Louis of Orléans' masterwork was all aggression and defence, his son developed a residence that was quietly relaxed. Dunois chose not to redevelop his castle as a military fortress like that at Bonaguil (1483–1500) but to erect a stylish residence appropriate to a peaceful retirement with the keep primarily retained as a symbol of pedigree. The corner turrets and covered machicolated walks on the side that was virtually impregnable became decorative features rather than meaningful defences.

Châteaudun gives a much better idea of residential planning in the later fifteenth century than most castles in the Loire valley. The Grand Stair may reflect that built by Charles V at the Louvre and it certainly includes the fleur-de-lis to declare that its builder was a member of the Valois dynasty. It is in direct contrast with the sober façade of the Dunois wing and an eye-catching foil to it. This stair is in the Rouen tradition of the flamboyant style and a worthy masterpiece of decorative design. The value of both stair and wing is heightened by the construction of the adjacent Longueville wing in 1509–18. It follows a similar internal pattern, heightened by the much richer decoration of the façades and the Renaissance decorated Longueville stair that anticipates the François I stair at Blois and the multi-windowed residences at Azay-le-Rideau and Chambord.



Pl. 114 Châteaudun Castle: first floor landing of Dunois stair

Notes

1. Dunois' son continued work immediately after his father's death and was responsible for the two basement storeys of the Longueville wing before his death in 1491.
2. The moat separating the inner from the outer court was retained, now partially used as a herb garden.
3. It has been suggested that the roof space was used as Dunois' library in emulation of Charles V's towered library in the Louvre. This is unlikely as no ceiling was installed to protect the valuable contents, the windows were unglazed, and Dunois' limp made access difficult for him.
4. Twelve royal or princely members of the Valois dynasty built chapels to hold fragments of these relics to proclaim or underline their legitimacy. Royal chapels survive at Paris (1244–48), Vincennes (1390–1410) and Le Vivier en Brie but not at Le Gué-de-Maulny. Princely chapels survive at Champigny-sur-Veudé (1508–43), Aigueperse (1475), Rion (1390), Vic-le-Comte (1510) and Châteaudun (1451) but not at Bourges, Bourbon l'Archambault, or Dijon.

5. The stained glass windows were destroyed during the French Revolution.
6. The fine Virgin and Child in the apse of about 1400 was either a gift to Dunois or from an earlier chapel in the castle.
7. This and two saints are late fifteenth-century.
8. There are ill-lit cellars below.
9. However, a document of 1512 shows that the ground floor of the Longueville wing was occupied by Francis of Longueville with the upper floor probably reserved for his wife, Catherine of Alençon. Some of the ground floor rooms of the Dunois wing hold panelling and painted decoration that reflects their remodelling for visits by Louis XIV in 1682 and 1685.

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ANJONY CASTLE

Just as Châteaudun was redeveloped by a leading military commander during the closing stages of the war, so the castle at Anjony was similarly developed by a lesser battle-scared leader fighting under the banner of the house of Orléans. But Anjony is more of a rarity than most castles in France for it is fully furnished with some of its contents belonging to the closing years of the middle ages.

The castle was built by Louis II of Anjony with construction initiated in 1435 under authorisation given by Charles VII to help extend royal authority in the region. It took four years to complete with virtually no alterations since 1439. It has remained in the hands of the same family for nearly six centuries giving it a remarkable personable unity.

Prior to the mid-fifteenth century, the Tournemires were the locally important feudal family but as they had long allied themselves to the English, the French crown was anxious to promote a more locally loyal nobility. Louis was a professional soldier who had fought the English for over thirty years, initially in Bayonne and later as a companion of Joan of Arc. He fought in Normandy and was present when the French seized Paris in 1436. The promotion of the Anjony family pitched them into an acrimonious vendetta with the house of Tournemire who consistently lost out to their bourgeois neighbour throughout the following two centuries of tension and quarrels.

Eleven miles north of Aurillac, the castle rises from a narrow rocky promontory overlooking the valley of the Doire in the foothills of the Auvergne mountains. The plan is a simple one, a rectangular block with four round towers at the corners rising a further storey above the central roof to a total height of 125 feet. Built of reddish basalt, the towers and central block with their eight feet thick walls rise unbroken to twin machicolated parapets at roof level giving the castle a highly defensive crown. The body of the castle is a single room on each of the four floors, 49 feet by 30 feet internally, with one of the corner towers holding the newel stair rising from ground to roof level. The roof structure is original as are the covering stone tiles. The windows are mainly narrow single lights except on the north side where the twin lights are eighteenth century alterations. Each of the three principal apartments hold substantial fireplaces.

Pl. 115 Anjony Castle



The ground floor has a low barrel vault (now the visitor reception area) and was used for storage as were the corner rooms. The three floors above were residential with the entry now masked by the added eighteenth century wing. The first floor ceiling has three lines of superimposed pine beams with differentiated painted decoration. The south-east corner tower holds the chapel with its rib-vaulted apse. The walls and apse are covered with late fifteenth or early sixteenth century frescoes from the life and passion of Christ. They are possibly Italian workmanship commissioned by Louis III of Anjony and are in an excellent state of preservation. The furnishings within the castle also include Italian and Spanish as well as French items of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The four walls of the second floor apartment are covered with frescoes illustrating the legend of the nine worthies. They were painted in the mid-sixteenth century, 150 years after the statues of the same nine worthies were raised on the towers of Pierrefonds Castle. They were added in 1557 to celebrate the wedding of Michel Anjony and Germaine Foix, a member of the house of Foix, whose richly dressed portraits flank the fireplace and its hood.

The third floor was the principal residential chamber with its ribbed vault and fireplace filling one wall. The many documents relating to the early history of the castle are kept in the cupboards in one of the corner rooms at this level.

The encircling roof passages with their square crenels, corbelled machicolated floors, and roof coverings

function at two levels. The central block is encircled by a machicolated passage at the lower level round the inner face of the corner towers. They rise a floor higher to an upper machicolated walk round the crown of each tower, capped by a low peaked roof. In sum, the tall, unbroken walls give the castle a stark, commanding character externally. Internally, the large fireplaces and furnishings bring warmth and character to the spacious rooms.

Assessment

Although a local rather than a leading seat of power for the house of Orléans, Anjony Castle is significant for several reasons. It has been little altered since its construction, is roofed, has retained its double machicolated wall-walks, and is well preserved within. It is a castle of single-build; its contents include two extremely well preserved sequences of frescoes which give a better idea of late medieval interior decoration than Viollet-le-Duc's imaginings at Pierrefonds. In addition, the furnishings – tapestries, settles, and tables – enhance the fundamentally residential character of the castle.

This relatively modest but tightly planned tower-house dominating the Doire Valley reflects the aspirations of a locally important seigneurial family. Since the early form of a keep, dominating towers had long been a key element of military architecture. This had been revitalised by Charles V at Vincennes and in a more residential form by the duke of Berry at Poitiers. It was the former that was the model for the defensive tower-houses of the fifteenth century. They were particularly favoured in the foothills of the central massif – not too expensive to build, externally secure but internally comfortable. A ruined early fifteenth century example survives at Alleuze in the same Cantal region as Anjony, and the near contemporary tower-house at Val in the north of the region. This is roofed and with six perimeter towers with one of them solid to serve as a buttress. Further afield, Anjony is closely related to the tower-house at Sarzay near Châteauroux, built after 1440 by Jean Barbançois, another military survivor of the Hundred Years War. These and similar 'maisons fortes' are indicative that military necessity was still a vital determinant in this part of France during the mid-fifteenth century. Nor should it be overlooked that the tower-house at Anjony was developed several years before Dunois re-modelled the centuries-old keep at Châteaudun.

Anjony is also similar in plan to tower-houses in England such as Nunney but more particularly to those such as Tattershall Castle on a large scale and Belsay on a more modest one. Many of the English tower-houses were attached to a hall block which could be abandoned in an emergency. Whether this was so in France is difficult to discern. A low eighteenth-century wing, two storeyed with attics, extends from the east face at Anjony. It is still family occupied but whether it replaced an earlier hall block awaits further close examination.

Though Anjony's military face is all too clear, what is less obvious is that despite the withdrawal of all English forces from France during the 1440s, Anjony continued to reflect the deep-seated quarrels that the war had spurred. Families like the Tournemires bitterly resented the loss of the vested interests they had practised under the relatively relaxed English rule, particularly when the benefits passed to neighbours who enjoyed the goodwill of the more aggressive French crown. These vendettas, like those between the Montagues and the Capulets could last for centuries, as they did here in the Auvergne and similarly in Aquitaine.

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BEAUGENCY MANOR

Little remains of Beaugency Castle outside the five storeyed keep and the manor house within the castle enclosure. The seigneurial keep was built in 1015–30 with substantial alterations made by Philip the Fair in 1303–05. These included the insertion of sixteen vertical windows of single transom and mullion form under a square hood. They are among the very earliest examples of this type so far known in France¹ and the forerunner of the casement window that became so popular throughout the late middle ages.

In 1344, Philip VI included Beaugency as part of the duchy of Orléans which he created for his fourth son. In 1441 it became the property of John of Dunois, the bastard son of Louis of Orléans. It was he who was responsible for transforming the seigneurial residence within the castle forecourt in the late 1440s. Subsequently, it was developed further by Dunois' grandson, Cardinal John of Orléans-Longueville (d.1533) between 1516 and 1524. Thus the bastard and his grandson were responsible for contemporary developments at both Châteaudun and Beaugency castles.

The manor has been converted into a museum but is at present closed and sealed awaiting refurbishment. Two elements date from the late 1440s/early 1450s – the courtyard entry range and the Dunois wing with its westward extension. The principal apartment of the Dunois wing made use of the walls of a Romanesque structure which had left no obvious traces until discovered in 1984. This wing, three

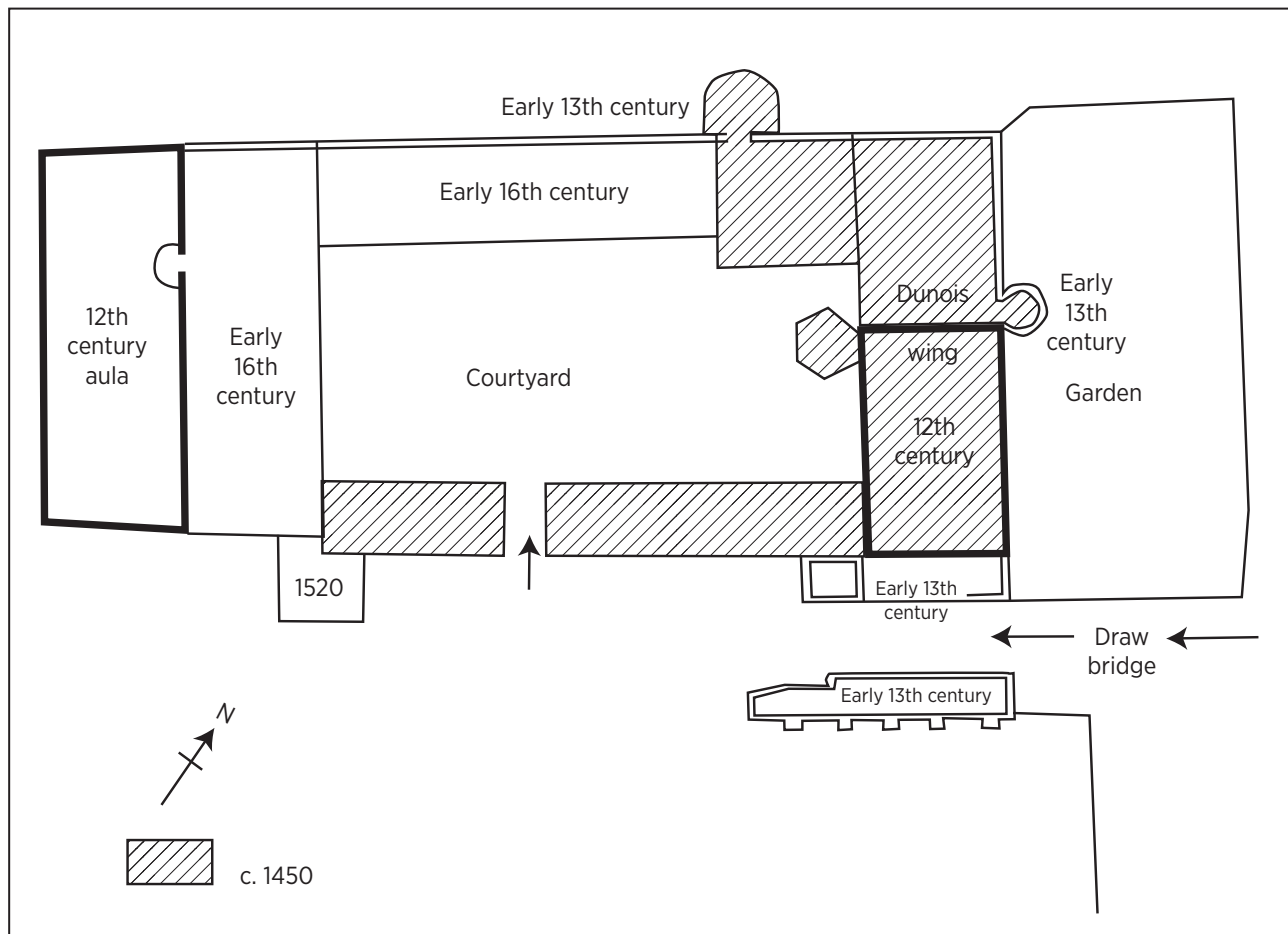


Fig. 69 Beaugency Manor House: site plan



Pl. 116 Beaugency Manor: keep (left) and manor entry

storeyed with an attic floor, is dominated on both sides by a projecting turret. The hexagonal one towards the courtyard held the principal stair while the smaller half-round tower served as a cabinet to the adjacent room. Each floor consisted of three rooms, a hall or reception chamber, a withdrawing chamber, and a generous garderobe closet and clothes store in the west extension. All were well lit by windows of a form used nearly a hundred and fifty years earlier. The first floor also included access to the earlier chapel of St George over the castle entry. The roof timbers of this *logis seigneurial* have been dendro-dated to 1451–53.²

What this residence confirms is that by the mid-fifteenth century, King René's preference for manor houses over fortresses was spreading among the higher ranks of society. Furthermore, it affected the future development and enrichment of castles that had until then been considered fortresses.

Notes

1. C. Corvisier in *Beaugency, Monuments du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance* (2007), 22–25.
2. D. Bontemps, *ibid.* (2007), 68–69.

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THE DUCHY OF BURGUNDY

EXPANSION AND COLLAPSE

The principal expansion of the duchy of Burgundy began in 1384. Fifteen years earlier, Margaret of Mâle, the heiress of Flanders, Artois, and Franche-Comté had married Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy so that the death of Louis II of Mâle in 1384 paved the way for the accession of Philip as count of Flanders. Within a hundred years, the duchy with its newly acquired territories and the subsequent acquisition of the Low Countries had totally collapsed.

Since his accession, Philip the Bold had enjoyed the wealthy resources of Burgundy and more recently of Franche-Comté, but now he embraced the far more extensive resources of Flanders and Artois. Yet his ambitions extended to the remainder of the Low Countries for there is evidence that his grandson Philip the Good and particularly his great grandson Charles the Bold intended to create an independent monarchy ruling a new state that would extend from Burgundy to Holland. This conglomerate of principalities would recognise many local traditions and practices but would be unified under a centralised administration established and controlled by the sovereign house of Burgundy. Philip's ambition was furthered by his negotiating a double marriage that put his house within the orbit of the princes of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland (1385) and by him inducing the childless duchess of Brabant to make Philip's younger son her heir.

By the close of the fourteenth century, the house of Burgundy was progressively moving away from its previous practice of total identification with France and French interests to a position that subsequently developed into one little short of hostility towards the kings of France. Philip the Bold was helped by the weakness of his neighbours – the decline of the Holy Roman Empire as a whole, the simmering conflict between France and England, and the mental instability of Charles VI of France. Not surprisingly, Philip and his successors used their influential position at the French court to Burgundian advantage but when push came to shove, John the Fearless and Philip the Good chose to support England rather than France. The English alliance that followed the assassination of duke John (1419) became particularly meaningful under Philip the Good, though it gradually became more lukewarm after the death of the English regent John, duke of Bedford (1435) and his wife, Philip's sister, three years earlier. The consequence was the Treaty of Arras (1435) which sought to detach Philip from his English alliance and seemed to be consolidated by the joint Franco-Burgundian recovery of Paris in the following year.

A more immediate consequence of Philip the Bold's plans to create a middle kingdom between those of France and the German empire was to put the interests of the Low Countries before those of

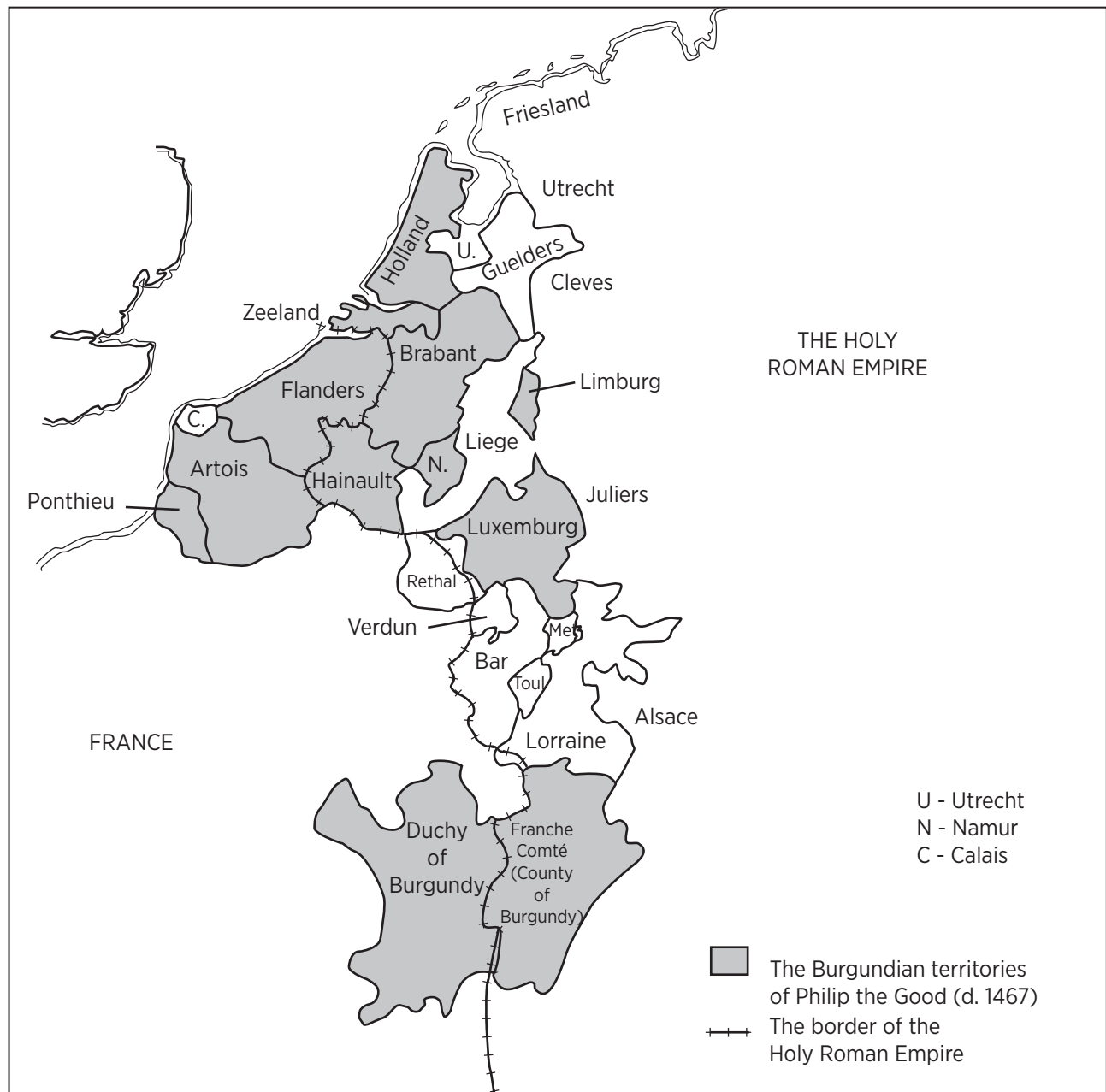


Fig. 70 Burgundian territories of Philip the Good

Burgundy. His French dukedom was relatively extensive but it was more sparsely populated, far less urbanised, and therefore considerably less prosperous than his newly acquired principalities further north. Philip the Bold's upbringing at the Prinsenhof in Ghent had heavily coloured his outlook, but neither he nor his wife subsequently spent much time in Flanders. This changed under his son, John the Fearless and in 1411, John installed his only son Philip, count of Charolais, in Ghent as his personal representative in Flanders.

Philip the Good furthered his grandfather's plan throughout his forty-eight year rule from 1419 to 1467 with his territories shown on the accompanying map. By the mid-fifteenth century, the Burgundian territories were comparable in area to that of England and Wales. They had all been acquired relatively

peacefully, even if some of them were a barely legal diversion of other people's inheritance. Yet they were extremely disjointed. The dukes never acquired the eastern Netherlands of today but they came to control the wealthiest regions of the adjacent areas through their web of dynastic alliances. By bringing together a number of principalities of Gallic and German character and language, John the Fearless and Philip the Good created a new entity in Europe – the Low Countries – united by their vibrant commercial and industrial activity and by a geographical position spanning some of the busiest waterways and estuaries in Europe. That made them one of the leading trade routes of the continent, cultural as well as social and economic, and the most densely populated region of the known world outside northern Italy.¹

Though the Burgundian rulers were French princes, relations with France were tactical, not filial. With the renewal of the Hundred Years War in 1415, Flanders therefore became the centre of much diplomatic activity but it never became a battlefield between the protagonists. After Philip defected to the French following the abortive peace talks at Arras, a Burgundian force from Bruges and Ghent converged on Calais in 1436. They were repulsed and retreated. The trade treaty that followed allowed the unrestricted importation of English wool throughout all Burgundian territories except Flanders. For the next fifty years or so, Philip and Charles the Bold remained on friendly terms with England, particularly as Charles had taken Edward IV's sister as his third wife (1468), gave Edward refuge in Bruges during the brief re-adoption of Henry VI (1470), and joined forces with England in a desultory invasion of France (1475).

Philip the Good ruled for nearly fifty years, mainly during a period of peace for the Low Countries allowing Philip to strengthen centralised power at the expense of regional and localised institutions. And whereas the counts of Flanders had been forced on several occasions to flee to the French court when the larger cities rose against them, Philip the Good and his successors were much more capable of controlling their territories. This was partly through their greater influence and diplomacy, their more substantial resources, and the use of outside professional troops when necessary. In 1465, the diplomat and chronicler, Philippe de Commines described the second half of Philip the Good's reign as a golden age with the populace living at peace, unburdened by heavy taxes and relatively prosperous with the house of Burgundy steeped in riches, Philip was assuredly famous throughout Europe, zealous in his territorial expansion, and the centre of a culturally magnificent court. His revenues outstripped those of the French king but he failed to develop his administrative machinery, allowed Louis XI of France to out-manoeuvre him politically, and pursued the chimera of a crusade to stubborn excess throughout the later years of his life.

Philip the Good died in 1467 leaving a treasure of 400,000 gold crowns, elements of a centralised government, and the foundations of a unified state. Charles the Bold,² perpetually over-confident, sought to continue his father's policy of territorial aggrandisement, but his acquisition of Lorraine (1475) provoked Switzerland to armed confrontation. Their vastly superior numbers resulted in Charles' death on the battlefield outside Nancy. In the absence of a male heir, there was suddenly a power vacuum in Burgundy. The duchy was promptly annexed by Louis XI and absorbed into the French state before his actions could be challenged. To save her territory from French seizure, Charles' only daughter and heiress determinedly followed her father's wishes by marrying the emperor's son, Maximilian of Austria (d.1519). The consequences were a fundamental change in European politics. The dream of a Burgundian empire was essentially crushed.³ The financial and political standing and strength of the central French state was radically enhanced, while the wealthy Low Countries were now caught up with the interests and politics of the Habsburg dynasty.

Notes

1. Estimated at a little over 2.6 million in 1469. W. Prevenier and W. Blockmans, *The Burgundian Netherlands* (1986) 191–92. The absence of any consideration of the ducal residences is a major omission in their study.
2. Charles Le Teméraire is frequently transcribed as ‘Charles the Bold’ though ‘Charles the Rash’ is preferable.
3. It partly survived for a time with the Habsburg dynasty.

CULTURE AT THE EUROPEAN COURTS DURING THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

During the middle ages, many royal residences had become the depository for as lavish a lifestyle as the ruler could afford and sometime well above that limitation. During the fourteenth century, several noble houses in Europe emulated the royal precedent with the French court setting the standard by which others were judged. The medieval royal and ducal residences that survive are sometimes ruined but if still roofed, they stand as little more than stone-walled envelopes, lacking the wall paintings and the essential panoply of furnishings that are too often ignored by architectural historians.

Courts differed in scale but they could exert enormous political influence and promote propaganda interests. A court not only included a group of buildings but also often held an impressive display of expensive objects and was occupied by richly clothed courtiers. During the fourteenth century, particularly after 1350, several such courts existed under the Valois kings and their relatives led by Charles V who collected an impressive library of over 1,200 manuscripts and promoted the tapestry workshops of Paris and Arras.

The papal court at Avignon had also built up a renowned library of over two thousand volumes and had become an artistic crossroad until it became ensnared in Italian politics after its return to Rome in 1376. Outside Italy where the Doge’s court at Venice was pre-eminent, the opening of the fifteenth century saw the imperial court of Charles IV at Prague as the outstanding European court. Centred on his cathedral and castle there and on Karlstein Castle with its rare paintings in their original setting, this imperial court never recovered from being moved to Buda in 1419.

The palm quickly moved to Burgundy which was not only extremely wealthy but was able to draw on the artistic outpouring from the recently acquired Low Countries with the ducal court there serving as a conduit for the pictorial, sculptural, and musical resources of those lands. For the greater part of the century, the dukes stimulated, paraded, and exploited the arts of the lands they ruled, but at the same time they also sought outstanding skills and talents from personnel further afield.

The royal court of France collapsed after 1420 and never recovered as a social and artistic centre until the close of the century. Even so, Paris maintained its artistic position during the 1420s through the regent, John duke of Bedford and his wife, the sister of duke Philip the Good. In Paris, the regent stayed at the Hôtel St Pol and the duke of Burgundy at the Hôtel d’Artois with these two households vying with each other in their opulence. But this ceased in the early 1430s, initially through the death of the duchess of Bedford in 1431 followed by that of her husband three years later, and by the duke changing sides shortly afterwards.

The English court was of little cultural consequence during Henry VI’s extended reign but the second half of Edward IV’s rule was strongly influenced by the monarch’s six-month stay in Bruges. There was a marked revival in court culture, reflecting that of Burgundy which was maintained to a lesser extent by the first of the Tudors.

Until the 1420s, the Burgundian court had been only one of several in France, competing with the brilliance of those of the Valois families of Berry, Anjou, and Orléans. But with the decline of these almost at the same time as that of the royal court, the status of the Burgundian court reigned supreme. The elaborate court and artistic patronage established by Philip the Bold, had been maintained during the early fifteenth century by his son, John the Fearless. But though the sculptors, painters, illuminators, and musicians continued to be patronised, the ducal input lacked the personal enthusiasm that had marked the previous generation.¹

This changed with Philip the Good who achieved a brilliance that outshone all other courts in Europe throughout the mid-fifteenth century. It was a wealthy, brightly-coloured chivalrous society of outstanding magnificence with a range of patronage that surpassed that of any other contemporary ruler.² Under Philip, the ducal centre of patronage shifted from Burgundy to the Netherlands. Dijon continued to maintain artistic workshops but at a regional level. The palm of artistic standards had moved to Bruges, Ghent and Brussels where oil painting, tapestry making, and wood carved altarpieces reached new heights of craftsmanship and popularity across Europe.

This magnificence and luxury was maintained by Charles the Bold during his ten-year rule (1467–77), highlighting the contrast with the more sombre court of his opponent, Louis XI. And, of course, there was not a single ducal court but one for every member of the ducal dynasty – Isabella of Portugal (d.1471), Mary of Burgundy (d.1482) and Margaret of York (d.1503).³ Though the Burgundian court was cosmopolitan in personnel and cultural tone throughout the fifteenth century, it was primarily French in character and behaviour. We are indeed fortunate that so much artistic outpouring has survived – panel paintings, manuscripts, tapestries, and metalwork as well as sculpture, literature and music.⁴ Most of the works of art were not intended for permanent display but were carried from one setting to another. This particularly applied to tapestries, textiles, table and display ware and other items that bolstered the ducal claim to sovereignty and political power.

That so much survives from the Burgundian court points up the paucity of the relevant physical setting. Most of the ducal residences have been destroyed like those at Hesdin or Bruges, reduced to fragments as at Lille, Ghent, or Paris, or incorporated in dominating later structures as at Dijon or Germolles. None of them convey the scale, cultural richness, or the innovations of the Burgundian court while only Germolles hints at the high quality of the internal decoration in the buildings by the finest artists of the time.

Notes

1. R. Vaughan, *John the Fearless* (1966), 233–36.
2. C.A.J. Armstrong, 'The Golden Ages of Burgundy' in A.G. Dickens (ed.) *The Courts of Europe: 1400–1800* (1977) 55–75. J. Huizinga's book, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (1919) still colours the perception of the fifteenth century as a decaying period of European history. Apart from the mistranslation of the title, for 'Autumn' is more accurate than 'Decay' or 'Waning', Huizinga's downbeat approach to his subject is at variance with the vitality of the Burgundian court which forms the core of his study. For this, see O. Cartellier, *The Court of Burgundy* (1929).
3. Two items particularly associated with Margaret of York are a ewer with gilt mounts (c.1470–91) and a small crown. The serpentine stone ewer with its gilt handle and spout in the form of winged dragons is marked by a Mechelen goldsmith (V&A Museum London). The rare crown and its leather case were commissioned by Margaret in c.1474 but not for herself but as a gift to Aachen cathedral where it fits the head of Our Lady there.
4. Some of the royal Burgundian booty, seized after the battles outside Grandson, Murten, and Nancy (1476–77) is held in the Historisches Museum, Berne (particularly textiles). It can be supplemented by contemporary objects in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna and Musea Brugge. For a vivid display of such items, see the exhibition catalogue *Charles the Bold: Splendour of Burgundy* ed. S. Marti et al. (Bruges 2009).

THE DUCAL RESIDENCES

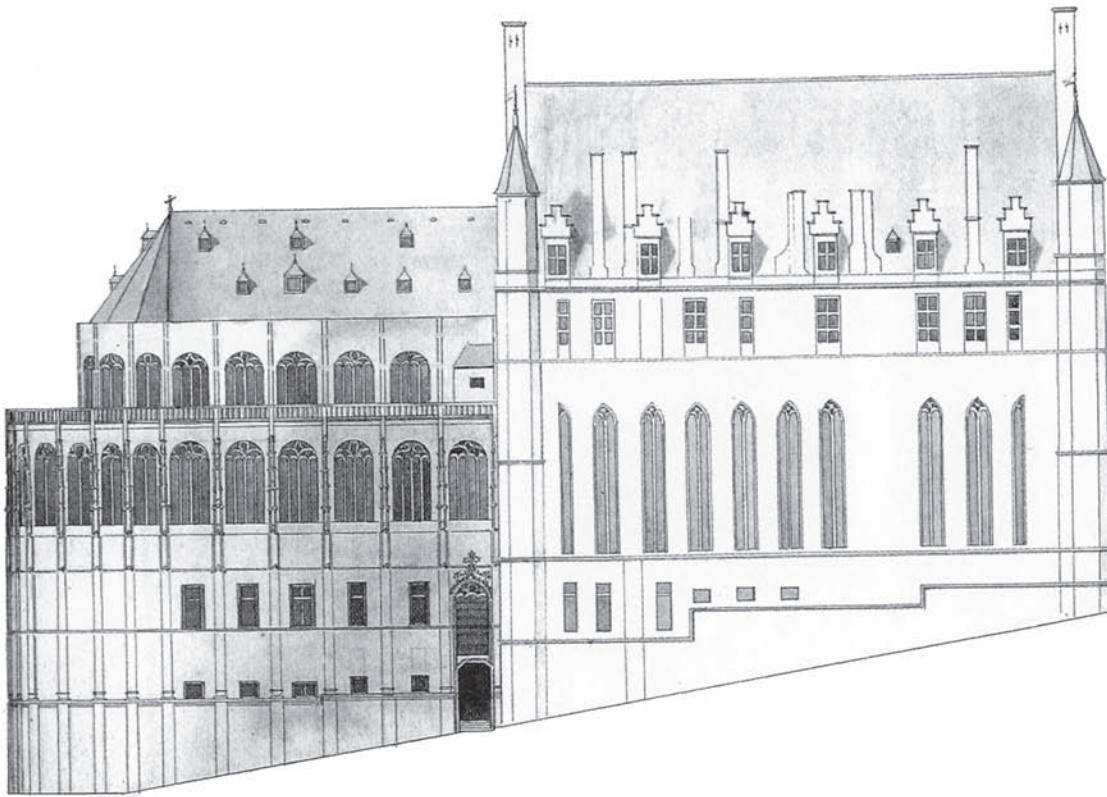
Unlike England, the ruling classes in Flanders and the Netherlands resided in towns and their houses were in urban, not rural settings. The aristocracy had country retreats but their prime residences were in towns and cities. Consequently, for most of the fifteenth century, the Burgundian court and the culture associated with it was centred on those urban locations. Furthermore, their residences were neither castles nor fortified houses but entirely domestic in character. There were no defensive gatehouses, angle towers, machicolated parapets, or gunports – simply a perimeter wall interrupted by an arched entrance with the porter controlling pedestrian and vehicular access.

The structure of the court also determined the scale of the ducal residences. The dukes dined publically and the full court had to be present. The dukes also held public audiences twice a week (usually on Mondays and Fridays) to receive petitions. The ducal household was an extremely large one with his own personal entourage essentially made up of members of the nobility. This was different from the practice of the French and English courts but it meant that there were no major aristocratic revolts in the duchy or in the Low Countries during the fifteenth century. Nor was the court a permanently settled institution but one that moved with the duke wherever he chose to stay. Everything was carried – jewels, tapestries, spices, clothing, musical instruments, and cannons – in a procession of carts that might take weeks to fulfil its peripatetic duty.¹

Though Dijon had initially been the heart of the Burgundian state, Philip the Bold frequently moved the court northwards after his acquisition of Flanders where he took over some of the earlier princely residences. Philip and John the Fearless spent more time in Dijon and Paris than in Flanders but they both deliberately travelled extensively round their estates. Lille was the political, financial, and legal centre for Flanders and Artois and was initially favoured by Philip the Good. Bruges was preferred during the late 1440s until Philip chose Brussels as his favourite residence after the palace at Coudenberg had been enlarged for him after 1450. Brussels was less unruly than Ghent with its turbulent burgesses at war with the duke from 1449 to 1453. Even so, Philip the Good continued to spend some time at Arras, Hesdin, Dijon, and the Hague with no demarcated capital or court centre. That was finally determined by Charles the Bold who chose Mechelen (Malines) for his key institutions as it was central to the Low Countries and had hitherto been ignored by the ducal house.²

John the Fearless favoured Paris but his two successors did not, and the Hôtel d'Artois fell out of favour. The ducal palace at Bruges was the first to be up-dated by Philip the Good with a sequence of improvements from 1441 to 1467. He subsequently enhanced the palace at Dijon with a new residential range and the dominating Tour de la Terrasse between 1450 and 1458, while an entirely new palace was developed at Lille at the Place Rihour between 1453 and 1473 of which only the chapel survives. At the same time, the old ducal residence of the Coudenberg in Brussels was being remodelled with the great hall paid for by the townspeople. Philip was not only concerned that his residences should be spacious and provide a suitable background for court receptions and festivities, but that they should reflect best current building practice. Despite his prodigious vanity and the overwhelming splendour of his court, no such construction activity can be attributed to Charles the Bold at any of the long established ducal residences or at Malines.³

The ducal palace at Coudon Hill (Coudenberg) in Brussels was destroyed by fire in 1731. Its site is very close to the present royal palace completed in Louis XVI style during the late nineteenth century. In 1451, the city had initiated work on a ducal residence for Philip the Good under the direction of the master mason Willem de Voghel with the foundation stone laid a year later. As Brussels hoped that

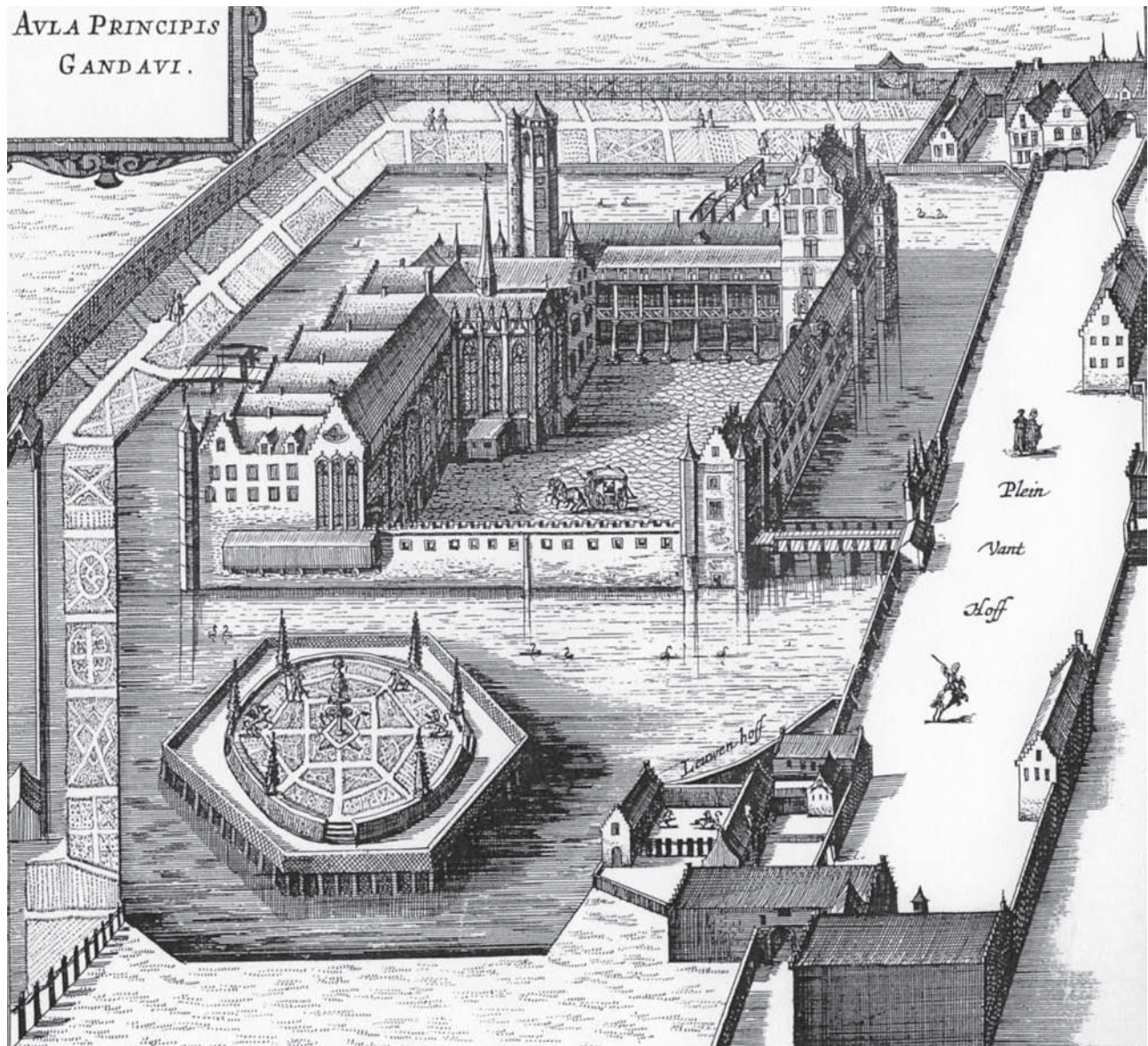


Pl. 117 Brussels, Coudenberg: anonymous eighteenth-century drawing of the great hall and palace chapel

the presence of the duke and his court would benefit the city economically, work on this civic project moved swiftly with near completion by the early 1460s. Its destruction has denied us of one of the major residences of mid-fifteenth century Europe.

Seventeenth and eighteenth century illustrations show that the heart of this palace was an imposing two storeyed hall block above cellars, with an attic floor in the steeply pitched slate roof. This thirty metre-high structure was brick built but stone-faced with octagonal turrets at the corners.⁴ The first floor great hall was 132 feet long and 53 feet wide, lit by extremely tall but narrow traceried windows. Similar in width to the Tinell Hall in Barcelona, the timber roof was of single span unsupported by pillars.⁵ Excavations between 1995 and 2000 discovered evidence of its stone floor, fireplace, and tile stoves.⁶ The kitchen was sited under the hall with the keystones decorated with Philip the Good's personal device of steels, flints and sparks. The royal chapel abutted the lower end of the hall, but the upper end was dominated by the ducal residential tower. With its corner turrets, roof gallery, stepped gables and vast windows lighting the principal apartments, this tower lorded it over the populace in the adjacent square.⁷

The chapel that survives at Lille is the most substantial standing evidence of the ducal residences in the Netherlands. Only an embattled and turreted gateway survives of the Prinsenhof at Ghent and that was an addition of c.1500 but the engraving of 1641 by Antonius Sanderus shows the scale and complexity of this residence.⁸ Unlike the Prinsenhof in Bruges, the Ghent palace was developed round three sides of a single courtyard, was more regular, and was moat enclosed. The principal range was made



Pl. 118 Ghent, Het Prinsenhof: A. Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata* (1641)

up of a chapel, great hall (with extensive glazing) and a residential tower. The great hall was destroyed in 1841 but its complex rib vaulted timber roof was supported on brackets which were adjudged in the mid-nineteenth century to be mid-fifteenth-century work.⁹ It was probably part of the major work in brick by Philip the Good in the 1420s and 1430s. The seventeenth-century engraving also depicts the gallery and arcaded wing on the upper side of the courtyard, a menagerie (bottom right), an island garden, and a jousting yard in front of the palace entrance. Even less evidence stands at Bruges than at Ghent, though the excavations carried out on part of the palace site in 2004 were revealing (see page 343).

These Netherland palaces not only reflected building practice further afield but they also influenced those of princes and nobles in England. Residential towers opening from the upper end of the great hall

had long been the practice in England – from Stokesay in Shropshire via Warkworth in Northumberland to Tattershall in Lincolnshire. Ghent and Bruges were crisscrossed by waterways and canals so that the moats round their palaces took advantage of a local feature for ornamental rather than defensive purposes as had also occurred in England at Shirburn and Bodiam castles. The galleries, though, that are a feature of these Burgundian residences may have influenced the development of those in England. Among the earliest seems to have been that at Hesdin Castle in Artois (pl. 40). Built at the opening of the fourteenth century, this castle was often used by Philip the Good as a summer residence and he may have been responsible for the galleried addition. Similar galleries and arcades occurred at Ghent and Bruges and though nothing remains at any of these three sites, a short one of the 1460s survives at the Gruuthuse Hof in Bruges linking that wealthy merchant's house with the family oratory in the adjacent church of Our Lady. This key element of Burgundian palace architecture may well have stimulated gallery development in England during the second half of the fifteenth century.

Though no more than a shadow survives of these Burgundian ducal residences in the Netherlands, what do survive in abundance are many of the artefacts that helped to make the extremely wealthy courts of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold the height of fashion and culture. That, in turn, significantly contributed to Flanders and Brabant enjoying a peak of cultural and artistic prosperity from the second quarter to the closing years of the fifteenth century, matched only by that in Italy. Philip was dignified, cultured, and skilled in his appointments of both diplomats and administrators. His patronage was extensive and he encouraged others to follow suit so that the relative cultural paucity of the fourteenth-century Netherlands was replaced by an *embarras des riches* that was admired and copied throughout Europe until the collapse of the Burgundian state on the battlefield of Nancy in 1477.¹⁰

Notes

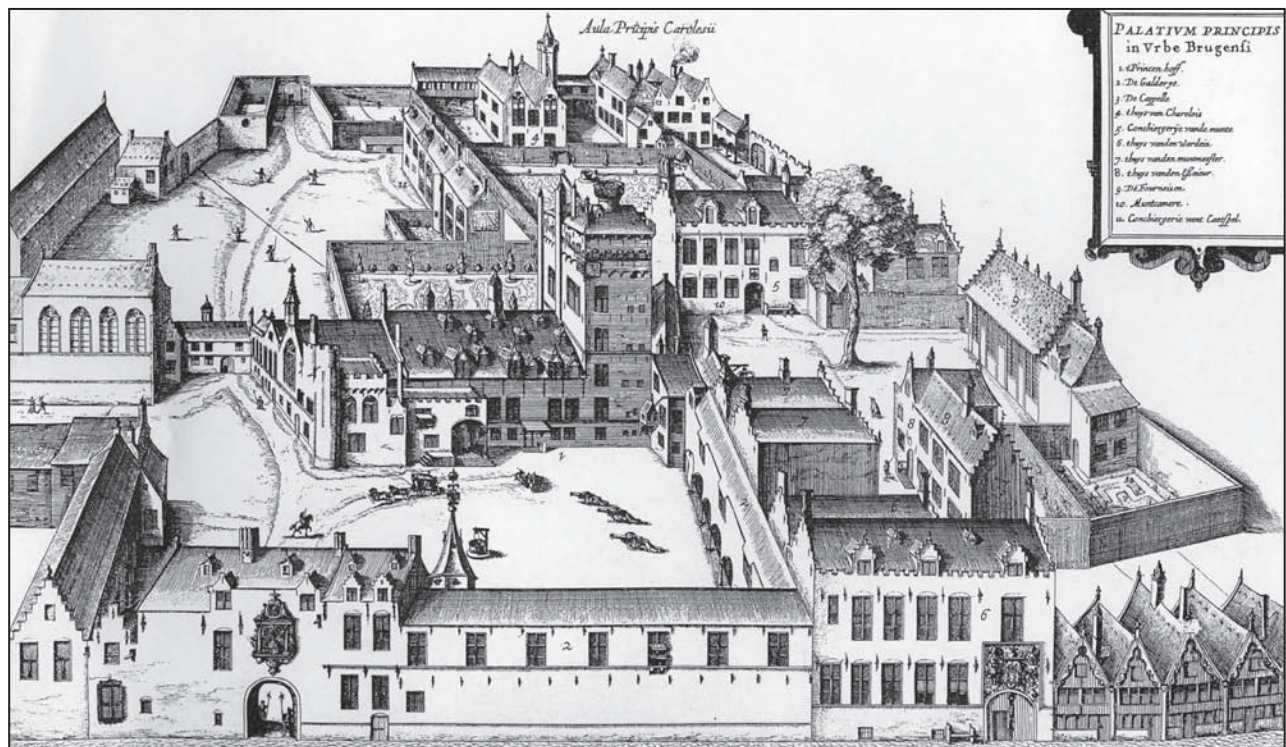
1. R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good* (1970), 142.
2. After the death of Charles the Bold, his wife Margaret of York moved to Mechelen and lived there from 1477 until her death in 1503. The residence built for her by 1480 still stands, close to that built for Margaret of Austria at the beginning of the sixteenth century which mixed brick-built Gothic with early Renaissance decoration (now Law Courts).
3. W. Paravicini, 'Die Residenzen der Herzöge von Burgund, 1363–1477' in H. Pataze & W. Paravicini (eds) *Fürstliche Residenzen im spätmittelalterlichen Europa* (1991), 207–63.
4. A.J.L. Van de Walle, *Gothic Art in Belgium* (1971), 32 and plate 17. Ed. S. Marti *et al.*, Exhibition Catalogue, *Charles the Bold, Splendour of Burgundy* (2009), 178.
5. A. Henne and A. Wauters, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles*, vol. 3 (1845), 318–29.
6. Ed. S. Marti *et al.*, Exhibition Catalogue, *Charles the Bold. Splendour of Burgundy* (2009), 178–9. The evidence is held in the Musée de la ville de Bruxelles.
7. Copenhagen State Archives: Sketch of Baliënhof, Brussels, in *Spanske Nederlands* which depicts the entrance range abutting the ducal tower.
8. A. Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata* (1641).
9. A. Van Lokeren, La Cour du Prince à Gand, 1231–1835, in *Messenger des sciences historiques de Belgique* (1841), 42.
10. S. Marti, T. Borchert, G. Kerk, *Charles the Bold. Splendour of Burgundy*. Exhib. Catalogue (2009).

BRUGES, THE PRINSENHOF

The ducal palaces at Brussels, Ghent, and Bruges do not survive. We are therefore missing a group of the most opulent residences developed in northwest Europe during the later middle ages. However, the bird's eye views of the Prinsenhof in Bruges by Marcus Gerards (1562) and particularly those of Bruges and Ghent by Antonius Sanderus (1641) provide a detailed picture of their former splendour. Much of the ducal palace survived at Bruges until the early nineteenth century when its destruction began in earnest to be replaced by a mid-century residence that was extended in 2005 into an opulent hotel. This last development provided an opportunity for part of the site to be excavated, though this was necessarily outside the existing structures which lay over the heart of the ducal palace.

From the first, the residences at Bruges, Ghent and Brussels were built within the townships. That at Bruges was begun by the count of Flanders in about 1300, probably close to the site of the later palace. Documentation suggests that this was developed substantially for the count during the last quarter of the fourteenth century and that it included the whole of the area later occupied by the palace.¹ It was less formal in its layout than the palace at Ghent with development round several courtyards suggestive of piecemeal expansion. Records show that the core structures of the site date from this time. These consisted of the great hall flanked by the chapel at its lower end and a domestic tower at its upper end. These three units, brilliantly depicted in the Sanderus engraving, were subsequently remodelled but always formed the heart of the site. During this late fourteenth-century phase, a sewer was also constructed across the outer and western court which was revealed by the excavators in 2004.

Early in the fifteenth century, the count's residence became that of the dukes of Burgundy and was particularly favoured by Philip the Good and his granddaughter Mary of Burgundy. They both died in this palace² which was less favoured by Charles the Bold. It continued to be used sporadically by



Pl. 119 Bruges, the Prinsenhof: A. Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata* (1641)

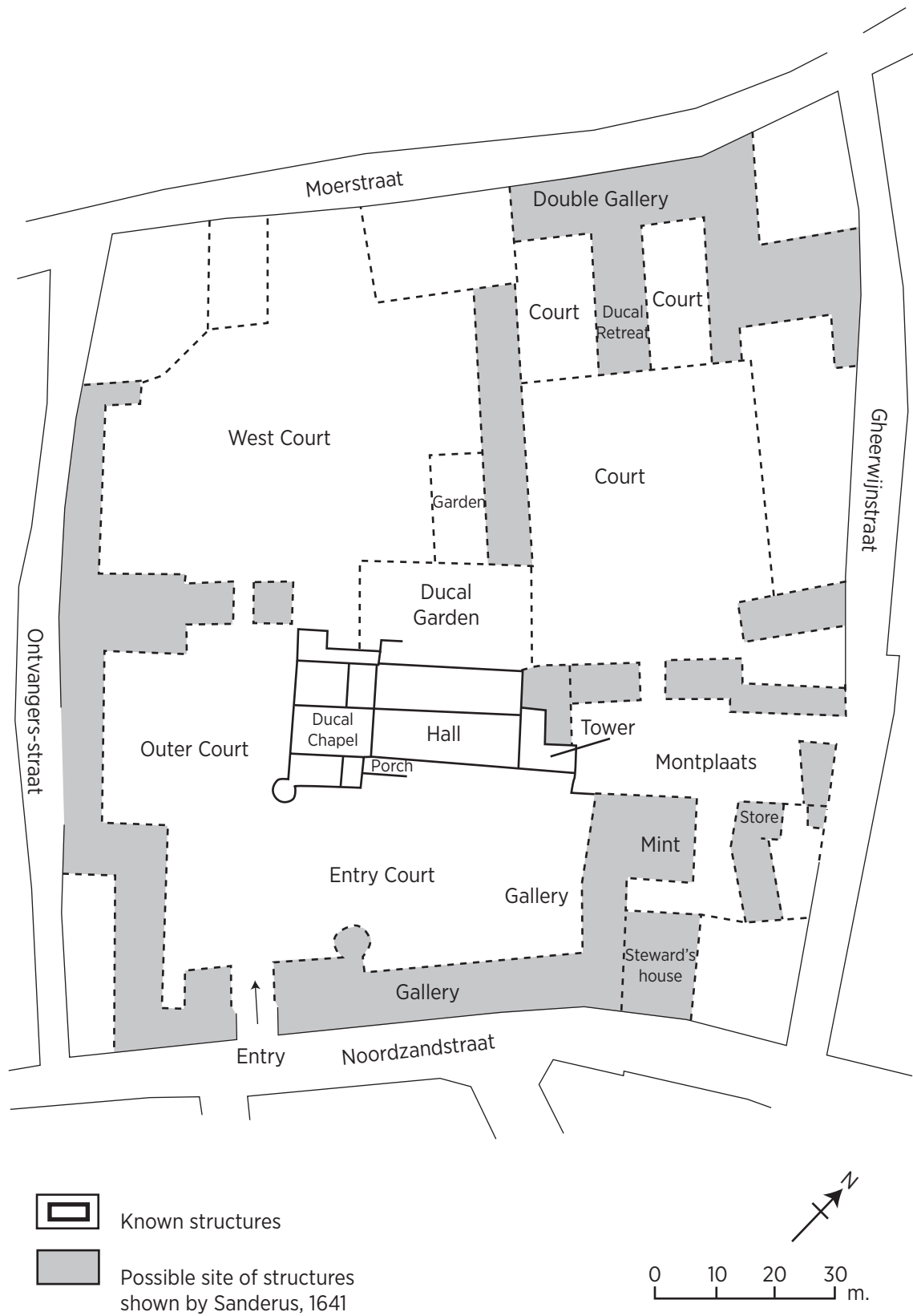


Fig. 71 Bruges, the Prinsenhof: site plan

the Habsburgs until the property was sold in 1649. The majority of the buildings continued to survive until the beginning of the nineteenth century when their destruction accelerated.

The palace attained its maximum splendour under Philip the Good. The entrance on Noordzand Street was not an embattled gatehouse but a simple arch (with the ducal arms above) in a two storeyed block with attic rooms. It opened into the outer court which may have been separated at first from the entry court, lined on two sides by two storeyed ranges with an open ground floor arcade and galleries above. Part of these ranges abutted the ducal mint. The palace, attributed to the late fourteenth century, lined the fourth side of the court. Steps in the porch led to the first floor hall above a low basement. To its rear was a parallel but separately roofed block of ducal apartments. The six-storeyed residential tower at the dais end of the hall was lit by windows of increasing size towards the decorated roof which rose from a corbel-supported gallery. The low end of the hall was made up of three parallel units with the principal rooms on the upper floor – two oratories, the central ducal chapel, and three rooms (lobby, chapel, and large garderobe!) with a rear corridor leading from this complex to the ducal apartments. By Sanderus' time, most of the palace windows were square-headed but those of the chapel and oratories retained their Gothic form. Though the chapel complex was two storeyed, its parallel blocks and generous windows were not unlike those of the still standing Hospital of St John in Bruges. Beyond the main residence was a private garden and buildings round several courts for guests, courtiers, and servants. There was a menagerie with exotic animals, and the Hôtel Charolais, a personal residence and retreat for the duke at the rear of the site.

Philip the Good was responsible for a sequence of improvements to the palace between 1441 and 1467 including the badhuis or lodging (1441–46) and gallery range (1446–49) to the rear of the site, alterations to the hall porch of the palace (1446–48), the chapel complex (1448–52) and the tower apartments (1456–59) and the entry court gallery (1467).³ The four streets that formed the boundaries of the site have survived to the present day, though the ducal buildings did not extend to the corners of the site. Some of the properties still lining the palace side incorporate elements that were part of the perimeter buildings of the ducal palace.

Records show that the palace was richly furnished, witnessed great feasts and entertainment, and was the background for the display and splendour of the princely court. Yet the excavations in 2004 were barren of material evidence of the Burgundian era, revealing neither crockery, food, nor refuse evidence. The material that was discovered related to the Habsburg period when the site had passed its glory. This may be a consequence of the excavations being limited to the garden area or possibly to a deliberate policy of removing all rubbish.

Notes

1. B. Hillewaert and E. Van Besien, *Het Prinsenhof in Brugge* (2007), 15–16.
2. The richly decorated tombs of Philip the Good and Mary (c.1477 and c.1482) are in the church of Our Lady, Bruges.
3. The Gruuthuse Hof, a much restored fifteenth-century mansion in Bruges, is indicative of the character of some of this work. Originally a warehouse, the Gruuthuse was rebuilt as a luxury courtyard residence. The river wing with its great gable and high quality brick tracery, was built by John of Alst in c.1425. His grandson, Louis van Gruuthuse (c.1442–92) added the substantial entrance block at right angle to it during the 1460s. Louis became governor of Bruges, governor of Holland and Friesland and in 1470, received Edward IV of England who stayed here some months. Sanderus' engraving of 1641 in *Flandria Illustrata* shows the west range, since destroyed, that completed the quadrangular enclosure. Little original internal work survives apart from the kitchen, but the famous first floor oratory in the church of Our Lady and the corridor – a miniature gallery – linking it to the house was added in 1472. Like an opera box, it should be compared with that erected for Edward IV in St George's Chapel, Windsor.

LILLE, RIHOUR PALACE

The marriage of Margaret of Flanders to Philip the Bold in 1363 ensured that the wealthy town of Lille would become one of the capitals of the ever-growing Burgundian state. This was particularly so under Philip the Good when the initial residence of sixteen cramped rooms proved too small for the scale of his court. The hall was inadequate for ceremonial occasions¹ while many of the rooms had been taken over by the administrative departments that followed in the wake of this residence becoming the financial centre of the dukedom.

The Place Rihour in Lille marks the site of the palace but the chapel is the only part of the complex to have survived. It is also the only building to have survived erected by Philip the Good. It was begun in 1453 and completed twenty years later by his son Charles the Bold, six years after his father's death. In 1664, the municipality bought the property for use as the town hall, three years before Louis XIV successfully besieged the city and made it part of France. The chapel continued its municipal function until it was accidentally burnt down in 1916. Restored in 1920, it is now used as the Tourist Information Office for Lille.

The contract of 1453 was for rebuilding the palace in stone. However, the remnant that survives uses brick as much as stone. It was no longer considered an inferior material (as witness its increasing use for high status building in England), but though the duke was adamant that this residence should be in stone, considerable use was made of the alternative. Finished in 1473, this urban palace dominated a town of essentially wooden houses. Much of the palace was demolished in the mid-nineteenth century including a tower which was still standing when the earliest photographs were taken. It should be compared with the ducal residential towers in other Burgundian palaces rather than with John the Fearless' Tower of 1409–11 in Paris.

This two storeyed chapel closed off the main courtyard of the palace which has been replaced by the shops, offices, and road network of central Lille. Now a stand-alone structure, the ground floor is essentially brick built and the upper floor is of stone terminating in a three sided apse. The ground floor is a vaulted undercroft and the chapel above is supported by buttresses decorated with triple crocketed pinnacles. The structure has been subject to three additions. The first was the twin gabled side chapel of c.1470 projecting from its north face. The second was the refenestration of the chapel stair in 1665, and the third was the war memorial of 1914–18 abutting the chapel's south face.

The smaller of the two adjacent doorways accesses the undercroft with the larger one opening on to the chapel stair. The three bay undercroft of the same area as the chapel above is divided by a row of central columns into two aisles with a doubling of the columns towards the apse. The capitals are plain as are the moulded vault ribs which descend unbroken to form wall columns. The room is lit by replacement



Pl. 120 Lille, Rihour Palace: chapel

square-headed oblong windows with window seats. The undercroft is a plain but not unattractive room.

The rectangular stair to the chapel is a sequence of short flights, lit by much altered windows. Each flight is surmounted by a ribbed vault of three bays with half bays to the windows and doorways. The corbels are much damaged but there is no overt evidence of ducal coats of arms or badges.

The chapel is 64 feet by 34 feet and about 40 feet high to the apex of the vault. The lower walling is filled with a line of recessed stone bays with much damaged representations of fire steels and fenced gardens in the spandrels. The fire steel, like a curlicued letter B, was modelled on the pieces of metal used to make sparks. Since 1419, it had been Philip the Good's personal device. The garden enclosed by a wattle fence was the emblem of Philip's third wife, Isabella of Portugal (m.1430, d.1471). All the windows are devoid of their original form and tracery except for one which has been restored on the basis of original fragments. It is divided into four trefoil lights with a traceried head of mouchettes.² The east window was an oculus above what is now an infilling of brick. The vault is of three bays with more complex ribbing above the altar. As in the undercroft, the ribs rise uninterrupted from low bases. The absence of carved roof bosses underlines the chapel's lack of decorative panache. Only the piscina with its decorative band of vine leaves and bunches of grapes reflects its original purpose.

Considering the flamboyance of Philip the Good and his son, this chapel barely hints at the opulence of the courts it served. This is as much the consequence of the chapel's turbulent history as its functional use throughout the nineteenth century. Even so, the two buildings materials are not combined harmoniously (and made worse by subsequent brick infilling) while the chapel vaulting is unimaginative and awkward where the apse meets the body of the chapel.

Notes

1. The most extravagant of all fifteenth century court banquets in Europe is generally considered to be the Feast of the Pheasant held at Lille in February 1454 when Philip the Good announced his intention of going on a crusade and which dominated his thoughts for the rest of his life. R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good* (1970), 143–45.
2. The north chapel with its upper chamber retains its original window tracery and figured glass in its east window.

OLHAIN CASTLE

As castles are relatively sparse in north-east France, the survival of a Burgundian fortress in the industrial region of Bethune and Douai is unexpected. Furthermore, Olhain Castle was developed by a leading courtier of the duke of Burgundy and the king of France during the early fifteenth century and therefore merits consideration.

The site takes advantage of a valley stream to stand on two islands so that both courtyards are moat enclosed and still drawbridge approached. The larger oval-shaped base court is a particularly complete example of an outer enclosure dating back to the thirteenth century. The much repaired ten feet high curtain wall is interrupted by a single round tower and a replacement gateway of 1830. The courtyard interior is encircled by mainly single storey ranges of nineteenth-century character with high pitched tiled roofs. These and similar structures here have been used for farm purposes (stables, offices, and wash-houses) since at least the seventeenth century and probably earlier.

The origins of the inner court on the smaller island are also thirteenth century but the principal structure is an early fifteenth century rebuild, dominated by a formidable entrance frontage of a broad



Pl. 121 Olhain Castle:
outer court

central block relieved only by the tall beam slots for the drawbridge. It is flanked at each end by a forward-thrusting round tower. Both are three storeyed with renewed conical roofs but the larger tower has gunports and a machicolated head. This tower holds a basement, a raised ground floor with fireplace, garderobe, and a rib-vaulted ceiling, and a first floor chamber with similar features (though only the vault core survives exposing the roof framing above). The smaller tower is essentially similar though the ground and first floor were opened up to form a chapel in 1823.

The two storey inner courtyard ranges are basically of similar date, stone-built externally with similar machicolated corbels of reverse pyramid form (as at Caister Castle) and three square towers. One was a postern tower and one was destroyed in 1658. The ranges were brick-faced to the courtyard during the seventeenth century.

The castle was initially developed by Hugh of Olhain, a crusading knight in c.1200. By 1387, it had passed to John of Nielles (d.1423) an extremely capable administrator. From about 1390, he was the finance minister to John the Fearless and subsequently to Charles VI of France. Partially destroyed during the Hundred Years War, the castle was rebuilt in 1407–09 by John of Nielles who was responsible for the smaller entry tower. The larger one was built by his son-in-law, Beaudoin of Lannay, before his death in 1433.

Olhain Castle is an excellent example of Burgundian architecture developed after Artois had been taken into ducal hands. Defence was still an issue and is particularly seen to be so from the south side. This should be compared with the illustration of a similar view opposite f.90v of the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* of c.1410–20. But the buildings round the outer court make it a rare survival comparable with the contemporary outer court at Tarascon Castle. At Olhain, its current farming function is more akin to its late medieval purpose and which was more relevant to an officer of a ducal household than to the semi-royal household at Tarascon.

Notes

1. P. Seydoux, *Forteresses médiévales du Nord de la France* (1979) 93–103.

THE DUCHY OF BRITTANY

THE MAINTENANCE OF DUCAL AUTHORITY

Throughout the fifteenth century, Brittany continued to be an independent fief that was neither economically wealthy nor militarily strong. It recognised the French king's sovereignty but the dukes were equally anxious to maintain good relations with England, particularly as it was a valuable trading customer.

The working relationship between the ducal house and the nobility that had been established during the closing years of the fourteenth century continued throughout the following one, though some lords sought to assert their independence. This could turn to civil war as when duke John V (1399–1442) was captured in 1420 by the Clisson family and held captive for a few weeks. Even so, the nobility gradually accepted an over-riding ducal authority as a consequence of government participation at a time of their straightened finances.

During the early fifteenth century, the dukes consolidated their position as independent princes and maintained an autonomous neutral position in Anglo-French relations.¹ After the conclusion of the Hundred Years Wars, the relations with France changed with the dukes pursuing domestic and foreign policies regardless of the wishes of the French crown. Their attitude, particularly that of duke Francis II (1458–88) was underlined by the building or strengthening of a second line of defence that included the castles at Montfort-sur-Meu, Châteaugiron, and Clisson, the town walls at Rennes, Malestroit and Redon, and the castles and walls at Dinan.

Throughout the later middle ages, the dukes were keen to foster a regional identity and in this, they were more successful than their Burgundian and Angevin colleagues. Appeals to Parisian courts were kept to a minimum, the duchy had its own *parlement*, and the duke held wide legislative powers that were always at the service of the duchy rather than any distant sovereign. There was a growth in ducal ceremony, diplomatic contacts were maintained across Europe and sufficient financial resources were available to protect the borders and coastline of the duchy with up-to-date defences. There is little doubt that the later dukes of Brittany pursued policies which were intended to create an independent state within France. However, that dream was quashed by the Franco-Breton war of 1487–88.

For many years, disaffected French courtiers had fled to the relative safety of the ducal court. There, some of them who were supporters of the duke of Burgundy formed a pressure group, while a second group preferred help from England. A third group, centred round the many Breton nobles at court sought to attach themselves to the king of France. Matters came to a head with the senility of duke Francis

II. Civil war broke out with the armed support of Charles VIII who won a conclusive victory in 1488 (battle of Saint-Aubin-du-Cormier). His marriage in 1491 to duchess Anne of Brittany (1488–1514) meant that Brittany's days of independence were numbered. Within forty years, this marriage achieved what field battles had not – the total absorption of Brittany into the kingdom of France.

Notes

1. As Henry IV took over the earldom of Richmond in 1399, the dukes lost their personal interest in English affairs.

DUCAL AND SEIGNEURIAL DEFENCES

With the English occupation of Normandy and Maine, duke John V (1399–1422) sought to strengthen his eastern frontier from marauding forces. In 1420, he confiscated Clisson Castle from the constable's grandson and gave it to his younger brother, Richard of Étampes. As he was the father of duke Francis II (1458–88), the castle continued to stay in ducal hands when it was doubled in size with an outer court of artillery protected towers (1463–77).

The defences of Rennes were upgraded from 1422, the great keep was added to the castle at St Malo in 1424, while Fougères was acquired from the Count of Alençon in 1428 and its defences were strengthened with bastions from c.1480. Vitré similarly benefitted from ducal initiatives after 1428 while the defences at Coatquen were given artillery protection in 1439–45 as they were at Guingamp (1443–54). The defences of the ducal castle at Brest were upgraded in the 1460s and those enclosing the town of Nantes were subjected to an extended programme from 1444 to 1480 when the no longer surviving gates, towers, and walls were all rebuilt or re-enforced. The defences at St Malo including several angle towers and the twin towered Grand Porte were given artillery protection while the twin frontal bastions were added by duke Francis II and duchess Anne respectively (see fig. 18).

As the duchy became more settled towards the close of the Middle Ages, the lesser nobility came to prefer fortified houses. They were usually centred on a two or three storeyed residential range (*corps de logis*), well-windowed and usually marked by a prominent stair turret. The frontal courtyard enclosure also protected the associated outhouses, services, and barns. As in Normandy, there are more fifteenth and sixteenth century manor houses in Brittany than earlier castles, but those in Brittany are almost universally built of the local dark granite stone.

Trécesson, built by duke John V's treasurer, is a fine quadrangular example of 1440–50 with the moat and turreted gatehouse protecting the residential ranges and chapel. Kérouzéré was built by Jean de Kérouzéré, seneschal of Morbis and John V's chamberlain. The house was near the sea and therefore vulnerable to raids. Licensed in 1453, the *corps de logis* was flanked by two machicolated towers. The south front is incomplete but its tower stands three storeys high. With its stone stair accessing the three floors, Kérouzéré still presents a formidable aspect, the bold assertion of prestige, wealth, and status that came from close association with the ducal family and the prosecution of its policies in the fifteenth century¹

Though there were rebuildings during the second half of the fifteenth century that reflected the more domestic style of the Loire valley castles, duke Peter II (1450–57) and his successor, Francis II were



Pl. 122 La Roche-Jagu Manor

more concerned with the state of the long-established castles within the duchy. They urged their owners to repair and maintain them in good order. Whereas the French kings were becoming more keen on domestic comfort, Brittany re-appraised the efficiency of its defences and introduced extensive artillery protection.

The incorporation of Brittany into France after 1491 removed the need for expensive defences. From this time onwards, multi-windowed show fronts were raised at Josselin, Blain, and Beaumanoir near Ervran. Duke Francis II followed by duchess Anne showed the way at their part-fortress, part-palace at Nantes (1466–91) influenced by royal practice in the Loire valley. Some lesser castles, particularly those of the interior were dismantled, though the defences of the coastal ports were maintained for they were as necessary to the kings of France as they had previously been to the dukes of Brittany.

Notes

1. M. Jones (1988) *The Defence of Medieval Brittany* in *The Creation of Brittany* (1988) 53. The more easily visited La Roche-Jagu (Pl. 122), as early as 1405, is a more open domestic example with its defensive elements subservient to the three-storeyed residential range.

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NANTES CASTLE

Nantes Castle was the swansong of the dukes of Brittany. It was redeveloped during the later fifteenth century by duke Francis II as his premier residence and was completed by his daughter, duchess Anne. Francis II made Nantes the capital of Brittany¹ with the castle purposed to defend the independence of the duchy. It stands at a crossroad – physically at the junction of Brittany with Anjou and architecturally between the border fortresses of Brittany and the Renaissance châteaux of the Loire Valley.

The site is encircled by a frowning curtain wall rising from the moat, interrupted by boldly projecting bastions.² The large courtyard holds the ducal palace and several later structures. Though the castle is externally imposing with a striking gatehouse, the inner courtyard and its buildings are a disappointment. The ducal palace has been so stripped internally over the centuries that its present museum function illustrating the story of the city's turbulent history is entirely appropriate.

In 1459, Francis II moved his administration, treasury, chancellery, and council permanently to Nantes and now spent much of his time here. At the same time, he began the reconstruction of the town walls and their towers from 1459 to 1468, followed by his reconstruction of the castle. Work was initiated in 1466 under the direction of Francis' master-mason, Mathurin Rodier who also worked for Francis at Clisson Castle. The entrance towers, the Jacobin Tower and the further four towers marking the circuit of the castle as well as the *Grand Logis* were constructed between 1472 and 1488. The contrast between a formidable exterior and an elegant residence internally was a determinant from the building's inception. This was maintained by duchess Anne after Francis' death in 1488 with the *Grand Gouvernement* building abutting the gatehouse towers. Though Anne married Charles VIII in 1491 and then Louis XII in 1499, she remained the sovereign of Brittany and frequently spent time here as to some extent did her successors up to Louis XIV. Louis XII married Anne in the castle chapel, and it was from here that the Edict of Nantes was signed putting an end to religious strife in France (1598). Nevertheless, it was in its earliest days that the castle reached its apogee as a sumptuous and liberal centre of court life in France.

Defences

The tributary of the river Loire which encircled the walls on three sides of the site was infilled during the early twentieth century. The replacement moat is a token gesture to its predecessor. The two entrance towers are more like bastions with a machicolated parapet crowing the first floor level. The bands of contrasting stonework (black and grey tufa), the ducal arms on each tower, and the blind traceried corbels give dignity to the towers. The roofs over the wall-walks now support the gabled wings of duchess Anne's



Pl. 123 Nantes Castle: entrance towers

residential block backing on to the entry towers. Internally, a broad stair rises from the vaulted basement to the roof with rooms little different from those at the earlier castle at Suscinio. Graffiti indicate that one of these rooms was used as a prison.

The nearby Jacobin Tower gives a clearer idea of the original internal form. The walls are fifteen feet thick and the vaulted ground floor has fireplace and window seats. The first floor is rib vaulted with ducal coat of arms on the central boss. Even the window recess is vaulted for the rooms at Nantes are pointing to a more dominating residential purpose than before. Outside these three towers, the other bastions have lost any roof protection in favour of artillery platforms for, following the annexation of Brittany by France, the castle continued to function as a citadel.



Pl. 124 Nantes Castle: the contrasting palace ranges

Palace

The ducal palace is made up of two residential blocks, separated midway by a projecting stair turret, the Couronne d'Or. No attempt has been made to reinstate the early interiors which suffered badly from military occupation between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. They have been subject to so many alterations that although some original elements survive, the internal spaces are better purposed for museum displays that span thirty-two rooms. The pattern of thick walls, shuttered four-light windows, fireplaces, latrines, and beamed ceilings can still be seen but not the original internal layout or room function.

There are two exceptions. The ground floor reception hall retains its vaulting with a central pier and two end wall fireplaces. The prominent angle stair turret has two separate staircases. The larger one for the duke and duchess linked to their apartments, while the smaller stair was for staff use. The principal stair terminates in a palm tree head with numerous ribs rising from the walls. It also gives on to one of the two decorated loggias overlooking the courtyard. They were a new architectural feature, introduced from Italy, for viewing or being viewed. Shortly afterwards, such stairs would be totally opened up as at Blois and Châteaudun.

Notes

1. Today, Nantes is the capital of the Loire-Atlantique region.
2. The early thirteenth-century castle at Nantes of Guy of Thouars, Count of Nantes, was strengthened with four polygonal towers in the fourteenth century with the single survivor, altered in the fifteenth century, now called 'the old keep'.

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THE DUCHY OF AQUITAINE

THE COLLAPSE OF ENGLISH GOVERNMENT

The duchy of Aquitaine was far more distant from the heart of the English campaigns in northern France during the fifteenth century than in the previous one. This was partly because there was no repetition of the devastating *chevauchées* that Gaunt and others had led, but also because the kingdom of Bourges served as a barrier separating the duchy from the English kingdom of France. The duchy therefore, tended to take a back seat in discussions on how to defend Normandy and its other French territories. The Western Gascons continued to support the English but the Eastern Gascons were more active in supporting the French.

Aquitaine was at its maximum area in the 1360s but had shrunk considerably since then. During Charles VI's reign and the earlier years of his successor, the fluctuating position of the border depended upon the strength and determination of the French or the Anglo-Gascon forces they faced. Under Henry V and Bedford, military action lay north of the Loire so that the financial and military needs of Aquitaine became of secondary consideration to those of Normandy and the English kingdom of France. Unlike the fourteenth century, no English king and hardly any royal duke commanded an army in Aquitaine in the fifteenth century. The nearest blood relative to the crown was descended through the illegitimate Beaufort line when John Beaufort, earl of Somerset was appointed lieutenant and captain general in 1443. He promptly snubbed the authority of the duke of York as lieutenant-general of Normandy, never crossed the Loire, dissipated his forces and returned home in disgrace.

By far the greatest number of beneficiaries of English rule were the Gascon nobles and their retinues, helped by English men-at-arms on short-term contracts. Yet during the closing stages of the war as French attacks became more spirited, supported by the presence of Charles VII in 1438 and 1442, some Gascons turned increasingly to the French to safeguard their lands. Even so, many Gascons retained their fidelity to the crown of England, even though it could be against their own material interests. However, French success at the battle of Castillon in 1453 and the subsequent capitulation of Bordeaux brought three hundred years of English occupation to an end. What had begun in the 1330s as a legal dispute between lord and vassal over the sovereignty of this duchy had finally been resolved with the evacuation of all English troops throughout France except for those left defending the port of Calais.

SCOTLAND

THE RE-ASSERTION OF ROYAL AUTHORITY

At the opening of the fifteenth century, the authority of the crown in Scotland had become little more than that of a passive magnate with the kingdom dominated by the energy and opportunism of the forceful duke of Albany in the centre and north-east, and by the powerful fourth earl of Douglas (1400–24) in the south. By controlling Scotland's border with England, politically and militarily, the house of Douglas had established a pivotal role for itself in the politics and territorial structure of the kingdom. Scotland's other frontier was an internal one, separating off the north-west highland and island region which became the least politically integrated and the most obstreperous area for several centuries.

This collapse of royal authority in the face of over-mighty subjects was tackled by James I (1406–37) after his return in 1424 from eighteen years of English captivity. During the next thirteen years, he was determinedly ruthless against his Stewart relatives to safeguard his own position and that of the crown. The result was their total destruction. The young James II (1437–60) supported by his loyal chancellor, the bishop of St Andrews, overthrew the mighty family of Douglas in 1455 after killing the 8th earl with his own hands in Stirling Castle (1452) and defeating his heir in battle. This king excelled his father in his appropriations.

The early years of James III's rule (1460–88) were not unsuccessful and included a treaty with England (1474). But the king's preference for low-born counsellors upset the ever-critical though divided magnates. Personally unpopular, the king's increasingly bitter relationship with the earls culminated in two of them leading the rising that led to his death. James IV (1488–1513) was particularly skilful in his dealings with the truculent magnates and even tackled, though he was unable to resolve, the problems of the quasi-independent lords of the highlands and islands.

The fluctuating relationship between the crown and the great appanages in France was paralleled in Scotland, albeit on a smaller scale but in the fifteenth century these rivalries and conflicts were exacerbated by the extremely unfortunate sequence of royal minorities that encouraged the plotting and violence of ambitious magnates. James I was an English prisoner between the ages of twelve and thirty while his four successors were all minors when they succeeded to the throne. James II was 6, James III was 8, James IV was 15 and James V was 1. Meanwhile, English attacks – periodic warfare as well as cross border raids – were a running sore for much of the southern half of the kingdom and they were not stilled until the middle of the sixteenth century.

France and Scotland still looked to each other for support culminating in over 6,000 Scotsmen sailing

across the North Sea in 1419 to fight the English on French soil. Their value was initially confirmed by the victory at Baugé (1421) but it was followed by an overwhelming defeat at Verneuil three years later. The deaths of the earls of Buchan and Douglas (duke of Touraine for a few months) among the many Scotsmen on that field demonstrated the penalties of venturing abroad. The lesson was initially taken to heart by James I who, though nominally captive in England, had been sent by Henry V to support his successful campaigns at Melun (1420) and Dreux (1421). Verneuil also rid James of two of the leading power-brokers in his kingdom. But he became too fickle in his dealings with France after the tide turned in favour of that country at Arras in 1435. Charles VII sought an alliance with Scotland to be sealed by the marriage between his eldest son and James' daughter. In parallel with this coup, James began to prepare an attack on English property to bolster his status on the international stage. The siege of Roxburgh Castle in August 1436 was a fiasco. James retreated ignominiously against a boldly-led English force, initiating a loss of authority that led directly to his murder six months later. That event intrigued Europe as much as the murder of the duke of Burgundy had horrified the continent nearly twenty years earlier. Scotland should have learnt not to become embroiled in French politics, either of royal or ducal persuasion.

Scotland had long maintained cordial relations with Burgundy so that James II's suggestions in 1449 that he should marry the duke of Guelders' daughter was encouraged by Philip the Good. As Mary of Guelders was Philip's great-niece, he financed the marriage and provided her dowry. James III pursued a more belligerent vision of European fame by leading an army into Brittany and Guelders during the 1470s, but this came to naught, and his single minded pursuit of a permanent peace with England proved so unpopular in Scotland that the king was abandoned to his fate on the battlefield of Sauchieburn (Stirling) fighting against his own subjects.

The span of English invasions throughout the fourteenth century helped to develop the concept of a Scottish kingdom and nationhood. Unfortunately, the kings of Scotland did little to encourage a national identity, establish a royal centre for the monarchy, or bind their subjects to a divinely ordained or hereditary monarch. The Stewart kings never claimed ancient or mythical ancestry but emphasised the fact that they were of recent origin as a family of household stewards. Except for a number of politically motivated magnates, local and personal ties were far stronger than national ones. The royal court hardly bore comparison with that of the English crown and on several occasions, particularly during the minorities, there was no royal court. Edinburgh did not become the seat of royal government and therefore the capital of Scotland until the reign of James III. Before then, David II had favoured Edinburgh Castle as his prime residence, while Robert II and III had preferred the Dominican friary at Perth and neighbouring religious foundations. James I reversed that pattern. James II divided his time between Stirling, Edinburgh, and Perth, while James III favoured Edinburgh. It was not until the advent of the more perspicacious and successful rule of James IV that the Scottish court became an important centre for patronage and culture that could compete with those of European monarchs. This is particularly reflected in the sequence of royal residences that James IV and his son developed and which mark a swaggering peak in Scottish secular architecture.

ROYAL BUILDING ACTIVITY

Upon his return from captivity in England in 1424, James I found that the crown lands had been severely depleted leaving little beyond the Stewart patrimony of Bute, Ayrshire, and the region around the Firth of Clyde. Even the main royal castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dunbarton had been handed over to magnate keepers, the Stewart and Douglas families, who challenged James for control of the kingdom. The death of Douglas and the forfeiture of the earldoms of Fife and Menteith by the Albany Stewarts within a year doubled James' landholding and brought the castles at Doune and Falkland into royal hands. The previous royal castles were also recovered and this core was increased by further forfeitures during the reign of James' immediate successors including the castles at Bothwell, Kildrummy, Methven, Threave, and Newark (see fig. 23). Some were granted to supporters or allowed to decay but one or two were retained to become royal residences as Scottish kings continued the itinerant tradition of their predecessors prior to James I.¹

Despite an era of turbulent internal politics, crown revenue (particularly from customs) increased during the fifteenth century enabling the monarchy to pursue a more vigorous building policy, fostered by the developing sense of national identity and contributing to the growth of royal prestige. James I demonstrated this spectacularly at Linlithgow Palace and his new charterhouse at Perth (1429), but James II only undertook modest work at Falkland, Holyrood, and Stirling in 1449 to welcome his new queen, Mary of Guelders. Ravenscraig Castle (Fife) was built for James II's queen between 1460 and 1463.² James III repeated his father's practice of improving the royal quarters for his new queen at Linlithgow and he may have undertaken work at his favourite residence, Stirling.

James IV's elevated view of kingship spurred major building activity at great expense from the moment he was proclaimed king in 1488 until his untimely death in 1513 on the battlefield at Flodden. He transformed the medieval fortresses at Stirling and Falkland into Renaissance palaces, converted the monastic guesthouse at Holyrood into a mini palace, erected an imposing great hall at Edinburgh Castle, completed the expansion of Linlithgow Palace, and upgraded Rothesay Castle.³ It was under James IV's aegis that these properties were developed into royal residences appropriate to a courtly life that could vie with the princely courts of Europe.

The thirty or so castles held by the crown during the twelfth century were mainly earth and timber enclosures. From the fourteenth century, new work was usually in stone with the number of properties varying as the crown acquired new ones or disposed of unwanted buildings. By the close of the fifteenth century, it held about fifteen stone structures, mainly castles but with a handful of non-defensive residences. Half of them were favoured properties with the remainder of lesser importance in their scale or use. It is the five prime residences that are now considered further.

After half a century of absence, James I brought the centre of royal authority back to its earlier bases – Edinburgh, Stirling and Linlithgow. Linlithgow Palace was developed between 1425 and 1437 with extensive additions made later in the century. It is the primary royal survival from the era of the Hundred Years War, for the standing remains at all the other royal residences date from the later Stewart rulers.

Edinburgh Castle shares the same circumstances as Stirling Castle in that little of this historically significant and dramatically-sited fortress is earlier than the late fifteenth century. No standing work has been identified earlier than the core of the North Gate, built by Robert II in 1381. It was modified in 1511–12 to create a kitchen for the great hall of 1507–12 but the form of the castle in c.1440 is shown in a depiction of the battle of Bannockburn in the manuscript *Scotichronicon*.

James IV's development at Stirling Castle was more extensive and of greater importance to him than Edinburgh, for his purpose was to convert an essentially military complex into a residential one. His work was prefaced by a new gatehouse and towered frontage completed by 1506, now drastically reduced but originally making a powerful chivalric statement as a frontispiece to his royal palace beyond. His domestic work, ranged round the upper courtyard, included the royal lodgings of the mid 1490s erected on the high west side of this court of honour: the present hall opposite of 1498–1503, the site of his chapel royal of 1501 to the north (rebuilt in 1594), and the southern range replaced by James V's spectacular quadrangular palace of 1538–42 which cannibalised a group of earlier buildings.⁴

The great hall was fully restored from barrack use in 2001 to reveal its stupendous form befitting the Stewart monarchy. In scale and design, it is not unlike Edward IV's hall at Eltham Palace of twenty years earlier. 138 feet by 47 feet and therefore rather larger than Eltham, it followed the same form of paired windows in the upper side walls, two rectangular bay window lighting the dais, a hammer-beam roof (recreated in 2009) and with five fireplaces (dais and two in each side wall) instead of a central hearth. The largest hall ever built in Scotland; it was always intended for royal celebrations and state occasions.⁵ James IV's lodgings (subsequently known as the King's Old Building) were originally two storeyed with an entrance tower holding a wide spiral stair leading to the first floor apartments above vaulted ground floor chambers. The lodgings were made up of a hall and privy chamber with more private rooms at one end and the kitchen at the other. Now much altered, particularly in the nineteenth century, hall and lodgings were still essentially medieval in character, betraying none of the French Renaissance influences adopted by James V here at Stirling and at Falkland palace.

The thirteenth century castle at Falkland was supplanted by quality residential apartments for James II's wife, Mary of Guelders, between 1450 and 1465. They no longer survive. The two imposing ranges of royal apartments, one complete and one partly ruined, and the great hall summarily excavated in



Pl. 125 Stirling Castle: great hall

the nineteenth century were the work of James IV between 1505 and 1514 with French influenced additions by his son. But while the Franco-Scottish alliance of 1537 encouraged French craftsmen to work at Falkland and Stirling, Scottish architecture remained stubbornly Scottish in character and form throughout the remainder of that century.

The palace of Holyrood in Edinburgh originated in the guest lodging of the monastery founded by David I in 1128.⁶ It was expected to provide hospitality for his royal successors and did so in preference to the wind-swept castle even before Edinburgh had become the Scottish capital (1542) and the abbey had been abandoned (1569). James II was born and buried at Holyrood, James III frequently stayed here, while the royal lodgings were enlarged by James IV in 1501–05 and again with suitable towered magnificence by James V in 1528–32. By that time, the royal residence had developed as a quadrangular structure on the west side of the thirteenth century cloister and seems to have used the canons' refectory as its great hall. The royal lodgings now overshadowed the monastic parts, though the most impressive survival of this early palace today is the north tower with the rooms occupied by Mary, Queen of Scots.⁷

Notes

1. R.D. Oram, *Antiquaries Jnl.* 88 (2008), 173.
2. Though work was not completed at Ravenscraig before the death of the queen, the castle was exchanged seven years later by James III with the earl of Orkney whose family completed it after 1470 to a reduced design. W. Douglas Simpson, *Ravenscraig Castle* (1938), 7–8, 29–30. Only the east tower and the foundations of the central range were completed by 1463 with the artillery defences attributed to the Orkney earls. C. Tabraham, *Scotland's Castles* (1997), 98.
3. Documentary evidence details the timber-built halls at Strathbraan and Glen Finglas erected for James IV's hunting activities. J.M. Gilbert, *Hunting and Hunting Reserves in Medieval Scotland* (1979), 80–82. Fourteen years after the final loss of Berwick-upon-Tweed to the English in 1482, James IV ordered the reconstruction of Dunbar Castle to protect the coastal invasion route from England into Scotland.
4. Though James V had two French wives, the boldly ornamented exterior is hard to parallel. Though a French influence is usually suggested, it is no more certain than a Portuguese Manueline one.
5. R. Fawcett (ed.) *Stirling Castle: the restoration of the great hall* (2001). The great kitchen of c.1500 serving this hall was sited in the Outer Court, close to the service end of the hall. Only part of it survives. R. Fawcett, *Stirling Castle: Official Handbook* (2005); R.C.A.H.M. Scotland, *Inventory of Stirlingshire* (1963).
6. The Stewart kings also made extensive use of the Dominican Friary at Perth but to appreciate the form and character of monastic guesthouses in Scotland, that at Dunfermline is the earliest and the most substantial survival, the birthplace of James I in 1394.
7. The present quadrangular ranges were developed for Charles II between 1671 and 1679. Simon Thurley, *Country Life* (August 2012).

LINLITHGOW PALACE

Even in its ruined state, Linlithgow Palace is the outstanding medieval royal residence in Scotland, dramatically crowning a promontory above Linlithgow loch. Fortunately, its setting has not been jeopardised by town streetscapes for they have been held back by the fifteenth century church and the post-medieval townhouse, while the immediate grounds and the further side of the loch are still pastoral.

The palace is foursquare, rising on all sides through three or four storeys to roof level and essentially lacking only its pitched roofs, parapets, and some floors. A great fire in 1424 had destroyed much of

the town, the parish church, and the royal manor house¹ so that the present structure was developed anew in three phases during the fifteenth century.

- Between 1424 and 1437, James I built a  shaped range. It consisted of the east facing kitchen and great hall (with entrance below), and the royal lodgings in the angle.
- In about 1470, James III added a further  shaped unit of royal lodgings abutting the earlier south range and extending along the west side of the enclosure.
- Between 1489 and 1503, James IV added a larger  shaped structure that interlocked with the two previous phases to create the present quadrangular residence.

From the beginning, Linlithgow was conceived by James I as 'his pleasure palace' and it was so developed by his successors. The initial layout suggests that it was always intended that the palace should be quadrangular so that the principal apartments in each phase were at first floor level above vaulted undercrofts. The palace retained this planning pattern throughout its life which was terminated by an all-enveloping fire in 1746 which left the building in its present ruined condition.

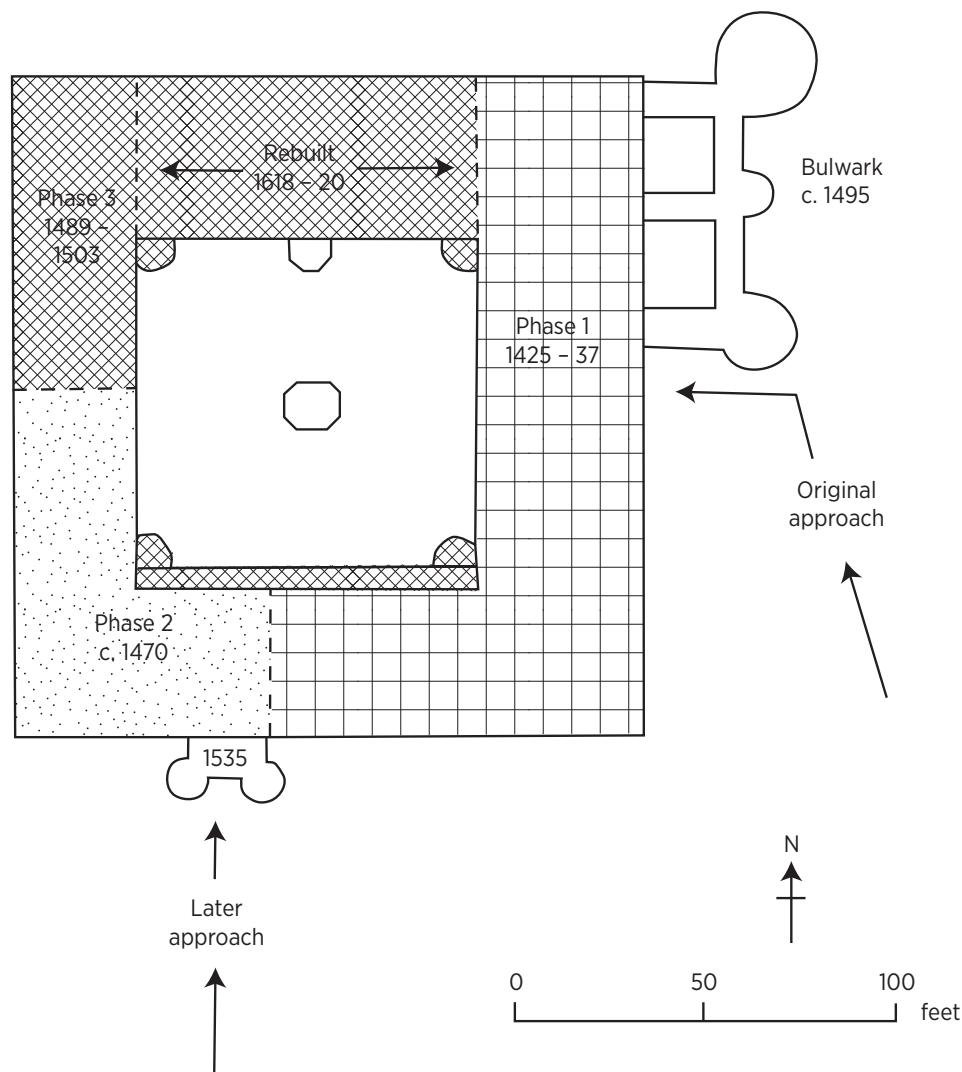


Fig. 72 Linlithgow Palace: development plans

A Reflection of Kingship

As soon as the thirty-year-old James I returned from his eighteen year captivity in England, he initiated a very different and forceful approach to kingship after half a century of weak predecessors. Determined to emulate Henry V of England, his construction of a suitable palace-like residence was indicative of his forceful approach to royal authority and government. His palace at Linlithgow made a statement of intent parallel with that of active monarchy and political domination against his enemies. At the point of his return, the magnates rather than the monarch effectively governed Scotland. James' aggressive view of kingship was totally at variance with theirs so that this thread of conflict over power and authority lay at the heart of James' reign.

James had witnessed the benefits enjoyed by Henry IV and Henry V in having a central power base like the Palace of Westminster within riding distance of the Tower of London and Windsor Castle. Linlithgow was similarly positioned between Edinburgh and Stirling castles. Furthermore, James' financial resources increased substantially during the first half of his reign as a consequence of doubling his landed income, gaining effective control over the customs and, after the renewal of the Franco-Scottish alliance in 1428, diverting the money owed to England for his ransom. This newly acquired wealth by the crown funded James' court and its setting.²

Whereas there had been little difference between the scale and standing of the household of the earlier Stewart kings and those of the leading magnates, James was determined to make that differentiation increasingly clear through the opulence and scale of his court – its jewels, rich clothing, wine and staffing levels – and by their setting. Within a generation, the contrast between the fortress character of Albany's semi-royal court at Doune and the stature of the monarchy at James' palace was apparent to all.

The form, scale, and non-defensive character of this new residence was established very shortly after James' return and was an integral part of his policy of enhancing the image of monarchy. Within six years, he had scored a series of victories over the aristocratic opposition and had forged a resurgent monarchy in Scotland.³ His confidence extended to initiating discussion with France on renewing the alliance of mutual military support whilst concurrently discussing the renewal of the truce with England. He settled a trade dispute with the duke of Burgundy and discussed Scottish military aid with the Bretons for James was a monarch intent on stepping on to the European stage. Consequently his new palace being built at Linlithgow was where the French embassy was received in July 1428 with 'great respect, magnificence, and honour'. Some of the older buildings must have been pressed into use, but it was James' continuation of his building programme at Linlithgow and the Perth Charterhouse during the 1430s, combined with his prestigious household display and the financial pressures they generated that helped to fuel the baronial opposition that culminated in his assassination.

James I's Development

The east range is the earliest and holds the original approach to the palace which lay along the south side of the church and graveyard. The visitor then turned towards the loch until facing the impressive frontage with its flying bridge leading to the entry. It was not until a century later that the approach was supplanted by the current entrance direct from the town. The east range also introduced a key form of contemporary architecture previously adopted at Doune Castle, for the entrance is driven through the ground floor of a primary residential range.

The outer façade is essentially plain, broken only by a line of second floor openings beneath the corbelled parapet. This allowed the visitor to give full consideration to the highly decorated entry. The



Pl. 126 Linlithgow Palace: east range with original entry

broad archway was flanked by two larger than life-size niches (now empty) with a panel rising between them holding the royal arms flanked and surmounted by winged angels. The significance of this panel is emphasised by its position between the extended drawbridge slots on either side rising to a decorative head. The original ramp and drawbridge have been destroyed⁴ but the form and scale of this frontage proclaimed that Linlithgow Palace was a residence, not a castle.

The vaulted entrance passage was a variant on that at Doune Castle, protected by a drawbridge, three pairs of doors, a portcullis, and a porter's lodge. The flanking ground floor rooms were used for guardrooms, services, stables, and storage. The inner entry arch was even more elaborate than the outer one. The otherwise plain semi-circular head was embellished with a line of leaf moulding to an ogee head. Above were three niches that originally held statues representing the three estates (nobility, church, and burgesses). They stood on musician corbels and beneath decorative canopies surmounted by winged angels. A second decorated ogee-headed arch embraced the whole composition.⁵

As at Doune, a flight of stairs to the left of the entry led to the first floor hall spanning the central body of the range. This imposing apartment is basically the structure built for James I in about 1425, upgraded by James IV in about 1490. Walling evidence and foundations at the lower end of the hall identify the position of the screens passage with a garderobe and the newel-approached upper storeys, possibly a musician's gallery with accommodation above. From the screens, the body of the hall (99 feet by 29½ feet) is lit by six windows in both upper levels which allowed tapestries to be hung below to the level of the stone wall benches. The windows were square-headed to the field but semi-circular to the courtyard as they were part of the hall refurbishment in about 1490. The highly unusual wall passage at floor level not only accessed the portcullis machinery but possibly facilitated service between the kitchen and the royal apartments (as at Stafford Castle tower-house of c.1348–50). The clerestory gallery above, probably of James IV's time as were the end newels, had broad openings for looking into the body of the hall. Between these openings were decorative corbels that formerly supported statues, while the plain corbels above supported the roof, rebuilt in 1625 and no longer existing.



Pl. 127 Linlithgow Palace: inner courtyard with elaborated entry and fountain of c.1538



Pl. 128 Linlithgow Palace: great hall

At the upper end of the hall, the dais was enhanced by a short stone vault high above the only triple fireplace in Scotland. The three hearths are separated by pillars with foliated heads under a broad hood. This spectacular fireplace and vault is attributed to James IV in about 1490 who was also responsible for inserting the dais window. But it is possible that there was an earlier fireplace here rather than a central hearth and louvre, particularly in view of the triple hearths as a status symbol in England and France by the late fourteenth century (Kennington, Kenilworth, Poitiers). The two-hearth fireplace at Doune had shown the way, while there is structural difficulty in inserting a massive flue through internal walls.

The north-east tower holds the first floor kitchen, now much altered. The hearth still fills most of the west wall but the original stone vaulting was replaced by a ceiling in the

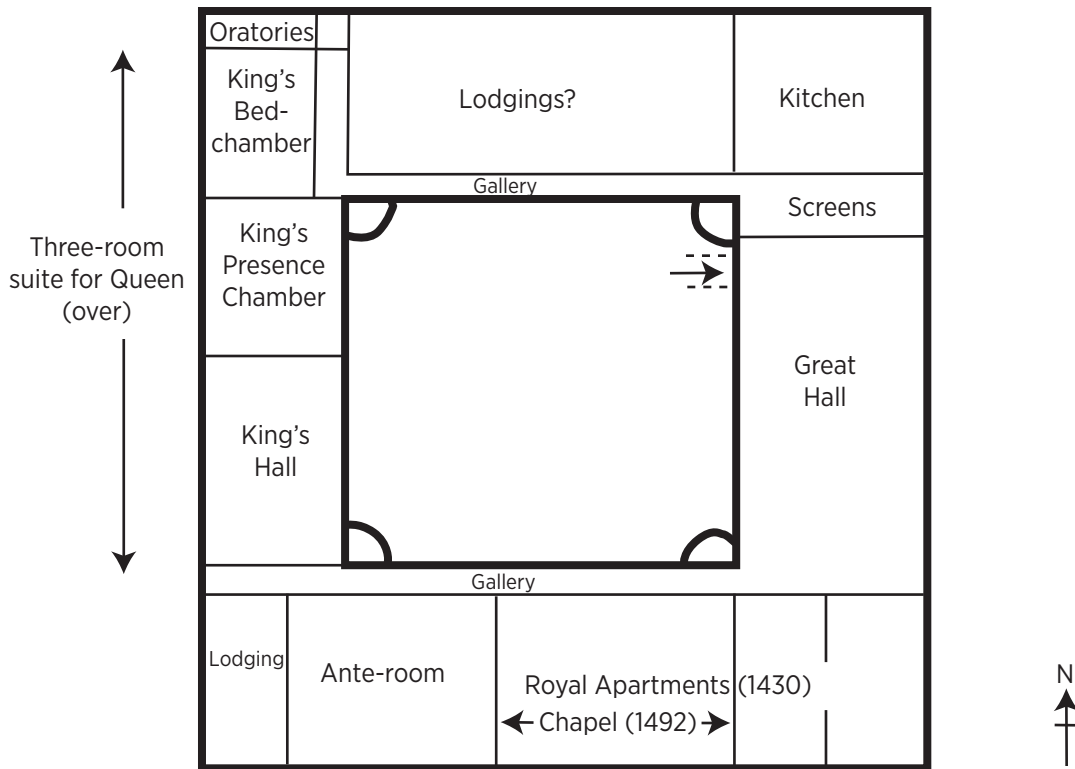


Fig. 73 Linlithgow Palace: first floor layout by the close of the fifteenth century

sixteenth century at the same time that the mullioned and transomed windows were inserted. Only the three earlier serving hatches and the floor drain were retained. The fall in ground level enabled a second kitchen to be established immediately below the principal one rising through two floors (a similar duplication occurs at Wardour Castle of 1393–1400. This lower kitchen holds a well which was the original purpose of this room and therefore needed considerably less light than above.⁶ The large hearth is considered to be a sixteenth century insertion enabling these two newly linked kitchens to be referred to in 1633 as the court kitchen and the flesh (i.e. meat) kitchen.

The royal apartments were approached from the modest doorway opening off the dais via a small lobby with garderobe. The apartments were initially limited to the south-west angle and immediately westwards. There were two small heated rooms behind the dais, later made into a single apartment like those above with their fireplaces and window seats. However, the further apartments were remodelled between 1490 and 1503 to create the royal chapel so that our consideration of them ceases beyond this point.⁷

Local sandstone was used throughout the structure with the outer walls originally harled, that is covered with a coat of lime which was often coloured. It is assumed that the remainder of the site during this initial building phase was wall-enclosed to give it security and privacy. In any case, there would have been supplementary household and staff accommodation, possibly utilising the remains of the earlier manor house opposite the hall until it was replaced by the extensions of James III and IV during the second half of the fifteenth century. The frequent visits of James I and his wife during the late 1420s and the purchase of bedding and linen in 1430 support the likelihood of temporary

accommodation.⁸ Furthermore, the layout of James I's work suggests that a quadrangular development was always envisaged with residential ranges planned on at least three sides though the design was only realised later in the fifteenth century.

Completion

James II (1437–60) did not develop the palace further but his son, James III (1460–88) extended the royal accommodation. He built the south-west tower and the lodgings either side of it, probably during the late 1460s.⁹

His son, James IV (1488–1513) was a builder-enthusiast who completed the quadrangular courtyard between 1489 and 1503 by linking the two earlier phases with a further range of apartments. At the same time, he added the turnpike stairs in each corner of the courtyard, upgraded the great hall, converted the earlier royal lodgings in the south range into a fine chapel, and added the three storeyed gallery against its courtyard face to provide a covered access between the great hall and the new lodgings.¹⁰ This development shows the scale of royal accommodation in Scotland by the close of the fifteenth century.

James V (1513–42) erected the monumental courtyard fountain (c.1538) and a new south entrance and approach for everyday use (c.1535) so that the original east entry could be reserved for ceremonial functions. The final development occurred nearly a hundred years later when the north range collapsed and was rebuilt to a different accommodation layout in 1618–20.

Overview

The tower-house was more popular in Scotland and used over a longer period than in any other country in Europe except Ireland. During the last quarter of the fourteenth century, it had become a powerful expression of a builder's social standing, particularly of seigneurial and even semi-royal authority as in France and England. In Scotland, this belligerent display of lineage and power trickled down the social scale for a further two and a half centuries, a reflection of increasing political stability and the financial resources enjoyed by the gentry and lairds who sought to emulate their peers in a building boom of more modest tower-houses. It is therefore all the more surprising and significant that the palace at Linlithgow did not follow the tower-house precept of Threave, Doune and their successors but was built to an entirely different concept.

The destruction of the earlier manor house at Linlithgow in 1424 prompted James I to create a state of the art residence which would be the backcloth to the royal house of Stewart's authority and standing over the fractious nobility. A comparison with the slightly earlier castle at the Stewart family at Doune is therefore instructive.

James followed the precedent of an entrance underneath the major residential apartments, a strongly defended entry passage, and the approximately quadrangular form of Doune. The royal hall and private apartments were similarly at first floor level. But instead of a commanding tower-house like that at Doune, the dominant centre piece of the king's new residence was the great hall. Though the hall had always been a significant element in castle planning, here it was truly regal in scale. During his years in captivity between 1406 and 1424, James had seen recent building developments in England including work at Windsor, Nottingham and Kenilworth castles where he was initially lodged. He would have heard about Henry V's palace at Sheen and witnessed the imposing castles at Vincennes and Rouen whilst campaigning for Henry V in France.¹¹ James had experienced a far wider architectural vision than most of his Scottish subjects.

From the first, it is clear that the new residence at Linlithgow was planned on a palace-like scale.¹² Thirteenth-century pottery sherds have been found on site but no structural work was integrated from the earlier manor house. The only defensive elements were those necessary to give the property basic protection and they were essentially limited to the point of entry. There was no gatehouse nor corner towers (initially). Simple forms were adopted for doorways and windows but they were far more decorative than Albany had used at Doune a generation earlier. The deliberately contrived approach overlooking the loch has parallels with the approach to near contemporary English castles such as Bodiam and Saltwood and suggest that landscaping played an integral part in the overall development of this royal residence.

Building was already in hand by 1425 with sufficient work completed by 1429 for James to entertain the archbishop of Reims here after his arrival from France. The *Chronicles of Hector Boece* record that craftsmen were brought from England and Flanders to make up for the lack of skilled workers consequent upon the local wars. Payments were made to craftsmen in 1430–31 while materials were purchased in 1433 for Matthew, the king's painter who was decorating the walls and ceilings of the royal apartments. Work continued uninterrupted but was probably nearing completion when James' assassination at Perth in 1437 brought an immediate cessation of all operations. The palace had cost £7,000, amounting to one tenth of the king's annual income.¹³

James I succeeded in creating a spectacular residence, even though we are uncertain about his original intentions and his work is only part of the present structure. Even in its initial form, the great hall was an imposing reception environment, while the royal apartments were far less cramped than at Doune, though we know little about their internal layout. Both residences were seen by their builders as rural retreats, a relaxed environment from the political conflicts that marked the castles at Edinburgh and Stirling. But there is a self-confidence about the design of Linlithgow Palace which is so described in 1429 and marks a fundamental change in royal planning and design. This was confirmed by the two subsequent development phases which made the residence even more obviously comparable to royal establishments in Europe. Many of the rooms outside the first floor line of apartments served purposes unknown to us today, but the layout of the principal floor is clear.

Some of the design features such as the quadrangular form and residential ranges integrated with the outer wall had become common elements of the architectural vocabulary by the early fifteenth century, but some of the features adopted in the first phase development including the landscaping, the heraldic and sculptural decoration, and the triple fireplace (if there was one at this stage) were more specifically influenced by high status residences in England and further afield. The later fifteenth century work shows further influences from England such as the tiered internal corridors and umbrella vault, while the angle turnpike stairs and the corner towers rising above the roof line similarly indicate a more specifically European influence.¹⁴ What is not in doubt is that from its initiation in 1425, Linlithgow Palace proclaimed a cosmopolitan outlook rather than a parochial one. Furthermore, the development over three quarters of a century shows an unusual uniformity of design to the original concept.

This palace can be seen to be a markedly forward-looking building when measured against the later work at Falkland and Holyrood palaces with their old fashioned gatehouses and towered lodgings some time after the abandonment of these features in France and England. The minimal defences and more extensive accommodation, particularly when compared with some contemporary castles such as Comlongan, Borthwick, and Craigmillar confirm that the king enjoyed greater confidence in his position than many of his magnates.

Notes

1. There had been a royal manor house, probably lightly defensible, at Linlithgow since the mid-twelfth century. It was strengthened by a ditch-protected and wood-towered enclosure in 1302–3 under the direction of Edward I's master mason, Master James of St George. This survived until the fire of 1424 destroyed most of the royal seat.
2. M. Brown, *James I* (1994) 113. Fifty years later, Edward IV's financial deal with France similarly helped to pay for his new hall at Eltham Palace.
3. *Ibid.*, 109.
4. The projecting walling and towers north of the entrance are those of a bulwark rather than a barbican. Attributed to c.1495, it was primarily a gun emplacement, possibly more for show than military intent.
5. This striking display of heraldry and sculpture has several parallels with the late fourteenth-century displays at Lumley and Hylton castles and Thornton Abbey in England and the early fifteenth-century decorated frontages at Pierrefonds and La Ferté-Milon in France.
6. Many fifteenth-century earthenware pipes have been discovered used in the distribution of the water supply within the palace.
7. The chapel's construction destroyed the earlier accommodation features at both levels except for the remains of a fireplace and a garderobe chute and cesspit.
8. J. Dunbar, *Scottish Royal Palaces* (1999), 6.
9. Dunbar (1999), 11–13.
10. *Ibid.*, 11–15.
11. M. Brown, *James I* (1994), 20–4, 114–15.
12. The adjacent parish church is equally striking. The nave was rebuilt during the second half of the fifteenth century, the tower by 1490, with the chancel and apse added during the early sixteenth century.
13. Dunbar (1999), 5–8; C. Tabraham, *Linlithgow Palace* (2004), 33.
14. A panel recording the work of a French master mason at a group of major churches and particularly at Melrose Abbey during the early fifteenth century reveals a significant development. Scottish architecture by that date was open to French in preference to English influences.

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CONCLUSION

A WAR OF BANKRUPTCY AND OSTENTATION

During the second half of the fifteenth century, the role of government and monarchy had extended across the whole of France so that by the close of the century, the power of the nobles and princes had become secondary to that of the crown. When the Hundred Years War began, the residences of the king, princes and nobles were defensible and protective through a combination of moats, drawbridges, towers, gatehouses, battlements and machicolations. By the second half of the war, artillery had become increasingly dominant in attack, necessitating new measures in defence. But from the first stirrings of peace, residential needs increasingly took precedence though sometimes an earlier tower was symbolically retained together with the encircling moat as at Châteaudun.

In England, the crown had always been dominant since the Norman Conquest, though its strength necessarily depended on the abilities of the monarch as it did in all European states. During the 1350s, Edward III initiated residential largesse within the earlier towered walls at Windsor. Eighty years later, protective measures had become superficial as at Herstmonceux and residences primarily domestic in form and planning. But the scale of building had diminished compared with their French contemporaries where size and scale were a resonant element of a noble's ethos and standing.

It is highly arguable whether the cost of the Hundred Years War in England was offset by the profits that were derived from it, or whether the conflict was a major drain on the country's resources leading to economic stagnation for most of the fifteenth century. The debate continues to be vigorous, but in one respect the weight of evidence points in the latter direction.

The war imposed huge financial demands on the English crown, forcing it to raise vast sums to pay for wages, weapons, supplies and provisions, ships to transport troops across the channel and allies abroad. Within the first three years of hostilities, Edward III had spent a sum approaching £500,000, had exhausted his credit, and had drained the financial capacity of his subjects. The reorganisation of the country's financial system during the 1340s with its much greater emphasis on indirect taxation, particularly on wool exports, created a more viable and stable financial resource to support the country's long-term military policies. This, together with the spoils of war and English military successes during the later 1350s encouraged Edward to embark on the most substantial royal work of the later middle ages, that at Windsor Castle. But the renewal of war late in Edward's reign and near bankruptcy during the 1380s meant that Richard II had to limit himself to no more than the remodelling of Westminster Hall and adding new apartments at Portchester Castle at the close of the century.

Henry V initiated the building of a new palace at Sheen in 1414 but it was not completed for twenty-five years. The renewal of war again put an intolerable strain on the crown's financial and military capacity. Financial exigency even forced Henry V to imprison the queen-mother for three years (1419–22) so that her vast dower (nearly ten per cent of the total royal revenues over a thirty year period) could be put at the disposal of the royal treasury. Henry VI concentrated on his religious and educational foundations at Eton and Cambridge, hindered by the financial crisis and near bankruptcy of the 1440s, while Edward IV wisely husbanded his resources until Louis XI's pension funded the replacement hall at Eltham Palace (1475–c.80). Royal domestic building after the first phase of the war was modest, and though the works of John of Gaunt were impressive, his precept was not followed to any major extent by later members of the royal family, the dukes of Gloucester, Clarence, or Bedford, or by the semi-royal houses of Beaufort, March, or York.

The financial difficulties of the French monarchy were as formidable as those of the English crown. France suffered from two periods of overwhelming distress and near bankruptcy. The first was between Crécy and the treaty of Brétigny when the appalling consequences of the Black Death were followed by the capture of the French king leading to government of an impoverished land by the young dauphin. His difficulties were compounded by the activities of the *grandes compagnies* (bands of unemployed mercenaries), and the series of *jacqueries* (popular uprisings). The second and more extended period of financial and political collapse was between 1380 and 1430 when the three fiefs of Anjou, Berry, and Burgundy virtually became autonomous states functioning almost independently of the monarchy. After Charles VI's madness from 1392 onwards, much of the royal treasury was siphoned into the coffers of the king's three uncles. By 1400, nearly half of the revenues of Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, were drawn from the French crown in the form of gifts, pensions and taxes. Even so, the finances essentially remained within the borders of France if not within crown held lands.

It is instructive to compare the relatively modest scale of the building projects of the English royal house between about 1360 and 1430 with the still extant secular buildings of the French royal family. A visit to the still standing properties of the royal and ducal houses ranging from Vincennes, Saumur, Tarascon, and Pierrefonds as well as the lesser evidence at Dijon and Germolles underlines the financial and human resources available to the French royal family. Even at a time of financial distress for the crown, their scale reflects the resilience, comparative prosperity, and retained wealth of northern and central France as well as the priority given to artistic patronage. Bankruptcy is relative, but the number and scale of the building activities of the French royal court during this period simply underline England's far more modest resources and long-term financial limitations compared with its enemy across the channel. Far less survives of the associated frenzy of artistic patronage in France, though inventories record the extent of this era of extravagant luxury and priceless treasure which was barely matched in England. The difference was maintained by the artistic plenitude of the house of Burgundy under Philip the Good and by the revival of the royal court under Louis XI in contrast with the cultural paucity of Henry VI of England and his two Yorkist successors.

As England never experienced the onslaught of foreign armies at any time throughout the war, castles became residential and undefended houses proliferated. In contrast, hardly any unprotected houses have survived the decades of trenchant attacks that afflicted most parts of France. A sure target for plunder and destruction, only properties within walled towns escaped and those built in the almost independent Brittany where the dukes astutely kept all factional forces at bay after 1380. Otherwise, most earlier fortresses were repaired and extended to provide truly formidable protection and defence throughout the extended conflict. Fortified houses and 'strong' houses necessarily became more formidable as the

war progressed so that the many hundreds that still stand are the overwhelming visual reminder of the conflict in France. The contrast with the several hundred unprotected houses in England is striking. Berry Pomeroy Castle withers in comparison with Bonaguil, Herstmonceux is no match for the brick defences at Rambures, while the mansion built by Henry VI's treasurer of the mid-1440s at Sudeley is old fashioned alongside that of Louis XI's treasurer at Le Plessis-Bourré. Lord Cromwell's expansive residence at Wingfield, his tower-house at Tattershall and Sir William Herbert's redevelopment of Raglan Castle are the equal of their *confrères* overseas. But as an expression of greater and lesser aristocratic pretension and standing during the later stages of the war, English houses rarely compare with the scale and magnitude of contemporary châteaux or other residential forms of lordship, nor with their range from decorative seigniorial display to bellicosity.

Despite the havoc wrought across the country and the incredible hardship and losses suffered by the people, France was in a far stronger political condition and poised to become more united as a nation-state by the 1470s than would have been deemed feasible two generations earlier. When the aftermath in both countries is taken into account – the failure of Yorkist rule in England, and royal centralisation in France – then the latter emerged once more as the leading country of western Europe. Exhaustion and destitution throughout the second quarter of the century had virtually stifled all building activity by crown and noble, but peace brought recovery and prestige to both. In the Loire valley, Louis XI could now adopt a more open style of residence at Langeais, followed by his treasurer (Le Plessis-Bourré), his chamberlain (Le Plessis-Macé), his chancellor (Fourgères-sur-Bievre) and other court members (Chaumont, Meillant). This combination of atrophied fortifications protecting comfortable residences rapidly spread across the country. At the same time, Louis XI's favourite brick-built manor house at Plessis-les-Tours also gradually developed into the French *manoir* that became so frequently built during the sixteenth century by those lower down the social scale.

ARCHITECTURAL SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

As this study has confirmed, castles and houses are a reflection of the lifestyle, finances, and status of their builders. Those erected during the Hundred Years War were a reflection of the political and financial situation of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, particularly in France where most of the warfare occurred. Yet in the middle of the internecine battles that encompassed enemies at home as well as those abroad, ducal money could be spent on embellishing palaces and castles with a fantasy of decoration and ornamentation. The illustrations in the *Très Riches Heures* depict a fantasy world that would be dismissed as too unbelievable today. But the evidence of the dais wall at the Ducal Palace at Poitiers and the remains of the castle at Mehun-sur-Yèvre prove otherwise. There was a new richness and desire for comfort by the close of the fourteenth century, highlighted by contrasting the earlier fortress world at Avignon with that at Saumur.

Initially, the great hall had been the core of the residential block in fortresses and palaces in England and France. Exemplars in France include those at Poitiers and Angers (twelfth century), Blois and Palais de la Cité, Paris (thirteenth century), and Reims (fifteenth century). But Charles V revived an earlier concept – the keep or more precisely, the tower-house. Instead of the great hall backed by two or three private apartments, he developed the concept of the *logis* in France, two or three rooms of increasing privacy with large fireplaces, latrines, and ornamentation. Edward III had developed the concept on a larger scale at Windsor as had Charles V at the Louvre, though Charles also showed at Vincennes

how the apartments could be tiered in a tower-house. In a courtyard castle, the *logis* lined the most privileged side *enfilade* as at Saumur. By the mid-fifteenth century, great halls had become irrelevant except in the largest palaces (Reims) with Le Plessis-Bourée showing the way forward. By contrast, halls in England continued to be at the heart of the largest houses until the seventeenth century. One further development was initiated in France which failed to be copied in England. French nobles emphasised the staircase as the dominant feature of a façade. This began modestly at Montsoreau, more boldly at Châteaudun, and then in full panoply at Blois and Chambord. The form climaxed in Charles VIII's staircase at Amboise (1495–98), ramped for horses and broad enough for carriages. Parallel with this were the tall ducal staircase towers such as the Tour de Jean sans Peur in Paris and that by Philip the Good at Dijon which were as much for the panoramic viewpoint as a status symbol.

What, therefore, are the characteristics that distinguish French from contemporary English work? Greater scale has been endemic to France since Foulques Nerra built twenty *donjons* to consolidate his conquest of Touraine fifty years or more before the first keeps in England. More extensive economic and financial resources meant that French cathedrals and castles from the twelfth century were on the largest scale, but was this to be renewed after more than a century of devastation? The speedy and permanent expulsion of the English, the reassertion of national pride, stability and swift economic recovery from the middle of the fifteenth century all contributed to that determination to replace destroyed, battered or out-of-date residences with new ones which reflected the current social position and affluence of their owners. English houses, on the contrary, unaffected by war, maintained their undisturbed continuity and long-established preference for smaller-scaled residences.

So-called 'chivalric' castles and non-defensive houses gradually took over from military fortresses as in England but though the form lasted longer in France, its demise came more swiftly. Brick was adopted on both sides of the channel during the fifteenth century but it was used more wholeheartedly for fortresses as at Rambures and Salses, though it became increasingly popular for domestic residences (Plessis-lès-Tours, Le Moulin, Blois). The gatehouse, however, did not continue to be the dominant feature that it was in England. It was already superficial at Fougères and completely absent at Blois and Carrouges in Normandy. On the other hand, the strong tower that continued until the close of the century in France had been virtually replaced in England by the solar or guest tower from the second quarter of the century (Tattershall Castle, Wingfield Manor). Earlier towers were not only retained as at Fougères and Loches, but they were incorporated into later residences in the sixteenth century (Chenonceux and more obviously at Villandry and Brissac) as towers for the French proclaimed status, rank and ancestry. They were still so regarded in the later eighteenth century as the rebuilding of Montgeoffrey illustrates.

Whereas the English had a preference for the long, low line, as clear in houses as in cathedral design, verticality was the keynote of French Gothic architecture. The trend that was established at St Denis, Chartres and Le Mans and over-reached itself at Beauvais, was not differentiated in military or residential design. No tower-house in England equals the height of that at Vincennes,¹ while the key residential ranges are frequently made up of three or four generous storeys of accommodation including the attic floor. (Le Plessis-Bourré, Montpoupon) or even five storied (Langeais).

Upward striving created the steep pitched roofs, surmounting ranges, and pyramid-shaped towers which illuminated manuscripts show were ubiquitous to France from at least the fourteenth century. They created a major floor area with considerable height, and height was beneficial to occupation in a warmer climate. The attic level proved invaluable for accommodating the large domestic and household staff as at Saumur, and much later for the aristocracy attendant on the king and court at Versailles. And occupation led to the profusion of extended and decorated dormers to light such areas.

The covered wall-walk or *chemin de ronde* was not taken up in England where roofs rose from behind the open battlemented parapet. Nor does the cornucopia of roof decoration occur, although there is no doubt about the thread running through many fifteenth-century residences in France to the panoply that crowned Chambord (1519–50).

French residences favoured a clean internal plan, helped by the determination to build anew. Additions in England usually extended the earlier structure as at Stonor Park or Penshurst, but complex internal designs were also preferred for entirely new structures as at Bolton Castle, Wardour and Herstmonceux. The separation of households occurred in both countries and for the same reasons, but whereas it led to the double courtyard plan in England, the second courtyard was superimposed on the first floor in a single French structure with the forecourt developing a *basse-cour* essentially at a later date with those at Tarascon and Olhain as precursors.

The reception hall or *salle des gardes* was still favoured at first floor level (Saumur, Le Plessis-Bourré) whereas the English counterpart, the great hall, was a ground floor apartment with some of the private rooms rising behind it. In France, all principal apartments were enfilade at first floor level. As in England, few medieval interiors survive except for chimney pieces, doorways, and vaulting in the most important residences. The reception hall at Le Plessis-Bourré is a fine survival but generations of neglect and excessive restoration as at Blois and Pierrefonds have left few original interiors. The fourteenth century frescoes at the papal palace at Avignon and the painted interiors at Germolles and Anjony indicate how much has been lost.

Square headed transomed (and sometimes mullioned) windows were usual from the mid-fourteenth century onwards. Gothic cusping and tracery heads for windows were eschewed in favour of rectangular openings except for chapels, while in England the same Gothic characteristics were used irrespective of whether it was an ecclesiastical or secular building.

THE ARCHITECTURAL INFLUENCES OF THE WAR

The influence of building design and the transmission of architectural ideas between one country and another is not about detailing but the cross-fertilisation of planning concepts, style and design features and to some extent about scale. Copying an admired model was considered worthy. After its destruction by English forces in 1385, Melrose Abbey was rebuilt under the supervision of John Morow who came from Paris, while a great part of Batalha Abbey in Portugal was constructed towards the close of the fourteenth century under English direction.

For over a hundred years, English commanders and administrators besieged, sacked, and lived in French fortresses and houses. It is therefore frequently claimed that defensive buildings in late medieval England such as Nunney Castle were influenced by or copied French models. Though this leads to historical contortions,² there is a world of difference between seeing the buildings of a foreign state and adopting some of their characteristics, particularly when they are those of the enemy. And Francophobia had been sedulously encouraged for some generations.

It is possible that some of the English castles built during the first phase of the war might have been influenced by the sudden wave of military construction in France. Many French towns, hitherto lacking stone walls, set about rectifying their vulnerability with formidable enceintes from Guérande (1343) in Brittany to Vézelay (c.1360) and Semur en Auxois (c.1372) in Burgundy to Avignon (1355–77) and Villeneuve-lès-Avignon (c.1362–68) in Provence. It is difficult not to feel that Thomas Beauchamp, earl

of Warwick who spent so much of his years between 1339 and 1369 as commander in Flanders, Brittany, northern France, and Aquitaine was influenced by what he saw and experienced when redeveloping the entrance frontage at Warwick Castle. The highly unusual plan of Mettingham Castle may have been similarly affected by what Sir John Norwich witnessed abroad, while the windows at Harewood Castle are like those in the contemporary hall at Angers Castle. The completion of St Stephen's Chapel in the palace of Westminster was in emulation of the house of Valois, while reports on the donjon at Vincennes may have influenced the design of Henry V's palace at Sheen. The ribbed vaults in the Grand Master's refectories and chapter-house at Malbork Castle are similar to those of several fourteenth-century cathedral chapter-houses in England. On the other hand, the encircling machicolated parapet added by Sir John Talbot (1430s) to Philippe Auguste earlier keep at Falaise Castle does not have any distinctive English characteristics nor did the independent bastion added by the English at Caen Castle (1435–38) to help protect the principal entry gate.

It is not possible to lay down any hard and fast judgement. No one left records of their aesthetic influences and assessments, though scholars have vacillated on a non-provable subject. What is not in doubt is that there was a common lexicon of architectural concepts across Europe which encompassed similar defensive and residential forms. Arabic influence in the Iberian Peninsula is the exception. Moreover, the almost perpetual state of hostilities across the body of France caused as much by internal feuding as by international war, meant that their castles and fortified houses were prefaced and surmounted by a formidable and often awesome defensive display until the close of the fifteenth century. Well before that, England lacked such features or the need for them (except at Raglan and possibly Hunsdon). Where they otherwise exist as at Caister, Tattershall, and perhaps at Pontefract (based on the early seventeenth-century painting), they were drawn from the architectural vocabulary of Western Europe rather than specifically from France.

While the war affected all four Christian kingdoms in the Iberian peninsula, the political involvement only extended from the mid- to the late fourteenth century. It had little direct effect on the peninsula's architectural character which was heavily influenced by centuries of Arab culture (the Alcázar, Seville). There was French influence in Navarre (Olite), a more widespread Cistercian clarity (Poblet, Les Huelgas, Alcobaca), and the early adoption of the Gothic style in Catalonia (royal palaces at Barcelona and Perpignan). But the war was no longer relevant after the close of the century, though it had helped to trigger the introduction of the English perpendicular style at Batalha Abbey in Portugal.

SEATS OF POWER

Whereas the late medieval Christian church in Europe continued to follow fundamental and long-established practices, architecturally and liturgically, secular architecture did not follow such precedents. There was no set pattern to the planning or design of domestic properties and even if early houses had features in common, this was by no means so by the early fourteenth century. Ecclesiastical architecture could be formulaic and repetitive: secular architecture was uninhibited and individual. That is its fascination.

The development of the castle as primarily a military bulwark changed during the fourteenth century. Such a role had never been exclusive but its purpose broadened considerably during that century as it increasingly fulfilled a ceremonial and social function as much as a defensive purpose and one of lordship. Whereas there had been keeps in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries witnessed the development of commanding tower-houses. The hall, kitchen, and residential

block had always been a vital element of a defensive enclosure but during the fourteenth century, these became increasingly important and at times dominant, particularly with those most socially affluent.

Interest in secular architecture during the later middle ages centres less on its external character than on its internal planning, the expansion of personal accommodation, the development of internal furnishings and decoration, and how the social distinction manifested itself architecturally. It is the architectural setting of privacy, comfort, and sometimes magnificence that becomes significant: its external appearance becomes less so.

Defence still counted, particularly in war-torn France but it was becoming less important elsewhere. Interest moves towards the planning needed to display the standing, lifestyle, court practice and ceremony, and the circulation and setting appropriate to these functions. Nor were they limited to the principal apartments but affected the scale and position of the kitchen and services, and the accommodation appropriate to the ever-growing size of the household and its officials.

Edward III established the template for elite living and the appropriate setting for the lifestyle of a leading European ruler. His secular accommodation at Windsor Castle was marked by a rhythmic façade, a courtyard layout which permitted the development of a substantial number of private apartments of increasing privacy, a separate suite for the queen, and extensive accommodation around the Great Court for minor members of the royal family and senior household officials. Within a few years, these concepts had been adopted by the younger Charles V at Vincennes, particularly the development of a multi-towered enceinte for the royal entourage and sufficient accommodation for hundreds of officials. They were soon followed by the building campaigns of the Grand Master at Malbork, Louis I of Anjou at Saumur, and on a smaller scale by the duke of Brittany at Sauscinio. In all these and subsequent developments, the internal layout of the royal and ducal apartments was markedly individual, determined by the social standing, finances and the authority of the occupant.

But what is overriding in the many residences considered is how they differed in response to the needs of their owners. Their commonality of scale and status was general but their individuality was particular, often dependent on the financial resources and dominant needs of the owner. Some projects expanded within an earlier structure (Windsor, Sully), others replaced out of date structures (Sauscinio, Le Plessis-Macé). Some built anew (Vincennes, Sheen) while others followed precedents (Montanur, Pau). Many palaces lacked serious defences (Poitiers, Sintra, Bruges) but were notable for their reception rooms. Some housed holy relics (Karlstein, Prague) while others were royal retreats from political and emotional pressures (Baugé, Le Plessis-Bourré). As a consequence of the Hundred Years War, many fortresses in France were put into a renewed state of defence against an enemy who was initially the English but soon broadened to include routiers and even the French in fifteenth century Brittany. But the residences of the crowned heads and royal dukes swept up in that European-wide war were different in their purpose and therefore in the structural consequences.

The studies that are threaded throughout this book show how the concepts continued throughout the Hundred Years War and into the decades after its cessation. The crown and its fledglings were a stratum of society who were quite apart from the barons and lesser aristocracy. The latter's needs still predominantly lay in defensive protection until after the mid- to late fifteenth century. This particularly applied lower down the social scale which had held to the more traditional defensive practices as at Olhain and Anjony. It was only with the gradual cessation of the need for military defences that they followed the precepts of the nobility as at Montsoreau Castle and its successors in the Loire Valley.

Parallel with the royal practice and elaborate ceremonial of palace-like residences was the equilibrium provided by the quietness and comfort of a privy manor house. Charles V built the Manoir de Breauté

near Vincennes, Richard II followed suit at Sheen, Henry V did so with the Pleasance at Kenilworth, Louis XI built the manor of Plessis-lès-Tours, and King René that at Launay. The courtyard palace and mansion, and the small scale manor house ran alongside each other, gradually pushing the fortress castle aside except as a family's reminder of past triumphs – whether they were a true record of past exploits or a blend of fiction with reality.

Notes

1. The Vincennes tower-house is 52.0 metres high: that at Tattershall is 33.5 metres high.
2. Though Nunney Castle in Somerset of about 1378 is frequently described as 'French influenced', a recent re-assessment of all documentary sources has not shown any evidence that its builder, Sir John de la Mare, ever visited France. Nunney was more likely to have been influenced by the tower-house of 1348–68 at Stafford Castle.

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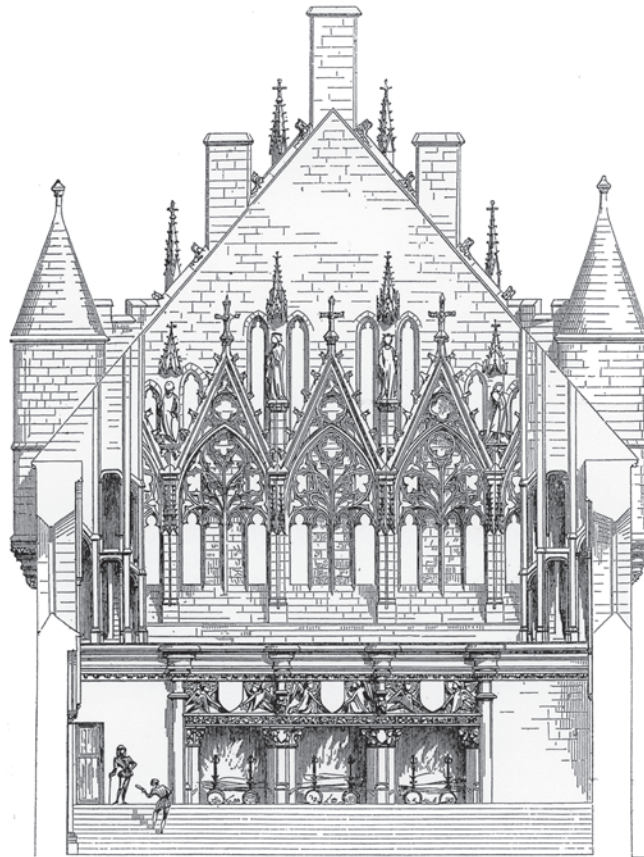
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Pl. 129 Poitiers, Ducal Palace: hall dais wall

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